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ROGER OF WENDOVER'S

FLOWERS OF HISTORY.

COMPRISING

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM THE DESCENT OF THE SAXONS TO A.D. 1235

FORMERLY ASCRIBED TO

MATTHEW PARIS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN,

By J. A. GILES, D.C.L.

LATE FELLOW OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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ROGER OF WENDOVER'S FLOWERS OF HISTORY.

How the nobles of Brittany swore fealty to king Henry and his son Geoffrey.

A.D. 1170. Henry king of England held his court on Christmas day at Nantes, with the bishops and barons of Lesser Britain, who all swore fealty to him and to his son Geoffrey. In Lent following he crossed over into England, and was almost drowned with all his people.

Of the absolution of the bishop of London.

This year, also, Gilbert bishop of London arriving at Milan on his way to Rome, received there a letter from our lord the pope, to the following purport: "We have commanded the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Exeter in our stead to receive from you an oath that you will abide by our sentence, touching the causes for which the sentence was passed against you, and then to absolve you; so that your excommunication may entail no loss of rank or dignity, or mark of infamy upon you hereafter." The bishop, therefore, succeeded in the object of his wishes, and was publicly absolved at Rouen on Easter Sunday.

Of the life and virtues of St. Godric the hermit.

This same year, the venerable hermit Godric passed from this life to that which is eternal. Of his life, his miraculous acts, and glorious end, we will here introduce a few remarks, since it would be an injustice to the saint altogether to pass over his glorious deeds. This friend of God was born in Norfolk; his father's name was Ailward, and his mother's Eadwenna. He was brought up by his parents in his native village of Walpole, and there passed part of his

life in their company. When he had passed the innocent years of childhood he became a tradesman; at first in a humble manner, and afterwards frequenting the public market with other traders. One day, as he was walking alone upon the shore, he found three dolphins cast up by the sea; one of which seemed to be dead, and the other two dying. For humanity's sake he left those which were alive untouched, but loaded himself with part of that which was dead, and set out to return home; but the tide beginning to rise as usual, was at first over his feet and legs, and at last, rose as high as his head. But being strong in faith, he continued to walk along, under the water, guided by the Lord, until he reached the dry ground; and delivering the fish to his parents, he told them all that had happened to him. Sometimes he would meditate when he was alone, upon heavenly things, and say over the Lord's prayer and the creed. In his zeal for religion, he went to St. Andrew's in Scotland to pray, and with no less devotion went also to Rome. On his return from thence he joined himself to some merchants, and with them carried on traffic by sea; which brought him so much wealth that he was owner of half one ship, and the fourth part of another. Being robust in body and active in mind, he sailed to different countries of the world, and visiting the holy places of the saints, commended himself to their protection.

Of the girl who ministered to St. Godric in his pilgrimage.

When Godric had spent sixteen years in the gains of these trading voyages, he determined to spend, in the cause of religion, the wealth which his labours had accumulated. He therefore took the cross and devoutly visited our Lord's sepulchre; after which he returned by way of St. James's* to England. After some time he felt a holy desire to visit the threshold of the apostles, and communicated this intention to his parents; and when his mother expressed her wish to accompany him, if he would let her, he gladly assented, and with filial obedience, carried her on his shoulders, whenever the roughness of the road required it. When they had passed through London, a woman of great beauty approached them, and asked permission to join in

* Compostello in Spain.

their pilgrimage. To this they readily assented, and she adhered to them with great diligence and devotion; for she washed and kissed their feet, and served them better than any others. In this manner she conducted herself the whole way, both going and returning; no one asked her who she was or where she came from, nor did she ever mention it. When they passed through London on their return, she obtained their consent to leave; but she said before going away, "It is now time for me to go to the place from which I came: and you must give thanks to God, who never deserts those that put their trust in Him; for I tell you that you will surely obtain that which you prayed for at Rome from the apostles." None of the company saw this woman except Godric and his mother only.

How the man of God, on his return home, retired into the desert.

When he had restored his mother in safety to the protection of his father, he sold all that he had, received their blessing, and left them, in order to become a hermit. In the extreme parts of England he came to a city called Carlisle, where, finding some of his relations, he obtained from one of them a present of one of St. Jerome's psalters, which in a short time he learned to recite by heart. He then, without the knowledge of his friends, retired to the woods, where he lived some time on wild herbs and fruits; and both serpents and wild beasts came and looked on him, but after a time left him without doing him any harm. In this desert he spent many days as a hermit; at one time on his knees, at another time with his hands raised to heaven, or prostrate on the ground, he was constantly in prayer to God. At last he found in that place a hermit's cave, into which he entered, and received the salutation, "Welcome, brother Godric!" To which he replied, "How do you do, father Ailric?" though they never knew one another before. "You are sent by Heaven," replied the old man, "to bury my old body when I am dead." These two lived together two years, though neither of them had any property. At last the old hermit became very infirm, and was carried about by Godric, who brought him food, and fetched a priest to hear his confession, and administered to him the eucharist. Godric, therefore, seeing that he became worse, said, "Thou

spirit, that hast been created after God's likeness, I adjure thee by the Almighty God, not to leave this body without my knowledge." The old man thereupon died immediately, and Godric saw a kind of spherical body like a hot and burning wind, which shone like most transparent glass, in the midst of an incomparable whiteness, though no one can describe the measure of the soul's qualities. At the news of the holy man's death, his companions, who were at the court of St. Cuthbert, where, when a young man, he had himself resided, buried him in the cemetery of Durham.

How the blessed Godric went to Jerusalem and returned safe.

When the brother aforesaid was buried, Godric returned to the desert, doubting what might be the divine will concerning him. Whilst, therefore, he was praying earnestly to God on this subject, a voice came from heaven saying to him, "It is expedient that thou shouldst go to Jerusalem and return again." Also St. Cuthbert, Christ's holy confessor, appeared to him saying, "Go to Jerusalem, and be crucified with the Lord, and I will there be your helper and patron in all things. When you have completed this journey, you shall serve God under my protection at Finchale." Godric returning to Durham, took the cross and received the priest's blessing. On this journey he ate nothing but barley bread and drank water, he neither changed nor washed his clothes, nor ever took off his shoes to change or mend them, until he arrived as the holy places. When he came to the Lord's tomb and the other sacred places, he prayed devoutly, shedding tears, and kissing the spot so long and devoutly, that one could hardly have thought it possible. He then went to the river Jordan, where, clothed in sackcloth, and with a cup which he carried in his wallet, and a small cross, which he always bore in his hand, he entered the river, which he always after loved, and there putting off his clothes, came forth washed and clean; but he threw away his shoes, and said, "Almighty God, who in this land didst walk with naked feet, and didst suffer thy feet to be pierced with nails upon the cross: henceforth I will never again wear shoes." Having thus fulfilled his vow of pilgrimage, he returned to England.

How the blessed Godric, by God's inspiration, chose his residence at Finchale.

Returned from pilgrimage, he found a secret place in a forest, in the north of England, called Eskdale, which he thought would suit him to dwell in. He accordingly built a hut of logs, covering it with turf, and dwelt there a year and some months: but when the proprietors of the land began to annoy him, he left it and went to Durham, where he made such rapid progress in learning the Psalter afresh, that he soon knew as much of the psalms, hymns, and prayers, as he thought sufficient. Wherefore, one day, inspired from on high, he went into a grove in the neighbourhood, where he heard a shepherd say to his comrade, "Let us go and water our flocks at Finchale." Godric hearing these words, gave the shepherd the only penny he had, to conduct him to that place. As he proceeded towards the interior of the forest, there met him a fierce wolf of extraordinary size, which rushed upon him, as if it would tear him in pieces. Godric, perceiving that this was one of the wiles of the old enemy, made the sign of the cross, saying, "I adjure thee in the name of the Holy Trinity to depart with speed, if the service which I propose to discharge to God in this place is acceptable to him!" At these words, the animal prostrated himself with his impious feet, as if begging pardon of the holy man.

How Saint Godric dwelt at Finchale among the wild beasts and serpents.

Intending, therefore, to serve the Lord in this place, Godric, by licence of Ralph bishop of Durham, formed a cave in the earth near the bank of the river Wear, and covering it with turf, resided therein among the wild beasts and serpents. The number of serpents was fearful; but they were all tame towards the man of God, suffering themselves to be handled, and obedient to his commands. Sometimes as he sat by the fire they would twine round his legs, or coil themselves up in his dish or his cup. After having passed some years in this way of life, he thought that the serpents impeded his prayers; wherefore one day seeing them about him as usual, he commanded them to enter his house no more; upon which all those vermin wholly left it, and never again crossed his threshold. When, also, presents of food and other articles were offered to him, he declines

them altogether, preferring to live by the labour of his hands: and he burnt boughs and branches of trees to ashes, which he mixed with his barley flour in such proportion that the ashes formed one-third of the whole; and he restrained the passions of the body by weeping, watching, and fasting, so that sometimes he even passed six days without eating. After tempting him strongly with luxury, the devil appeared to him in the form of a wild beast, such as a bear, a lion, bull, or wolf, a fox, or a toad, and endeavoured to alarm him; but he was strong in faith and despised them all. To quench the burnings of the flesh, he subdued his body by the use of the harshest sackcloth, and for fifty years wore a coat of mail. His table was a broad flat stone, on which stood his bread, such as I have before described it, but he never tasted it until compelled by absolute necessity: his drink was a moderate draught of water, and only when urged by extreme thirst; he never reposed in a bed, but would lie on the ground when he was fatigued, with his sackcloth under him, and with his head reclining on the stone which served him for a table. When the moon shone, he devoted himself to his works, and, shaking off sleep, spent the time in prayer. In winter, amid snow and hail, he entered the river naked, and there, during the whole night, offered himself up a living victim to the Lord, immersed up to his neck, and in this state poured forth psalms, and prayers, and tears. Whilst he was in the water, the devil used often to appear to him with all his limbs distorted, and on the point of rushing on him, but he was repulsed in confusion at the sign of the holy cross; he endeavoured, however, to carry off the clothes of the holy man, but was so terrified by Godric's shouts, that he cast them also away and fled.

How Saint Godric one day saw a child come forth from the mouth of the crucifix, and reverently settle himself in the bosom of its mother.

One day, whilst the man of God was sitting in his oratory repeating the psalter, he saw a little boy come out of the mouth of the crucifix, who, going to the image of the blessed virgin, which stood on the north end of the same plank, sat himself in her bosom. She, on the other hand, stretching out her hands to meet him, fondled him in her arms for nearly three hours. The boy during the whole time

moved as if he was alive; and both when he came and when he went, the image of the virgin trembled so much that the plank seemed likely to fall. Godric thought that the limbs of the image were filled with the spirit of life, and that the boy was no other than Jesus of Nazareth. The child afterwards returned into the mouth of the crucifix in the same way as it came out.

How our Lord's mother and Mary Magdalene appeared to Saint Godric, and of the song which our Saviour's mother taught him.

Another time, when the man of God was praying before the altar of the blessed virgin mother of God, he saw two girls, of tender age, and of the utmost beauty, standing at the two horns of the altar, and clothed in garments of snowy whiteness. They stood some time looking at one another, and Godric did not dare to move, but turned his eyes from one to the other, and occasionally bowed his head in adoration. The virgins then approached him, and she who was at the right hand of the altar asked him, "Dost thou know me, Godric?" To whom he answered, "That is impossible, lady, except to whom you design to reveal yourself." She replied, "Of a truth thou hast said that I am the mother of Christ, and through me thou shalt obtain his grace. This other lady is the female apostle of the apostles, Mary Magdalene." Godric now threw himself at the feet of the mother of God, saying, "I commit myself to thee, my lady, and beseech thee to take me under thy protection." She then placed both of her hands on his head, and smoothing down his hair, filled the house with a sweet odour. After this she sang, and taught Godric to sing a song, which he afterwards often repeated and imprinted it firmly on his memory: the song in the English idiom is as follows:*—

"Seinte Marie, clane virgine,
Moder Jesu Christ Nazarene,
Onfo, scild, help thin Godrich
Onfang, bring heali widh the in Godes rich.
Seinte Marie, Christes bour,
Meidenes clenhed, moderes flour,
Delivere mine sennen, regne in min mod,
Bringe me to blisse wit thi selfe, God."

* These are the exact words of the original, and form a curious fragment of early English religious poetry.

This song may thus be rendered in Latin:—"Sancta Maria, virgo munda, mater Jesu Christi Nazareni, suscipe, adduc, sancta, tecum in Dei regnum. Sancta Maria, Christi thalamus, virginalis puritas, matris flos, dele mea crimina, regna in mente mea, duc me ad felicitatem cum solo Deo." This song Christ's mother told Godric to sing whenever he was fearful of being overcome by pain, sorrow, or temptation. "And when you call on me by singing it," continued she, "you shall immediately have my help." She then made the sign of the cross upon his head, and in his sight went up to heaven, leaving behind a pleasant odour.

How Saint Godric raised two dead persons to life again.

One day there came to the man of God a husband and wife, and besought him mercifully to restore to life their daughter who was dead, and at the same time they produced her body from a sack which they brought with them. The man of God, judging himself unworthy to perform such a meritorious deed, made no answer, but went into the field to his usual labour; at which the two persons were disturbed and took their departure, leaving the body in his oratory, "for," said they, "he may keep the corpse and bury it, or else restore it to life; which he could do if he pleased. In the evening Godric returning, found the body in the corner of his oratory, and immediately began devoutly to pray God, who is the source of life and health to all, to bring back the girl to life. This he continued to do for three days and two nights; when, on the third day, whilst he was still lying prostrate before the altar, he saw the girl advance towards it; upon which he forthwith called her parents and restored her to their cares, making them at the same time swear that, so long as he lived, they would reveal this secret to no one. At another time, also, when the dead body of a boy was brought by his parents privately to the man of God, he bade them place it on the altar of the blessed virgin in his oratory, saying, "Do not suppose that the boy is dead, but kneel down with me and entreat the divine mercy for the child." When they had prayed, he told them to go and take the boy from the altar, which when they went to do, they found him alive and smiling. The man of God afterwards bound them by oath, not to reveal this deed to any one as long as he should be alive.

Of the answer which the man of God gave to one who wished to write his life.

The saint had some intimate friends among the monks of Durham, especially one whose name was N——.* This man was repeatedly urged to write the life and virtues of St. Godric for the benefit of posterity, and to obtain more certain information on the subject, he came to the man of God, to learn from him what he should write. Whilst sitting at the saint's feet, he said that he proposed to write his life, and stated the benefit which would result to posterity from a knowledge of what he had done: to which the man of God replied with much energy, "My friend, the life of Godric is as follows:—In the first place, Godric the coarse rustic, the unclean fornicator, a falsifier, deceiver, and perjurer, a vagrant, petulant and gluttonous, a foul dog, a base worm, not a hermit but a hypocrite, not a solitary but a loose-minded fellow, a devourer of alms, contemptuous, a lover of pleasure, negligent, slothful, and snoring away his time, prodigal and ambitious, unworthy to serve others, and ever lashing or rebuking those who ministered to himself. These are the things, and still worse than these which you will have to write about Godric." When he had said these words, indignantly, he held his peace, and the monk retired in confusion: but when some years had intervened, he did not dare again to question the saint about his past life, until Godric himself, in compassion, or perhaps because he repented of the wrong he had done him, of his own accord told him what he wished to know, but at the same time adjured the monk, by the regard which they had for one another, to show the book to no one during his life.

Of the answer which Godric gave when asked concerning the departure of the soul, and its state after death.

Another time, when the same monk came to him at the feast of Saint John the Baptist to celebrate mass for him, he sat outside the door of his oratory, and heard Godric within singing. After vespers, the brother asked him what was the nature of the soul's departure from this world: to which he

* We learn from other sources that this man's name was Reginald. N. for *nomen*, is the letter commonly used by the medieval writers and copyists, to occupy the place of a name not known to them.

is said to have received this answer:—"The pious soul," said he, "departs gently from the body; but the sinful soul, as if unfit to depart, is urged thereto by many lashes. As soon as it has made its exit from the body, it mounts aloft, awaiting the pleasure of the Almighty. Now there is in the air a narrow iron gate, guarded on both sides by spirits both good and evil: through it the souls of the just are admitted by an easy passage, but those of the wicked are severely constrained and tormented, and miserably driven downwards. I this day saw the soul of a just man pass through it, and in my joy thereat, I began to sing with the angels that conducted it, and this was what you heard with so much surprize."

How St. Peter celebrated mass for St. Godric.

The same monk on another occasion, returning thither again, asked the man of God if he would like to hear a mass: to which he replied, "I have to-day heard the mass of the Holy Trinity, and received the communion from the hand of a man in white, who, descending from heaven, again ascended thither after he had admonished me to confess my sins, and I had told all that occurred to me of what I had done amiss. Thus he gave me absolution, and I received the communion from his hands, after which he raised his hands over me and ascended into heaven. Do you recommend me then, my son, after this, to receive confession or communion from your hands?" The monk said he could not dare to do so; but at the same time asked him which of the saints it was. The man of God replied that it was Peter the apostle, who had been sent by God to absolve him from his sins. "Do you, then," said he, "celebrate mass in honour of the blessed virgin, that by her mediation we may gain the favour of her Son." And the monk, giving thanks to God, joyfully did as he was bidden.

How St. Godric was released from the demons by prayer and the sign of the cross.

When Godric had spent forty years in the desert at Finchale, he was worn out with disease and old age, and drew near his latter end. For during almost eight years he kept his bed, and could not even turn on his side without

some one to help him:* his pains and temptations were at this time so numerous that it is impossible for tongue to tell or pen to write them. Two demons came to him, carrying a litter, and said to him, "We are come to carry you to hell, for you are an old madman, and from being wise are become foolish," but Godric made the sign of the cross and uttered a prayer to God, which put the demons to flight.

How the devil struck Godric on the head, and of his death.

Afterwards, when the man of God was once lying alone on his bed, the attendants, who were without, heard a voice calling them; one of them running in, found him lying naked on the floor of his oratory, and placing him back on the bed, asked him why he lay on the floor. "The devil," said Godric, "stood by me, and seeing me lying careless after a doze, he suddenly threw me out of bed, and dashed my head against the bench." As he said this, he showed them a swelling on his head, and added, "The devil came upon me so suddenly, that I had no time to protect myself by making the sign of the cross, saying, 'Ah, Godric the rustic, I could not vanquish you by the agency of my satellites, but whilst you were enjoying repose in your bed, I have now killed you.' Let every one therefore reflect how dangerous it is to give way to bodily pleasures, or to indulge in sloth; God is never found among those who live luxuriously." The venerable father Godric died on the 21st of May, which was the octave of our Lord's ascension: his life and actions seem to be more than human, and above the power of man to describe: he was buried on the north side of his oratory, before the steps of St. John the Baptist's altar, and his tomb to this day is hallowed by the performance of miracles.

The coronation of young king Henry.

At this time, namely, A.D. 1170, on the 13th of July, by the king's command, there met at Westminster, Roger archbishop of York, and all the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, to crown the king's eldest son Henry; who was crowned accordingly, by Roger archbishop of York,

* This was no doubt brought on by his austerity of life, of which pains in the body are the natural result: the temptations which he endured from the devil, may be ascribed to imagination.

on the 18th of June, contrary to the prohibition of our lord the pope, who sent letters to the archbishop and the other bishops, to the following purport: "We forbid you all by our apostolical authority, from crowning the new king, if the case shall occur, without the consent of the archbishop and church of Canterbury, nor shall any of you put forth his hand, contrary to the ancient customs and dignity of that church, or in any way forward the coronation aforesaid." This prohibition, however, was of no avail, for, before the letters were promulgated, the young king had been crowned. The king immediately afterwards crossed the sea, and came to a conference with the archbishop at Montmirail, where, also, the king of France attended, and after a long negotiation about making peace between them, when they came to the kiss, the archbishop used the words, "I kiss you to the honour of God," but the king recoiled from the same, as having been only conditionally brought to agreement; for though the archbishop's conscience might be most pure, the king always objected to the forms of words which he used, as for instance, *saving the honour of God, saving my order, saving God's holy faith*, and the archbishop was suspicious of this caution on the king's part, lest, if the reconciliation took place, he should be thought to have acquiesced in the king's unjust customs of England.

How peace was made between king Henry and Thomas archbishop of Canterbury.

The king of France again had a conference with the king of England, William archbishop of Sens, and the bishop of Nevers, at Freitval, whereat king Henry and the archbishop rode apart from the rest, twice dismounted from their horses, and twice mounted again; the king also twice held the stirrup whilst the archbishop was mounting; and finally, by means of Rotric archbishop of Rouen, they came to terms at Amboise; peace was made between them, and king Henry wrote the following letter to his son the young king. "This is to inform you that Thomas archbishop of Canterbury has made peace with me, to my satisfaction. I therefore command that he and all his adherents shall be unmolested: and that you cause all their goods to be restored to him, as well as to all his clerks and others who left England on his

behalf, as they held them three months before the archbishop left England. You will also summon before you some of the best and oldest knights of the honour of Saltwood, and ascertain by their oaths what property is there held of the see of Canterbury, and whatsoever is found to be so shall be held by that tenure. Farewell!" Before the archbishop crossed to England, he sent a letter to the pope, informing him that he had made peace with the king. The pope, in his reply, gave thanks to God, in the following terms. "Anxiety of heart and bitterness of soul overwhelm us, when we reflect on the anguish, the burdens, and the wrongs which you have so long and unflinchingly maintained in the cause of justice: but, that you might fill up the measure of your virtue, you persevered in your purpose, unconquered by adversity, for which we laud your admirable fortitude and congratulate you heartily in the Lord for such long-suffering. For since we have so long borne with the king of England, and so often warned him, both in mild and in gentle language, and sometimes with severity and sharpness, that he should reflect and amend his conduct; if he does not fulfil the terms of the peace which he has concluded with you, and restore to you and yours all the possessions that have been taken away, we give you full power over all persons and places, belonging to your legation, to exercise ecclesiastical discipline upon them, without appeal, according as you shall think fit."

Of the archbishop's return to England from exile.

With these guarantees from the pope and king, the archbishop sailed for England, and landed at Sandwich on the 1st of December. As soon as he arrived, that nothing might be wanting to hasten the glory of martyrdom, which he ardently longed for, he sent the following letter to the archbishop of York. "Whereas the king of England wished his son to be crowned, and it appears that this office belongs to the archbishop of Canterbury, from ancient custom, it appears, my brother archbishop, that the said king, setting aside the archbishop aforesaid, has caused the crown of the kingdom to be placed on his son's head by your hands, and that the oath prescribed for the maintenance of the church's liberties was not only not taken, but not even demanded by you; but that, on the contrary, the unjust customs of the kingdom, by which

the church's dignity is in danger of being shipwrecked, were ratified by oath and held to be binding hereafter for ever. In which matter, although the vehemence of the king himself causes us much disquiet, yet we are the more disturbed at the weakness which you and your brother bishops have displayed, who, we grieve to say it, have been like rams not having horns, and have retreated ingloriously before the face of your pursuer. You might lawfully have discharged this office, my brother, in your own province, but in the province of another, and especially of him who was an exile for the sake of justice, who alone went forth to give glory to God, we can find nothing in reason itself, nor in the constitution of the holy fathers to justify such a deed: you allowed those unjust constitutions to be confirmed on oath, and neglected to take the shield of faith, and to stand up for the Lord's house on the day of battle. Wherefore, that we may not, by longer silence, be involved, on the day of judgment, in the same sentence as yourself, we do hereby, on the authority of the holy Roman church, whose servant under God we are, declare you suspended from every office appertaining to your episcopal dignity." Archbishop Thomas, also, by virtue of another letter from the pope, suspended from their episcopal functions the bishops of London, Salisbury, Exeter, Chester, Rochester, St. Asaph, and Llandaff, as well as the others who had assisted at the coronation aforesaid. The pope's letter was as follows: "The cause for which our venerable brother Thomas archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the apostolic see has been driven into exile, need not now be explained to you, because you were present to witness it, and because the rumour of it has spread through all the church of the west. But whereas Theobald of pious memory formerly archbishop of Canterbury, and predecessor of the present archbishop, placed the crown on the head of the king of England, and by these means the church of Canterbury has, as it were, the right of exercising this office, you have now not hesitated, in defence of our apostolical letters to the contrary, to aid in the coronation of the new king, though the archbishop had not been informed of it, and the ceremony took place in his own province: you, who ought to have lightened the archbishop's exile by such consolations as were in your power, have rather aggravated the case against him, and, we grieve to say

it, added to the pain of his wounds. In which matter, though we may not be excited to proceed against you as much as your fault deserves, yet we cannot pass it over altogether in silence, lest, perchance, which God forbid, the sentence of the divine severity go forth against both us and you, if we neglect to punish crimes which have been enacted openly in the sight of men. Be it known to you that by the authority which we hold from God, we have suspended you from the episcopal office, until you shall appear before our apostolic see to make satisfaction, unless you shall make the same previously to the archbishop aforesaid, in such manner that he may think fit to relax this our sentence."

How the king's agents commanded St. Thomas to absolve the excommunicated bishops.

When the venerable archbishop of Canterbury had returned to his church, amid the rejoicings and pious devotion of both clergy and people, the king's officials immediately approached him, with orders from their master, to absolve the suspended bishops and others whom he had excommunicated on the plea that whatever was done against them, redounded to the injury and subversion of the customs of the kingdom. The archbishop replied that, if the excommunicated bishops would swear, according to the form which the church prescribes, that they would abide by the pope's commands, he would, for the peace of the church, and out of regard for the king, consent to absolve them. When this was reported to the bishops, they replied that they could not take an oath of this kind without the king's consent. Shortly afterwards the archbishop went to visit the young king at Woodstock, but was met by messengers, who, in the king's name, commanded him to proceed no further, but to return to his church. He accordingly returned to Kent, and there made preparation to celebrate the season of Christmas, which was approaching.*

* Matthew Paris inserts here the following :—"And when these threats increased against him, he obeyed them ; for his hour was not yet come. He therefore spent some days at his manor of Harwes, seven miles from the monastery of St. Albans, and kept the festival there ; and the man of God showed no signs of trouble. The abbat of St. Albans supplied him with abundance of provisions ; and the archbishop, in returning him thanks, civilly said, 'I accept his *presents*, but would rather have his *presence*.'

Of the glorious martyrdom of Thomas archbishop of Canterbury.

A.D. 1171.* On Christmas day, the archbishop of Canterbury mounted the pulpit to deliver a sermon to the people, which when he had finished, he excommunicated Nigel de Sackville, who had violently seized on the church of Herges, and the vicar of the same church Robert de Broc, who, in

And the servant said to him, 'My lord, he is at the door coming to you. On which the archbishop met him at the door. After he and the abbat, by name Simon, had kissed each other, they had a long conversation. The archbishop then asked the abbat to go to the young king at Woodstock, and to advise him in gentle though efficient words, to soften the hatred which he cherished against him. The abbat in compliance with the archbishop's wish, went at once to the king; but meeting with nothing but pride and anger, he returned without effecting any thing. On his telling the archbishop with sorrow the result of his application, that prelate answered with a sigh, 'Be it so; be it so!' and, shaking his head, added, as if with the voice of a prophet, 'Art thou in such haste for the end to approach?' The abbat at the time did not understand these words, but they were afterwards clear to him. The archbishop casting an affectionate and almost weeping eye on the abbat, said to him, 'My lord abbat, I return you thanks for the trouble you have taken, useless though it has been.'

To heal the sick the leech's art sometimes will fail,
And, spite of remedies, disease weigh down the scale.'

And he added, 'But the king himself will pass sentence without delay;' and looking on the priests sitting round him, he continued, 'How is this, my friends? this abbat, who is in no way bound to me, has shown me more civility and kindness than all my brethren and suffragan priests;' for the abbat on his departure to Woodstock had ordered his cellarer to send liberal supplies daily to the archbishop who was living near. The abbat previous to his return home, with clasped hands, earnestly entreated the archbishop in his kindness to honour the abbey of St. Alban's with his much wished for presence at the approaching Christmas, and to keep that festival, as well as that of the first English martyr, at that place. The archprelate replied with gushing tears, 'Oh! how willingly would I do so, but far otherwise is it decreed; go in peace, beloved father abbat; go to your sanctuary, which may God have in his keeping; but I am going to what will be a sufficient reason for my not coming to you. But rather do you, if it can be so, come with me to be my guest, and a consoler to me in the troubles which abundantly encompass me.' The abbat refused this, because it was necessary for him to be present at his abbey on the occasion of such a great festival, and after receiving the archbishop's blessing, departed. But afterwards often was his heart rent with sorrow and lamentation that it had not been permitted him to enter into glory in conjunction with such a great martyr. The archbishop hastened his journey to his church to keep Christmas; and in the eight days of the feast departed to the Lord."

* The year was sometimes considered to begin on Christmas-day: by which mode of notation Becket's martyrdom on the 29th of December would fall in 1171 instead of 1170.

derision of the archbishop had maimed one of his horses loaded with provisions. After this, on the fifth day from Christmas-day, about the hour of vespers, as the archbishop was sitting with his clerks in his chamber, William de Tracy, Reginald Fitz-Urse, Hugh de Morville, and Richard Briton, coming from Normandy, burst into the room, as if impelled by madness, and commanded him, in the king's name, to restore the suspended bishops and absolve those whom he had excommunicated. To this the archbishop answered that an inferior judge could not absolve from the sentence of his superior, and that no man could annul a decision of the apostolic see: if, however, the bishops of London and Salisbury and the other excommunicated persons would swear to comply with his mandate, he would, for the peace of the church and out of regard to the king, consent to absolve them. The men glowing with anger, and in haste to carry into effect what they had conceived, departed with violence; whilst the archbishop, by the advice of his clerks, and because the hour of vespers was at hand, entered the church for the service. The four ministers of evil meanwhile had put on their armour, and following close upon the archbishop, found that the doors had been by his orders left open behind him. "For," said he, "the church of God should be open as a place of refuge to all men; let us not therefore convert it into a castle." The multitude now began to run together on all sides, and the four men irreverently entering the church, cried out, "Where is this traitor to his king?—where is the archbishop?" He, hearing himself called, turned back to meet them; for he had already mounted three or four steps of the presbytery,* and said to them, "If you seek the archbishop, here he stands." Upon which they used harsh language towards him, mixed with threats. "I am ready to die," said he, "for I prefer the maintenance of justice and the liberties of the church to my own life; but these my adherents have done nothing for which they should be punished." The murderers now rushed on him with drawn swords, and he fell uttering these words, "To God and St. Mary, the patrons of this church, and to St. Dennis, I commend my soul and the cause of the church!" Thus was slain this glorious martyr before the altar of St. Benedict,

* The choir.

by a wound received in that part of his body where he had formerly received the holy oil which consecrated him to the Lord; nor were they content to pollute the church with the blood of a priest and to profane that holy day, but they also cut off the crown of his skull, and with blood-stained swords scattered his brains over the pavement of the church.

How those executioners carried off the spoils of the blessed martyr, and of the dignified manner of his death.

Thus the glorious martyr was translated to the heavenly kingdom, whilst the bloody executioners plundered his goods and carried off all the clothes of his clerks, and whatever they found in the offices of his servants. Meanwhile his blessed corpse, which lay on the floor of the church, was carried about the time of twilight in front of the high altar, where the bystanders discovered a fact of which they had all before been ignorant; for though the archbishop had concealed under a canonical habit the monkish dress which he had secretly worn ever since his promotion, he was found to have worn the sackcloth shirt—a thing before unheard of—so long, that it covered his thighs also. There were also certain concurrents in his life which we will here briefly enumerate:—It was on a Tuesday that the archbishop left the king's court at Northampton; on Tuesday he left England to go into exile; on Tuesday he returned to England, according to the pope's mandate; and on Tuesday, also, he suffered martyrdom. Early in the morning of Wednesday, a report was spread abroad that the murderers had determined to carry off the body from the church, and cast it out of the city to be torn in pieces by the dogs and crows; but the abbat of Boxley, with the prior and convent of the church of Canterbury, hastily buried it, without the usual form of washing it, for it was macerated by long abstinence, subdued by the shirt of sackcloth, and hallowed by the washing of its own blood. Many remarkable concurrents may be observed in this martyrdom: first, that he suffered in asserting justice and maintaining the liberties of the church; secondly, that the place of his suffering was not an ordinary church, but the mother of all the English churches; thirdly, the time, which was Christmas, when these murderers completed their act of treason; fourthly, that he was not a com

mon priest, but the chief and father of all the priests in England; and fifthly, that he suffered, not in one of his ordinary members, but on the place where he had received the tonsure of priesthood, and where the holy anointing oil had been shed.

Of the king's repentance, and how he sent messengers to Rome to excuse the deed.

King Henry was at Argenton in Normandy when he heard the news of this melancholy deed. At first he was plunged by it into the deepest distress, and changed his royal robes for sackcloth and ashes, calling Almighty God to witness that the deed was done without his wish or connivance, except so far as he was guilty in not having loved the archbishop as he ought. On this point he submitted himself to the judgment of the church, and promised to acquiesce with humility in whatever should be her sentence. For this purpose he sent ambassadors to make his excuse before the supreme pontiff, and to assert his innocence; but the pope would not receive them or admit them even to kiss his feet: they were however afterwards received by the cardinals, but with nothing more than words of form. On Thursday before Easter, when the pope is in the habit of publicly absolving or excommunicating those who have deserved it, it was told the king of England's ambassadors that the pope had determined, with the advice of his whole council, to pass an interdict on their master by name, throughout all his dominions, and to confirm that which had been passed on the archbishop of York and the other English bishops. In this strait the cardinals told the pope that the king's ambassadors had been instructed to swear that their master would abide by the decision of the pope and cardinals in every particular. According to which suggestion the ambassadors took an oath to that effect, and so averted the sentence of interdict. The emissaries of the archbishop of York and of the other bishops followed their example The pope, then, on that day, excommunicated the wicked murderers of St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury and martyr, and all who had given their advice, assistance, or consent to the deed, as well as all who should receive them into their territories or maintain them. The four men were at this time in the king's castle of Knaresborough, where they remained a year.

Of the miracles which now began to be manifested in honour of the holy martyr.

The same year, about Easter, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is always wonderful in his saints, began to illustrate by frequent miracles the laudable life, and insuperable fortitude in death, of his glorious martyr archbishop Thomas; that seeing he had for so many years patiently endured persecution, both in his own person and in that of his friends, he might on this account be shown to have received the crown of triumph which was due to his merits. From the tomb of the glorious martyr, no one who goes there in faith ever returns without profit, by whatever infirmity he may have been afflicted;—the lame walk, the deaf hear, the blind see, the dumb speak, lepers are cleansed, and dead bodies are raised to life; not only those of men and women, but even of animals and birds.

The same year, also, on the 7th of August, king Henry returned to England, and visited Henry of Winchester, now on his death-bed, who rebuked the king for the death of the glorious martyr Thomas, and foretold many of the evils which would come upon him on account of it. The bishop died full of years, the next day.

How king Henry went to Ireland, and received the homage of certain of its kings.

On the 18th of October in that same year, king Henry landed in arms on the coast of Ireland, where he received homage and fealty from its archbishops and bishops. The king of Limely, the king of Chore, and the king who bore the surname of One-eyed, did homage to him on oath; but Roderick, king of Connaught, seeing that his dominions were inaccessible, in consequence of the intervening marshes, through which there were no fords nor bridges by which they might be crossed, and that it was impossible to sail over them, declined to meet the king. The same year, on the feast of St. Nicholas, at Albemarle, Roger archbishop of York made oath that he had not received the pope's prohibition before the young king was crowned, and that he had not sworn to comply with the king's customs of England, and that he had not promoted the death of the glorious martyr Thomas, by word, or by writing, or by deed to the

best of his knowledge; and when he had done this, he was restored to his episcopal functions in full.

Of the reconciliation made for the church of Canterbury after the death of St. Thomas.

After the death of the blessed martyr Thomas, the church of Canterbury ceased for a whole year from celebrating the divine services, and made continual lamentations for him; the pavement was torn up, the sound of the bells was suspended, the walls were stripped of their ornaments, and the whole church performed its obsequies in grief and humiliation, as it were in sackcloth and ashes. At the end of the year, on the feast of St. Thomas the apostle, the suffragan bishops met together at the summons of their mother the church of Canterbury, according to the pope's mandate, to restore the church squalid with its long suspension to its former state. Wherefore Bartholomew of Exeter, at the request of the fraternity, celebrated a solemn mass, and preached a sermon to the people beginning with these words: "After the multitude of my sorrows, thy consolations rejoice my soul."

Of the thunders which were heard generally, and of the atonement which the king made for the death of St. Thomas.

A.D. 1172. In the night of Christmas day, were heard thunders, generally, throughout England, Ireland, and Gaul, sudden and terrible, inviting mankind from divers parts to come and witness the new miracles of St. Thomas the martyr, that, as he had shed his blood for the universal church, so his martyrdom might be fixed in the pious memory of all men. At the same time, whilst king Henry was in Ireland, Hugh de St. Maur, and Ralph de Fay, queen Eleanor's uncle, began, with her approbation, as it is said, to alienate the mind of the young king from his father, asserting it was inconsistent for any one to be a king and yet not to have due authority in his dominions. Meanwhile, the king his father, before leaving Ireland, called a council at Lismore, where the laws of England were gratefully received by all, and confirmed by oath. The king then placed in safe custody all the cities and castles which he had obtained, and, as various matters of business now rendered his presence necessary

elsewhere, he embarked on Easter day at evening and landed the next day in Wales, whence he proceeded to Porchester and crossed with a favourable wind to Normandy. Thence, he went without delay to meet the pope's envoys, Albert and Theodwine, before whom, after long and tedious discussions, he made oath that the death of the glorious martyr Thomas had not been perpetrated by his wish or with his consent, or brought about by any contrivance on his part; but that, inasmuch as his words spoken in anger, to the effect that he fed a scurvy set of knights and retainers, who were too great poltroons to take his part against the archbishop, had given an occasion to his murderers of putting the man of God to death, the king demanded absolution with the greatest humility. To this end he promised, at the suggestion of the legates, to contribute enough money to maintain two hundred knights for a year in defending the holy land, to allow appeals to be made without impediment to the Roman see, to annul the customs which had been introduced in his own times contrary to the church's liberties, and to restore to the church of Canterbury all that had been taken from it since the archbishop's departure, and to allow those of both sexes who had been exiled in behalf of the blessed martyr, to return home and resume possession of their property; all these points the king swore to fulfil, according to the injunction of our lord the pope, for the remission of his sins. The same oath was also taken by the young king, Henry's son, who, immediately afterwards, in the month of August, crossed with his spouse Margaret into England, and on the 20th of the same month, at Winchester, Rotroc archbishop of Rouen, with the assistance of the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, crowned the aforesaid Margaret queen of England. The same year, Gilbert bishop of London, having made oath that to the best of his knowledge he had not promoted the death of St. Thomas the martyr by word, deed, or writing, was restored to his episcopal office.

Of the marriage of John the king's son, and of the election to the see of Canterbury.

A.D. 1173. King Henry obtained in marriage for his son John, named Lack-land,* the eldest daughter of Hubert

* In French Sans-terre, in Wendover's Latin, Sine-terra.

count of Maurienne, by his wife the widow of Henry duke of Saxony, though she was hardly seven years old. The same year, also, Robert abbat of Bec was elected archbishop of Canterbury on the 7th of March at Lambeth, in presence of the suffragan bishops of that province, but the abbat altogether declined to be elected, whether from weakness or from religious motives we are not informed.

The same year the young king Henry, walking in the counsels of the wicked, left his father, and withdrew to the court of his father-in-law the king of France; upon which, Richard duke of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey count of Brittany, by the advice as was said of his mother queen Eleanor, chose to follow their brother rather than their father. Thus seditions were engendered on both sides, with rapine and conflagration, whereby, if we believe aright, God, to punish king Henry for his conduct towards St. Thomas, raised up against him his own flesh and blood, namely his sons, who persecuted him to death, as the following history will show. The same year Ralph de Warneville, sacristan of Rouen and treasurer of York, was made chancellor of England. About the same time, at the instance of the cardinals Albert and Theodwine, Henry king of England conceded that the elections to vacant churches should be freely made, and the following appointments took place with the consent of the king's justiciary—Richard archdeacon of Poictiers to the see of Winchester; Geoffrey archdeacon of Canterbury to that of Ely; Geoffrey archdeacon of Lincoln to that of Lincoln; Reginald archdeacon of Salisbury to that of Bath; Robert archdeacon of Oxford to that of Hereford; and John dean of Chichester to the bishopric of that same church.

Of the election of Richard to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and the canonization of St. Thomas.

The same year, on the 9th of July, the suffragan bishops of the province of Canterbury, with the seniors of the monastery, elected Richard prior of Dover to the archbishopric; and immediately the bishop-elect swore fealty to the king, "saving his order," and no mention was made of observing the customs of the kingdom. This took place at Westminster in the chapel of Saint Catharine, with the consent of the king's justiciary. In the council, also, was read

the pope's letter in the audience of all the bishops and barons, containing, besides other matter, the following:—"We admonish all your fraternity, and, by our apostolical authority, strictly command you to celebrate every year the day of the glorious martyr Thomas, namely, the day on which he suffered, and endeavour by votive prayers to him to obtain pardon for your sins, that he who for Christ's sake bravely endured exile during his life and martyrdom in death, may intercede to God for us through the earnest supplications of the faithful." This letter was hardly read, when all raised their voices on high, and cried, "We praise thee, O God!" Because, moreover, his suffragans had not shown due reverence to their father when he was in exile, or on his return from thence, but rather had persecuted him, all publicly confessed their error and sin by the mouth of one of them, as follows:—"Be present, Lord, to these our supplications, that we who for our sin know ourselves to be guilty, may be released by the intercession of St. Thomas thy martyr and high-priest." The same year, Mary, the sister of the same holy martyr, was by the king's orders made abbess of Barking. Also, the young king Henry laid siege to the castle of Gornai, and therein made prisoners Hugh the lord of the castle and his son, with twenty-four knights: the castle itself he burned, and compelled the townspeople to pay ransom. The same year, also, Robert earl of Leicester, and William de Tankerville, with many counts and barons, left king Henry and went over to the young king.*

The king of France invades Normandy with an army.

The same year, Louis king of France assembled a numerous army to lay waste Normandy; and entering that province, laid siege to Albemarle, and forced William its lord, with count Simon and several other nobles, to surrender. He then took the castle of Driencourt, and placed a garrison therein, and marching thence to the castle of Arches, lost on his way the count of Boulogne, whereupon the count of Flanders, grieved at his brother's death, returned to his own country. The elder king Henry was all this time at

* "This year, also, the prudent and religious abbat of Reading, William by name, was elevated to the archiepiscopal see of Bourdeaux."—M. PARIS.

Rouen, apparently unconcerned at what was going on, and more than usually intent on the chase, whilst to all who came to him he presented a cheerful and smiling countenance. But those whom he had maintained about him from his earliest years now fell off from him, for they thought that his son had every prospect of soon being king in his stead. The king of France was now, with the young king, besieging Verneuil, when king Henry sent messengers to him, warning him to leave Normandy without delay, or he would march against him on that very day. The king of France, knowing the king of England to be a most powerful prince and of a most bitter temper, chose to retreat rather than to fight; wherefore he withdrew from before the face of king Henry, and retired with all speed into France.

Of the destruction of Leicester.

The same year, on the 4th of July, by the king's command, the city of Leicester is said to have been besieged, because the earl, its lord, had left the king and taken part with the young king his son. When the greater part of the city had been burned, the citizens began to treat of peace, on condition of paying three hundred marks to the king, and having leave to remove to whatever place they chose. Permission was therefore granted them to go and reside in the king's cities or castles,* and after their departure the gates of the city and part of the walls were destroyed, and a truce granted to the soldiers in the castle until the feast of St. Michael; and thus on the 28th of July the siege was at an end. After this, William king of Scotland claimed of the king the province of Northumberland, granted to his grandfather king David, who had held it for some time, but the English king refused it him; upon which William, collecting an army of Welsh and Scots, marched securely across the territories of the bishop of Durham, burned several vil-

* Matthew Paris here makes the following insertion:—"The nobles of the city were dispersed; and having offended the king by the defence of their city, they sought a place of refuge to avoid his threats and anger. They therefore fled to the territory of St. Alban's the proto-martyr of England, and to the town of St. Edmund's the king and martyr, as if to a protecting bosom, because these martyrs were at that time held in such great reverence, that the inhabitants of those places afforded an asylum and safe protection from their enemies to all refugees."

lages, and slaying both men, women, and children, carried off an incalculable booty. To repel the invader, the English nobles assembled together, and forcing William to retire, followed him into Lothian, and devastating the whole of that country with fire and sword, made spoil of all they found in the fields, and at last, at the instance of the Scottish king himself, they made a truce until the feast of Hilary, and returned victorious to England.

How the earl of Leicester and the count of Flanders were taken and imprisoned.

When Robert earl of Leicester heard what had happened to his city, he was filled with grief, and crossing through Flanders with his wife on his way to England, assembled there a large number of Normans and Flemings, both horse and foot, and setting sail, landed at Walton in Suffolk on the 29th of September. He immediately laid siege to the castle, but without success, and marching thence on the 13th of October, assaulted and burned the castle of Hagenet, where he captured thirty knights, and compelled them to pay ransom. He then returned to Fremingham; but as his sojourn gave umbrage to Hugh Bigod lord of the castle, he turned his thoughts towards Leicester, and marched in that direction. On his way he endeavoured to surprise St. Edmundbury, but was prevented by the king's army that was stationed to guard that part of the country. The earl, therefore, surrounded by a strong force, and having with him three thousand Flemings, in whom he placed especial confidence, determined to risk a battle. The engagement began accordingly, and after various vicissitudes, the earl, his countess, with all the Flemings, Normans, and French, were taken prisoners. This happened on the 16th of October. The countess had on her finger a beautiful ring, which she flung into the neighbouring river, rather than suffer the enemy to make such gain by capturing her. At length the greater part of the Flemings were slain, others of them were drowned, and the remainder made prisoners.

How king Henry took prisoners many of his enemies.

Whilst king Henry the father was stopping in Normandy, it was told him that his own troops with the men of Brabant

and the routiers had surprised the choicest of his son's troops and was blockading them in the city of Dole. Immediately upon receiving this news, he took horse, and the next morning reached the camp, and received the surrender of the enemy after a few days' resistance: but, before his arrival, the greatest part of them had been slain by his own routiers. Among the prisoners were Ralph earl of Chester, who had only a short time previously deserted to his son, Ralph de Fulgeriis, William Patrick, Ralph de la Haie, Hasculph de St. Hilaire, besides eighty knights. The same year the English nobles marched with a very large army to check the pride of Hugh Bigod; but when things were in such a position that all thought he might easily have been vanquished, money passed between them, and a truce was made until Whit Sunday, whilst fourteen thousand armed Flemings escorted him safely through Essex and Kent, and at Dover he was furnished with ships to cross the channel. The same year the archbishop elect of Canterbury went to Rome, attended by the bishop of Bath.

How the castle of Axiholme was taken and a large body of men captured.

A.D. 1174. Roger de Mowbray renounced his fealty to the old king and repaired a ruined castle in the island of Axiholme,* but a large number of the Lincolnshire men crossed over in boats and laying siege to the castle, compelled the constable and all the knights to surrender: they then again reduced the fortress to ruins. On the last day of April, the old king hearing that his son Richard had seized the castle of Santonge, marched with the men of Poictou to recover it. Richard's knights, showing no reverence either to God or the church, entered the cathedral, and converting it into a castle, filled it with armed men and provisions. The king, being informed that the enemy occupied three strongholds, prepared to attack them: two of them were immediately reduced, and he then approached the cathedral which was full of soldiers and loose characters, not to attack it but to purify it from its desecration. Altogether, reckoning both those who were in the church and those who were taken elsewhere, sixty knights and four hundred cross-bow men were made prisoners. In this manner tranquillity

* Hoveden calls this castle Kinardeferie.

having been restored to those parts, Henry was obliged to return to Normandy; for Philip count of Flanders, in the presence of Louis king of France and the nobles of that kingdom, had sworn on the holy Gospels, that within fifteen days after the approaching feast of St. John, he would invade England in force, and reduce it under subjection to the young king. Elated by this prospect young Henry came to Witsand on the 14th of July, with the intention of sending over Ralph de la Haie with an army to England: the earl of Flanders sent forwards three hundred and eighteen veteran knights to be transported over also, who, soon after they landed at Arwell,* on the 10th of June, immediately joined Hugh Bigod the earl. Proceeding at once to Norwich they took that city on the 28th of June and obtained there a large booty, besides compelling many captives, whom they took there, to pay a large sum of money for their ransom. The king's justiciary seeing this, by common consent sent Richard bishop elect of Winchester, to inform the king of the dangers which threatened England. The bishop, crossing without delay into Normandy, laid before the king a faithful account of all that was going on in England.

How the king, returning to England, paid a visit to the tomb of St. Thomas, to pray there.

The king received the bishop with due respect, and immediately prepared to cross over into England, taking with him queen Eleanor, queen Margaret, his son John, and his daughter Joanna. He also sent forward the earl and countess of Leicester with other prisoners, to Barbefleuve, where he went on board ship with a large army, but the wind proving unfavourable, the seamen were afraid to venture out that day. The king, perceiving that the sea was rough, raised his eyes to heaven, and uttered these words in the presence of all his people: "If my intentions are directed to maintain peace both for my clergy and people, if the King of heaven has decreed to restore tranquillity in my kingdom when I arrive there, may he then grant that I may reach the shore in safety: but if his anger is roused, and he has decreed to visit the kingdom of England with the rod of his fury, may he never suffer me to reach the shores of that

* Near Harwich.

country!" When he had finished this prayer, he set sail that same day, and after a fair passage reached Southampton in safety. He then fasted on bread and water, and would not enter any city, until he had fulfilled the vow which he had made in his mind to pray at the tomb of St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury and glorious martyr. When he came near Canterbury, he dismounted from his horse, and laying aside all the emblems of royalty, with naked feet, and in the form of a penitent and supplicating pilgrim, arrived at the cathedral on Friday the 13th of June, and like Hezekiah, with tears and sighs, sought the tomb of the glorious martyr, where, prostrate on the floor, and with his hands stretched to heaven, he continued long in prayer. Meanwhile the bishop of London was commanded by the king to declare, in a sermon addressed to the people, that he had neither commanded, nor wished, nor by any device contrived the death of the martyr, which had been perpetrated in consequence of his murderers having misinterpreted the words which the king had hastily pronounced: wherefore he requested absolution from the bishops present, and baring his back, received from three to five lashes from every one of the numerous body of ecclesiastics who were there assembled.* The king then resumed his garments, and made costly offerings to the martyr; assigning forty pounds yearly for candles to be burned round his tomb: the remainder of the day and the following night were spent in grief and bitterness of mind. For three days the king took no sustenance, giving himself up to prayer, vigils, and fasting: by which means the favour of the blessed martyr was secured, and, on the very Saturday on which he prayed that indulgence might be shown him, God delivered into his hands William king of Scots, who was forthwith confined in Richmond castle. On that same day, also, the ships which the young king his son had assembled in order to invade England, were dispersed by the weather and almost lost, and the young king was driven back to the coast of France.

The capture of William the king of Scotland.

The mode in which the Scottish king became a prisoner,

* It may be safely presumed that the lashes administered to royal shoulders on this occasion were not laid on with the utmost severity of the law.

was, briefly, as follows. He invaded Northumberland, as he had done the year before, for the purpose of uniting it to his own dominions: but the nobles of that part of the country met him in arms, and after a pitched battle, took him prisoner. So many of those Scottish vermin were slain that the number exceeds all calculation. The king was placed in custody at Richmond castle, thereby fulfilling the prophecy of Merlin, "A rein shall be placed upon his jaws, fabricated in the bosom of Armorica;" *i. e.* the castle of Richmond, which was at that time possessed by Armorican princes, and had been so from ancient times.

To form a true estimate of the benefits which resulted to the king from his penitence at the tomb of the martyr and the intercession which the saint made for him, we must consider the sequel of our history. When the king had finished his prayers, he went to London where he was received with respect by the people, and from thence he went to Huntingdon, where he besieged and took the castle on the 19th of July. There the knights of the earl of Leicester came and surrendered to him the castles of Grobi and Mountsorel, that he might show greater consideration towards their master. On the 22nd of July, the Northern nobles, with the bishop elect of Lincoln,* the king's son, at their head, reduced Malessart the castle of Roger de Mowbray; and troops now coming in on all sides, Henry determined to besiege the two castles of Hugh Bigod, Bungay, and Framingham: but the earl, having no hope of successful resistance, gave hostages and paid a thousand marks, by which means he obtained peace on the 25th of July. The army of Flemings, who had been sent over by count Philip, were then allowed to return, but first compelled to make oath that they would not again invade England. The troops of the young king, also, commanded by Ralph de la Haye, left England without impediment. Moreover Robert earl of Ferrars and Roger de Mowbray, whose castles of Thirsk and Stutbury were at that time besieged by the king, sent heralds and asked for peace. William earl of Glocester, and Richard earl of Clare, met the king, and promised implicit obedience to his commands. Thus this glorious king having conquered all his enemies and restored peace to England, crossed into Normandy on the

* Geoffrey Plantagenet.

7th of July, attended by his prisoners, the king of Scotland, the earl of Leicester, and Hugh de Castello.

How the king of France abandoned the siege of Rouen.

When king Henry landed in Normandy, on the 11th of July, he found the city of Rouen besieged; for Louis king of France and the young king Henry, with the count of Flanders, had assembled a large force in the absence of the king, and severely pressed the citizens; but when the king of France heard that the king of England was coming, he retreated, not without some detriment to his reputation, and the English soldiers seized on a large quantity of his arms and munitions of war. The same year, the archbishop of Canterbury returned from Rome, bringing back with him the pall and the primacy of England. Arriving at London on the 30th of August, he convoked the principal clergy belonging to the vacant churches, which had lately elected fresh prelates, and confirmed and consecrated the bishops elect of Winchester, Ely, Hereford, and Chichester: but Geoffrey, bishop elect of Lincoln, whose election had not yet been confirmed, crossed the sea, with the intention of sending messengers to Rome, or going there in his own person.

How all the king's sons made peace with their father.

A. D. 1175. Louis king of France and the count of Flanders, beginning to feel the expenses which they had incurred in the cause of the young king of England, and reflecting on the loss of life and property which had fallen on their subjects, promised to abstain from invading Normandy; and did their best to reconcile the king with his sons, who, as they well knew, had incurred their father's malediction, the hatred of the clergy, and the imprecations of the whole people. The king, therefore, informed by the report of the messengers that all his adversaries were reduced to repentance, arranged to meet them at Mans, where his sons Geoffrey and Richard first did homage to him, and took the oath of fealty. After a few days, the young king, with the archbishops of Rouen, and many other bishops and barons, came before the old king at Bure in Normandy, and throwing himself at his father's feet, implored his mercy. The king, his father, moved with affection towards his son,

whom he ardently loved, and perceiving his sincerity, he was no longer angry with him, but received his homage and oath of fidelity. When peace was fully made, and ratified all round by a kiss, the king released without ransom nine hundred and sixty-nine knights, whom he had taken in the war; but a few, whose excessive misdeeds had provoked him, in spite of his merciful inclinations, to anger, were committed to still closer confinement. The young king, also, released without ransom all the knights whom he had taken in war, amounting in number to more than one hundred. Then the king, his father, sent letters into all parts of his dominions to inform them of the reconciliation which had taken place, that, as they had suffered generally by the war, they might now rejoice in the re-establishment of peace. The letters also notified that all castles which had been fortified against him during the war, should be reduced to the state in which they were before hostilities commenced.*

William, the king of Scotland, makes peace with king Henry.

The same year William king of Scotland, who was prisoner at Falaise, made peace with the king of England on the 8th of December, on the following terms. The king of Scotland declared himself the liegeman of the king of England, for the kingdom of Scotland and all his dominions, and did homage and allegiance to him as his especial lord, and to Henry, the king's son, saving his faith to his father; and in the same way all the bishops, with the earls and barons of Scotland, from whom the king wished to receive homage and fealty, and not only for themselves but for their successors, to the king and to his successors for ever, without mental reservation of any kind. Moreover, the king of Scots and all his men promised that they would not harbour in any part of their dominions fugitives out of England, but would arrest them and give them up to the king of England

* "In the same year, a general council was held at Westminster on the fifteenth day of June, of which Richard archbishop of Canterbury and legate of the apostolic s e, was president. Roger archbishop of York refused to attend. Reginald earl of Cornwall died in this year. Hugh Petroleonis, a cardinal deacon, came as legate to England, and gained favour in the sight of the king by granting the power of handing priests over to the secular authority, for forfeiture of land and lay demesnes."—M. Paris.

and to his justices. As a guarantee for the observance of this treaty, the king of Scotland gave up to king Henry and his successors the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh* for ever; and, if the king of Scotland should ever contravene this treaty, the bishops, earls, and barons of Scotland undertook to oppose him, and the bishops to lay his kingdom under an interdict, until he should return to his duty towards the king of England. Thus king William gave hostages, and returned to England in free custody, until the castles should be surrendered according to his bargain with the king. And many of the fortresses which had been raised through England and Normandy, during the dissension between the father and son, were now, by the king's command, destroyed.

How the two kings, father and son, paid a visit to the tomb of St. Thomas.

A. D. 1176. The kings of England, father and son, on their return to England, ate every day at the same table, and slept every night in the same bedroom. They also together visited the blessed martyr St. Thomas, to offer up their prayers and vows at his tomb; after which they went through England, promising justice to every one, both clergy and laity, which promise they afterwards fully performed. The same year, William de Brause, having craftily assembled a multitude of the Welsh in the castle of Abergavenny, forbade travellers to carry a knife or bow, but when they opposed this decree, he condemned them all to capital punishment. That you may understand how he palliated his treachery under the cloak of right, he perpetrated this deed to avenge his uncle, Henry of Hereford, whom they had slain on the previous Easter Saturday. The same year, Richard archbishop of Canterbury, appointed three archdeacons, Savary, Nicholas, and Herbert, in his diocese, though up to this time it had been content with one archdeacon. The same year John dean of Salisbury was consecrated bishop of Norwich, and not long after, the king of England rased to the ground the castles of Leicester, Huntingdon, Walton, Grobi, Stutsbury, Hay, and Thirsk, besides many others, in return for the injuries which the lords of those castles had often done to him. He then, by

* Also the castles of Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling.

the advice of his son and the bishops, appointed justices through six districts of his kingdom, in each part three, who made oath that they would do full justice to every body.

How the king granted four articles to Peter the legate of the Roman see.

About this time Petro-Leonis, the pope's legate, came to England, and the king conceded to him the four articles following, to be observed in the kingdom of England. First, that for the future no clerk should be dragged in person before any secular judge, for any crime or transgression, except in the matter of the forest or a lay-fee, for which lay-service is due to the king or to any other lord: secondly, that archbishopries, bishoprics, and abbacies should not be held in the king's hand beyond a year, except for an evident cause or urgent necessity: thirdly, that murderers of clerks, convicted or confessed, should be punished before the king's justiciary, in presence of the bishop: fourthly, that clerks should not be compelled to serve in war. The same year, Johanna, the king's daughter, who had been promised in marriage to the king of Sicily, was on the 9th of November, at St. Giles's, delivered to her husband in the sight of an illustrious company of persons, who witnessed it; and at the same time, all the castles in England were given into custody by the king's orders. Also, William earl of Gloucester not having a son, and unwilling that his inheritance should be divided between his daughters, constituted the king's son, John Lack-land, his heir.*

How foreign kings submitted their differences to the decision of the king of England.

About this time, Alphonso king of Castile, son-in-law of the king of England, and Sancho king of Navarre, his uncle, being at variance, sent ambassadors to the king of England, and promised to abide by his decision. When the ambassadors appeared at Westminster before the king, bishops,

* Matthew Paris adds:—"Hugh Petro-Leonis, after fulfilling his embassy, set sail. King Henry gave his youngest daughter to the king of Apuleia, and crossed sea on the 27th of August. Richard earl of Strigoyle died; William earl of Arundel also died on the 12th of October, at Waverley, and was buried at Wimundham, a cell of the church of St. Alban's, of which he was known to have been a patron. Walter, also, prior of Winchester, was made abbat of Westminster."

earls, and barons, it was asserted on the part of Alphonso, that whilst he was still a minor and an orphan, Sancho king of Navarre had taken from him, unjustly and by violence, the castles and lands of Logtoium, Navarret, Anthlena, Aptol, and Agosen, with their appurtenances, which had belonged to Alphonso's father before he died, and which Alphonso himself had since for some years possessed; for which reason they claimed restitution for their sovereign. The ambassadors of Sancho, on the other hand, did not deny these facts, but asserted that Alphonso had taken by force from Sancho the castles of Legin, Portel, and that held by Godin; and, as the opposite party did not contradict, they with equal urgency claimed restitution for their master. They also acknowledged publicly that a truce had been made for seven years, on oath, between the parties. When the king of England had counselled with his bishops, earls, and barons on the subject of this quarrel, as it appeared that neither party denied the acts of violence on either side, and there appeared to be no reason why mutual restitution should not be made, the king decided that both parties should give up what they had taken, that the truce should be observed up to its full period, and that, for the sake of peace, Alphonso should pay to Sancho every year for ten years three thousand marabotins,* and on these terms there should be final peace and friendship between the two. In these days, ambassadors from Manuel emperor of Constantinople, from the Roman emperor Frederic, from William archbishop of Treves, from Henry duke of Saxony, and Philip count of Flanders, each engaged on his own separate business, met together in the king's court at Westminster, as if by agreement, on the 12th of November. We mention this fact, in proof of the estimation in which all the world held the wisdom and magnificence of the king, as was evinced by all of them applying to him for advice and settlement of their disputes.

Of the removal of the secular canons from Waltham church.

A.D. 1177. The canons, called secular, were removed from the church of Waltham, and regular canons introduced

* The marabotin or marabitin was a Spanish gold coin, the exact value of which is unknown; but it was probably borrowed from the Moors. The modern maravedi is, on the contrary, of a diminutive value.

in their places, by the authority of the supreme pontiff, on Whitsun-eve, by the command of the king, who was also present on the occasion: and the same day, Ralph canon of Chichester received the government of the same church from the hands of the bishop of London, to whom, as his diocesan, he bound himself in express words to pay canonical obedience; after which he was introduced into the church in company with the brethren, appointed by the bishop to be their prior, and solemnly enthroned.* The king of England, now, having settled the affairs of the kingdom to his wish, crossed to Normandy on the 18th of August, and held a conference with the king of France, at which the following treaty was concluded: "I Louis king of France and I, Henry king of England, hereby notify to all men, that we have, by God's inspiration, promised and confirmed on oath, to enter the service of our crucified Saviour, and, taking the cross, to go to Jerusalem; and that it is our wish to be friends, and to maintain one another in life, limb, and worldly honour against all men: and if any one shall presume to injure either of us, I Henry, will assist Louis king of France, as my lord, against all men; and I Louis, will help Henry king of England, as my faithful man, against all men, saving the faith which we owe to our own men, as long as they shall continue faithful to us." This took place at Minancourt on the 25th of September.

Of the foundation of Westwood monastery.

A.D. 1178. Richard de Lucy, justiciary of England, on the 11th of June, laid the foundations of a conventual church in honour of St. Thomas the martyr, at a place called Westwood,† in the territory of Rochester. Also, king

* Matthew Paris adds the following:—"In the same year, too, Philip count of Flanders and William de Magnaville set out for Jerusalem. The emperor Frederic did homage to pope Alexander; for he heard that when that pontiff was flying from the persecution of the emperor, and the journey by land was unsafe for him, he took ship, and a storm having arisen, he put on all the papal decorations, as if he was going to celebrate mass, and standing up on board, he commanded the sea and winds, like Jesus Christ, whose vicar he said he was, and there was a calm immediately. On hearing this, the emperor was astounded, and by humiliating himself, appeased the pope, more, however, through fear of God than man; and thus the quarrel ended."

† Called also Lesnes abbey.

Henry, having now secured the fortresses throughout all his dominions, from the Pyrenees to the British ocean, and settling everything to his wish, on the 13th of June visited the tomb of St. Thomas the martyr, and shortly after, on the 6th of August, at Woodstock, made his son Geoffrey a belted knight.

Of the revelation made to a certain man concerning St. Amphibalus.

The same year there was a certain man who lived at his native town, St. Alban's, and enjoyed a character free from reproach among his countrymen. From his youth up to the present time, he lived honestly, as far as the mediocrity of his fortune allowed, and was a devout attendant at the church. Whilst this man lay in bed one night, about the time of cock-crowing, a man of tall and majestic mien entered his apartment, clad in white, and holding in his hand a beautiful wand. The whole house shone at his entrance, and the chamber was as light as at noon-day. Approaching the bed, he asked in a gentle voice, "Robert, are you asleep?" Robert, trembling with fear and wonder, replied, "Who art thou, lord?" "I am," said he, "the martyr St. Alban, and am come to tell you the Lord's will concerning my master, the clerk, who taught me the faith of Christ, for, though his fame is so great among mankind, the place of his sepulture is still unknown, though it is the belief of the faithful that it will be revealed to future ages. Rise therefore, with speed, put on your clothes and follow me, and I will show you the spot where his precious remains are buried." Robert, therefore, rising from his bed, as it seemed, followed him, and they went together through the public streets towards the north, until they came to a plain which had lain for ages uncultivated near the high road.*

* Matthew Paris adds the following:—"On their way they conversed with one another, as is the custom amongst friends travelling together, at one time of the walls of the ruined city, at another of the decrease of the river, of the common street adjoining the city; then the discourse turned to the arrival in the city of the blessed Amphibalus, their master; his departure to be lamented by them, and of the passion of both. And whatever questions Robert wished to ask, the martyr readily answered them. It happened that as they were conversing they were met by some traders of Dunstable, who were hastening to be in the market at the town of St. Alban's on the morrow, to transact some business there; and the martyr having foretold their approach, said, "Let us turn aside for a little,

Its surface was level, furnishing an agreeable pasturage for cattle, and resting place for weary travellers, at a village called Redburn, about three miles from St. Alban's. In this plain were two eminences, called the "Hills of the banners," because there used to be assemblies of the faithful people held round them, when, according to an ancient custom, they yearly made a solemn procession to the church of St. Alban, and offered prayers. Here St. Alban turned a little out of the way, and seizing the man's hand, led him to one of the mounds, which contained the sepulchre of the blessed martyr. "Here," said he, turning to his follower, "lie the remains of my master;" and then, opening the ground a little, in the shape of a cross with the man's thumb, and turning up a portion of the turf, he opened a small chest, from which a brilliant light came forth, and filled first the whole of the west, and then the whole world with its rays, after which the chest again closed, and the plain was restored to its former appearance. The man was astonished, and asked the saint what he should do. "Notice the spot carefully," said the saint, "and remember what I have shown you. The time shall soon come when the information which I have privately given to you shall turn out to the benefit of many. Rise now," continued he, "let us be going, and return to the place whence we came." As they were on their way home, the saint entered his own church, and the man, returning to his house, went to bed again.

How the man disclosed the vision which he had seen.

In the morning the man awoke, and was much disturbed in mind, doubting whether or not he should disclose to others what he had seen in the vision, or, as he rather believed, in

till those who are approaching shall pass, that they may not delay our journey by asking questions;" for the road shone from his presence; and this came to pass. When they had got about half way on their journey, at a place where two trees had been thrown down, the martyr said, "To this place I brought my master, the blessed Amphibalus, when, for the last time during his life on earth, we conversed together, weeping, as we were then on the point of separating from one another." And if the shining light which proceeded from the martyr had not dazzled the sight of Robert, and Robert himself had not been restrained by fear and by his simplicity, the saint would have informed him of many other things past and future.

reality: for he feared lest he should offend God if he concealed it, and incur the ridicule of mankind if he told it. In this state of doubt the fear of God prevailed; and, although he did not proclaim it publicly, yet he communicated it to his domestics and private friends. They, however, at once published in open day what had been told them in the darkness, and what they had heard in the ear they proclaimed upon the house-tops. Thus the story was spread throughout the whole province, so that the inhabitants thronged the cloister of St. Alban's monastery. At last the happy report reached Simon, the abbat, by whose influence, next to God, it acquired great importance. He immediately gave praise and thanks to God, and having held a council of the brethren, chose some of them to proceed to the spot, to which the man above mentioned should guide them. Meantime, the whole convent at home prayed devoutly to God; while the brethren, appointed for the purpose, proceeded to the spot where they hoped to find the relics of the martyr. When they reached the spot, they found there a large multitude, who had met together from divers parts of the country, led by the Holy Spirit, to witness the discovery of the martyr's relics. Whilst they all waited for the event, the man aforesaid led the brethren to the plain where the bodies of the saints lay. It was the Friday before the feast of St. Alban's when this was done. From that day, until the bodies of the saints were removed, there was always a watch kept over that spot, the brethren of the abbey assisting the laity in this duty.

Meanwhile, the convent entered upon a stricter rule of life, and proclaimed to the people a solemn occasion for prayer and fasting. This place, in which the relics were hereafter to be found, now bore the appearance of a market, and when one party, who from devotion visited the spot, left it, another party arrived.

Of two women who were cured by visiting the saint.

Signs of well-attested miracles began now to be exhibited, whilst the martyrs were still beneath the ground, giving hopes of the greater works which they would do hereafter. For a woman of Gatesden, who had been bound ten years with a weakness of the shoulders and loins, and had been on

account of her infirmity, an object of dislike to her husband, left her native place, and passing through Redburn, lay down to sleep near the place where the martyrs were buried, nor did she rise from thence until she was wholly cured. Another woman of Dunstable, named Cecilia, had the dropsy, which gave her the appearance of being pregnant, and she also was restored to health by a visit to the spot. Also, a girl, five years old, who had never walked since her birth, but was always carried by her parents, was placed near the same spot, in the sight of many faithful witnesses, and after a short sleep, rose up and ran upon her feet, to the great joy of her parents. Meanwhile, the day of St. Alban's martyrdom arrived, and, famous as is that day in itself, it was made still more so, by the publication of these miracles. The faithful were admonished to give alms more largely, to use abstinence in diet, and the solemn procession was repeated the next day. But the days which still intervened, did not pass in idle talk, for up to the very hour of the discovery of the relics, evident miracles were performed. A man of Kingsbury laughed at those who were digging for saints, and coming with the rest to the spot, though with very different thoughts from theirs, he was immediately seized with madness, tore his clothes, and instead of deriding the diggers, became now a spectacle to them. When he had been tormented some time in the sight of all who were present, the hand of God ceased to punish him, and he returned safe, though chastened, to his home. Another man also laughed at them for digging for saints, and was also struck with the divine vengeance, for in the midst of speaking he was violently seized, and breathed out on the spot his blaspheming spirit. One Algar of Dunstable came to the spot with a cart, in which was a cask of ale for sale: a poor sick man came up to him and begged of him, for the love of the martyr, to give him a small draught to quench his thirst. Algar, incensed at his request, said he had not come there out of regard to the martyr, but to make profit by the sale of his goods. Whilst he was thus abusing the poor man, both ends of his cask fell out, the beer ran upon the ground, and by the saint's interference, not only the poor man who had been denied the least drop of it, but also many others with him, falling upon their knees, drank as much as

they pleased, for no one prevented them. Thus, by the martyr's agency, the wickedness of the perverse was repressed, and the devotion of the faithful met with its reward; for during the three following days, ten persons of both sexes were cured of different diseases, to the praise of God and of his holy martyr.

The discovery of St. Amphibalus and his nine companions.

On the morning of the day when the bodies of the saints were found, the venerable father, abbat Simon, approached the holy spot, and having celebrated the mystery of our redemption in the neighbouring chapel of St. James, in respect to the martyr St. Alban, he commanded the monks who were present to search with still greater diligence and to put on more diggers immediately. The chapel of St. James had been built in honour of the martyr, in consequence of certain rays of light which always fell on the flocks whenever the shepherds drove them to pasture on that spot; wherefore, also, the aforesaid abbat celebrated mass there, and implored the martyr's aid to bless their search. When the abbat and brethren had returned to the abbey, and were seated at dinner, one of them read aloud the passion of the saint for whom they were digging and of his companions, by which when they were released from the flesh they entered into everlasting glory. Whilst, therefore, the convent in tears were intent on hearing the cruelty of the judge, the ferocity of his lictors, the patience of the martyrs, and the lengthened details of their death, some one suddenly entered the room and announced that they had just discovered the bodies of Amphibalus and three others. Why should I relate the effect of this intelligence? their sighs were changed to thanksgiving, and joy succeeded to sorrow. Rising from table, they all proceeded to the church, and offered up praises to attest the joy which filled their hearts. The holy martyr Amphibalus was lying between two of his companions, whilst the third was found lying crossways in a place by itself. They also found near the place six others of the martyrs, making with St. Amphibalus himself, ten in all. Among other reliques of this champion of Christ were found two large knives, one in his skull and the other in his breast, confirming the account which was handed down from ancient

times in the book of his martyrdom.* For, according to that book, whilst the others perished by the sword, Amphibalus himself was first embowelled, then pierced with lances and knives, and finally stoned to death: for which cause, also, none of his bones were found entire, though in all the corpses of his companions not a bone was broken.

How the relics of St. Amphibalus were translated to St. Alban's.

The abbat, as we have observed, hearing the happy news, hastened with the prior and some of the brethren to the place, and caused the relics thus dug up to be taken up and wrapped in decent cloths. Then, apprehensive of injury from the pressure of the multitude, who could not be kept off from the treasure which they had found, he gave orders that the holy martyrs should be carried to St. Alban's church, where they could be better taken care of. Why need I say more? The abbat and brethren returned to the monastery, carrying with them separately the bodies of the saints. The rest of the brotherhood, who had remained behind, came out to meet them, bearing with them the body of the blessed martyr St. Alban, which, as his bearers can testify, though generally heavy, was at present so light that it seemed rather to fly along than to rest upon their shoulders. Thus martyr met martyr, the disciple his master, receiving him publicly on his return, from whom formerly he had been taught the true faith in a humble cottage. We must not, however, pass over in silence a miracle which God wrought in the elements when first these holy relics met. For, whereas there had been a long drought, which had dried up everything and reduced the farmers almost to despair; at this moment, though there was not a cloud to be seen, so heavy a storm of rain came down, that the earth was drenched and the hopes of a future harvest were revived. St. Amphibalus and his companions were found on Saturday the 25th of June, A.D. 1177, being the 886th year after his martyrdom. Wherever the holy relics are placed, as well as on the spot where he was buried, to the glory of God and of his martyr, the sick are cured of divers diseases, the limbs of the paralytics recover their strength, the mouths of the dumb are opened, sight is restored to the blind, the deaf hear, the lame walk, and, what is still more

* This book is now most probably no longer in existence.

marvellous, those who are possessed with devils are released, epileptics are cured, lepers cleansed, and the dead recalled to life. If any one desires to read the miracles which the divine clemency works by means of these his saints, let him peruse the famous book of his miracles, for we now beg our readers to pardon us for this digression and hasten on to other subjects.*

How the young king Henry held tournaments.

A.D. 1179. Henry the young king, crossing into Gaul, spent three years in conflicts and profuse expenditure. Laying aside his royal dignity, and assuming the character of a knight, he devoted himself to equestrian exercises and, carrying off the victory in various encounters, spread his fame on all sides around him. When his reputation was complete, he returned to his father who received him with due honour. The same year Louis, the king of France, determined to pay a visit for prayer at the tomb of St. Thomas the martyr, and for that purpose came to England where neither himself nor any of his ancestors had ever yet been. He landed at Dover, and was met, on the 22nd of August, by the king of England, who showed both him and his attendants every possible mark of respect: for the archbishop of Canterbury, with his suffragans, earls, and barons, besides the clergy and people, went in solemn procession to the church, in honour of so great a king. No one knows how much gold and silver, precious stones and plate, king Henry bestowed upon the French nobility, and therefore no one can tell the same. The king of France granted a hundred measures of wine, to be delivered yearly at Paris, out of respect to the glorious martyr, for the use of the convent of Canterbury: and king Henry showed the French king and his attendants all the wealth of his kingdom, which had been amassed by himself and his ancestors; but the French, careful lest they should seem to have had another object than to see the blessed martyr, restrained their hands from receiving gifts, and in doing so, perhaps, endured a sort of mental martyrdom at what they saw. Thus the king of France, when he had

* The whole legend of Amphibalus is a fable: there certainly was no such person, and it may be doubted whether there was ever such a person as St. Alban; or, if he existed, his history also is mostly a fable.

spent three days in watching, fasting, and prayer at Canterbury, and received a few small presents from the king of England, as tokens of his love, sailed back to France on the 26th of August. The same year, also, died Roger bishop of Winchester, on the 9th of August.

Of the council at Rome under pope Alexander.

The same year was held a general council at Rome, of three hundred and ten bishops, on the 29th of March, in the Lateran, at which pope Alexander the third presided. The statutes then passed, which are worthy of universal praise, are contained under twenty-eight heads, as follows :—Of the election of the supreme pontiff: Of the heretical Albigenses, and their different appellations: Of the routiers and plunderers of Brabant, who harass the faithful: That no one shall be advanced to a bishopric or any other ecclesiastical grade, unless he is of lawful age and born in lawful wedlock: That no benefices be given away whilst their incumbents are living, nor be suffered to remain vacant more than six months after the incumbents are dead: Of appeals: That no one in holy orders, or who derives his maintenance from ecclesiastical revenues, shall concern himself in secular business: Of fixing the truces, and the times of fixing the same: That clerks shall have only one church, and that bishops, if they ordain persons without a certain title, shall maintain them until they can appoint them to an office in some church: That patrons and laymen shall not oppress churches or ecclesiastical persons: That Jews and Saracens shall not have Christians for slaves, but if they choose to be converted to Christianity, they shall in no wise be taken from their masters: That leprous persons, who are excluded from society, shall have an oratory and priest of their own: That ecclesiastical property shall not be turned to any other use, nor deans exercise episcopal jurisdiction for a certain sum of money: That in elections and ecclesiastical ordinations, whatsoever shall be appointed by the senior part of the council shall take effect: That manifest usurers shall not be admitted to the communion at the altar, nor receive Christian burial: That farmers and travellers, and all which they possess, shall enjoy general peace and security: That ordinations made by schismatics shall be held as null and void, and all

benefices bestowed by them be revoked: That no payment be demanded for instituting ecclesiastical persons, burying the dead, or pronouncing the blessing at marriages, or for the other sacraments of the church: That no religious persons or others presume to receive churches or tithes from lay hands without the authority of the bishop; nor the templars or hospitallers open their churches, which have been laid under an interdict, once a year, nor presume then to bury the dead: That no one shall for money usurp a religious habit, nor religious persons have property of their own, nor prelates be degraded except for dilapidation or for incontinence: That Christians shall not sell arms to Saracens, nor any one dare to rob those who have been shipwrecked: That clerks in holy orders shall live continently, and if they are found to labour in that sort of continence which is contrary to nature, they shall be excommunicated and expelled from the clergy: That archbishops, visiting parishes or churches, shall be content with a retinue of forty or fifty horse; bishops, of twenty or thirty; legates, of twenty or five and twenty; archdeacons, of five or seven; and deans, of not more than two: That no one shall practise tournaments, and that those who are killed in them shall be deprived of Christian burial: That every cathedral church shall have a master, who shall teach the poor scholars and others, and that none shall demand pay for teaching: That prelates shall govern only one church, and that patrons shall not exact money from the churches or their lands: That bishops and ecclesiastical persons shall not be compelled to appear at lay tribunals, and that laymen shall not pay tithes to laymen: That, if any one receives property from another as a security for a loan, and, after deducting expenses, he has recovered his money out of the produce of the property, he shall give back the security to his debtor.

Pope Alexander's letter against the heresy of Peter Lombard.

The same pope Alexander was informed that master Peter Lombard had in certain of his writings departed from the articles of the faith; wherefore he sent the following letter to William archbishop of Sens. "*Alexander, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to William archbishop of Sens, health:*—When you were formerly in our presence, we en-

joined you, by word of mouth, to convoke your suffragan bishops at Paris, and use your best endeavours to destroy the false doctrines of Peter, formerly bishop of Paris, by which it is asserted that Christ, as far as he is human, is not any thing. We therefore command you, my brother, by our apostolical writings, as we before commanded you by word of mouth, to assemble your bishops at Paris, and together with them and other religious and prudent men, to abrogate altogether the aforesaid doctrines, and to make masters teach their pupils in theology, that as Christ is perfect God, so also he is perfect man, consisting of a body and soul. You will strictly charge all men by no means to presume again to teach the aforesaid false doctrine, but altogether to abominate it."

Of abbat Joachim's book, which he wrote against Peter Lombard.

In these days, also, Joachim abbat of Flore, wrote a book against Peter Lombard, calling him a heretic and a madman, for having said, in speaking of the unity or essence of the Trinity, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are one supreme essence, which neither begets, nor is begotten, one proceeding. For this assertion, the abbat charged Peter with holding not three persons in the Godhead, but four, namely, the three persons usually received, and their common essence or a sort of fourth; that it is no thing which is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, neither essence, nor substance, nor nature, although he admits that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are one essence, one substance, and one nature. And the same Joachim confirmed his position by the authorities which follow:—"There are three which bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one; and there are three which bear record on earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, and these three are one." again, "I wish, Father, that they should be one in us, even as we also are one." Wherefore it appears that the aforesaid Joachim acknowledges not a true and proper unity of this sort, but a sort of collective unity, having the similitude of such, in the same way as many men are called one people, and many believers make one church.

How pope Innocent condemned Joachim's book.

This controversy remained undecided for many years, from the days of pope Alexander to the time of pope Innocent, during the papacy of Lucius, Urban, Gregory, Clement, and Celestine: to whom succeeded Innocent the third, who, in the year of our Lord 1215, held a general council at Rome, and condemned Joachim's book against Peter in these terms: "We, with the consent and approbation of this council, believe and confess with Peter that there is one supreme substance, incomprehensible and unspeakable, which is truly the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, being both three persons collectively and also each of them separately; and therefore there are three not four persons in the Deity, for each of those three persons is that thing, or substance, essence or divine nature, which alone is the beginning of all things, besides which no other can be found; and that substance neither begets nor is begotten, nor proceeding; but it is the Father who begets, the Son who is begotten, and the Holy Spirit which proceeds, so that there are distinctions between the persons, and unity in the nature. For although the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are different persons, they are not different in substance: the Father, by begetting the Son from eternity communicated to him his own substance, according to what He himself testifies: "That which the Father hath given me is greater than all." Neither can it be said that he gave the Son part of his substance and retained the rest for himself, since the substance of the Father is indivisible, and altogether simple; neither can it be said that the Father transferred his substance to the Son by begetting him, that is, so gave it to the Son that he did not retain it for himself, otherwise his substance would cease to exist: but the Son by his birth received the entire substance of the Father, and so the Father and Son have the same substance and are the same thing; as well as the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from both, and remains in both, for the faithful servants of Christ are not, as the abbat Joachim says, one substance common to all, but one only in unity of charity, in grace; but in the same of the Divine persons, there is unity of identity in their nature. We therefore condemn and reprobate the book and doctrines of Joachim, and do command that, if any one shall presume to defend or

approve of his opinions in this matter, he shall be held as heretical by all men." Concerning this council and the pope above mentioned, more will be said in its proper place.

How Philip was consecrated king of France.

The same year, Philip son of Louis king of France, was crowned king on the festival of All Saints, at Rheims, by William archbishop of that city: his father was still living, and supplied all things required for the coronation. Also Cadwallan, prince of Wales, was this year brought into the presence of the king of England, where many charges were laid against him. On his return to Wales, under the safe conduct of the king, he was set upon by his enemies and slain, on the 22nd of September, to the great scandal of the king, though he was in no wise to blame; for he commanded the authors of the deed to be severely punished.

Of the league between the king of France and England.

A.D. 1180. A conference was held between Philip the new king of France and king Henry, at a place between Gisors and Trie, where the following treaty was concluded between them: "I, Philip, by the grace of God king of France, and I, Henry, by the same grace, king of England, notify to all men that we have renewed on oath the alliance and friendship between us; and, to avoid all occasion of discord hereafter between us, we have agreed that neither shall claim, against the other, any of the lands, possessions, and other things which we now hold, except Auvergne, concerning which there is now a dispute between us, and except the fee of the castle of Ralph, and except the small fees and divisions of our lands of Berri: concerning which, if we cannot come to an agreement, we have each chosen three bishops and barons, to decide between us, by whose decision we have agreed, in good faith, to abide." The same year, also, died Louis king of France, at Paris, on the 18th of September, and was buried at the Cistercian abbey of Barbeaux; the building of which had been completed at the expense of the same king.

How Richard count of Poictou grievously ravaged the lands of Geoffrey de Liziniac.

About the same time, Richard duke of Aquitaine, and son of king Henry, provoked by the pride of Geoffrey de Rancon,

and by many injuries which he had received from him, assembled his troops, and laid siege to Taileburg, one of his castles, a bold enterprise, which none of his ancestors had ever dared to undertake, for the castle was up to that time unknown to its enemies, and was defended by three moats and walls, besides arms of all kinds, bolts, and bars; it was crowned with turrets placed at intervals, and had a large quantity of stones on its battlements, besides stores of provisions, and numbers of knights and experienced soldiers; for which reason it entertained no fear from duke Richard's approach. He, however, invaded its territory with more than a lion's fury, carried off the produce, cut down the vines, burned the villages, and demolished every thing; then fixing his tents near the castle, he erected machines against the walls, and created great alarm in the garrison, who had no suspicion that any such things would happen. Inasmuch, however, as it seemed somewhat ignominious, that such high-minded and experienced soldiers should be cooped up within the walls, they determined, by common consent, to make a sally and attack the duke's army by surprise. This resolution was bravely put in force, but the duke, summoning his men, charged the enemy and compelled them to retire within their walls. In their retreat, a fierce fight ensued, and the worth of both horse and men, lance and sword, bow and cross-bow, shield and mace, with every other kind of weapon or defensive armour, were all tested in that encounter. Wherefore the townspeople, unable any longer to endure the duke's assaults, retreated within their walls, and the duke, urging on the pursuit, entered with the fugitives: the streets were filled with rapine and conflagration, for there was no way of escape left for them. Some of the townspeople, favoured by fortune, fled to the principal tower: the lord of the castle was compelled to surrender, the fair walls were levelled with the ground, and others of the revolted castles, within a month, shared the same fate. When every thing was completed to the duke's wish, he crossed into England, where he was received with the greatest honours by king Henry his father.*

* "A new coinage was made this year in England; and John bishop of Chichester died."—M. Paris.

How Philip king of France submitted the disposition of his realm to the king of England.

A.D. 1181. Some of the French king's ministers reminded their master how peacefully the king of England governed his extensive dominions, and kept them safe from those barbarous nations the Scots and Welsh: wherefore, by the advice of his household, the French king submitted his own kingdom, also, and his own person to the disposition of the king of England, who, influenced by this example, placed the whole of Normandy under the control of the young king his son, and, on the 25th of July, crossing to England made a visit, for the purpose of prayer, to the tomb of St. Thomas the martyr. The same year, on the 20th of November, died Roger archbishop of York, who, during his life-time, had obtained a privilege from pope Alexander, to the effect that if any clerk under his jurisdiction should on his death-bed make a will and die without having distributed his property with his own hands, the archbishop should take possession of the goods of the deceased. Now, as every one ought to abide by the laws which he has laid down for others, when the archbishop died, all his treasures, by the just judgment of God, were confiscated, amounting to eleven thousand pounds of silver, three hundred pieces of gold, one golden cup, seven silver cups, nine silver goblets, three silver salts, three cups of myrrh, forty spoons, eight silver porringers, one silver basin, and a great silver dish.

Pope Alexander's letter to Prester John king of the Indies.*

About this time pope Alexander wrote to Prester John king of the Indies, as follows:—"*Alexander, bishop, to his beloved son in Christ, health and apostolical benediction.* We had heard, long ago, by the relation of many, what diligence you show in the performance of pious works, since you have embraced the Christian religion; but our beloved son, Philip the physician, who says that he has conversed with the great and honourable men of your kingdom concerning your intentions and plans, has constantly, with his usual discretion, signified to us that you wish to be instructed in the catholic and apostolic doctrine, and that it is your fervent desire, on

* Properly Presbyter John; but, as he is usually known by the name of Prester John, I have retained that appellation.

the part of both your people and yourself, to hold nothing which may appear to differ from the doctrines of the apostolic see. To which must be added the highest merit, as the aforesaid Philip says he has heard from your own people, that you desire to have a church in the city of Jerusalem and an altar, where religious and prudent men of your kingdom might remain and be more fully instructed in apostolic discipline, by whom also you and your people might the more easily receive and hold their Christian doctrines. We, therefore, wishing to reclaim you from those articles in which you deviate from the Christian faith, have sent the aforesaid Philip to your highness, through whom you may be instructed in the articles of the Christian faith, wherein you and yours seem to differ from us, and so may have no cause to fear that anything will spring out of your error to impede the salvation of you or yours, or in any way to cast a stigma on your profession of Christianity."

How Lucius succeeded to pope Alexander.

The same year died pope Alexander, after he had sat twenty-two years in the Roman see. He was succeeded by Humbald bishop of Ostia, who took the name of Lucius the third, and sat four years in the apostolic church. Also Philip king of France married Margaret daughter of Baldwin count of Hainault, by Margaret, sister of Philip count of Flanders. The same year, also, the old coinage was abrogated, and a new coinage issued on the feast of St. Martin's. The same year, Baldwin abbat of Ford, a Cistercian monastery, succeeded to Roger as bishop of Winchester.

How Geoffrey bishop elect of Lincoln declined the election.

A.D. 1182. Geoffrey elect of Lincoln, and son of the king of England, after his election had been confirmed by the pope, and he had ruled that same church peaceably during seven years, on the day of the Epiphany at Marlborough, in presence of the king and the bishops, renounced his election, though no one compelled him to do so. At the same time, Henry, in presence of the nobles of the kingdom, at Waltham, liberally granted two thousand marks of silver and five hundred marks of gold to assist the Holy Land, after which he crossed into Normandy. In these days, Henry duke of

Saxony, the king's son-in-law, had been exiled by the emperor, and came to the king in Normandy, bringing with him the duchess and his two sons Henry and Otho; he was there supplied three years by the king's munificence with all things necessary in the greatest abundance. The same year, also, Walter de Constantiis archdeacon of Oxford, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln by Richard archbishop of Canterbury, at Anjou, in the church of St. Laud. Also, Walter bishop of Rochester died this year.

Of the death of abbat Simon, and the accession of Warin.

A.D. 1183. Died Simon abbat of St. Alban's, and was succeeded by Warin prior of the same church, and on the day of the nativity of the mother of God, received the blessing as abbat.

Of the death of Henry the young king.

About this time king Henry endeavoured to make his sons Geoffrey and Richard do homage to the young king his eldest son, for Brittany and the duchy of Aquitaine. To this wish Geoffrey readily acceded, and did homage for the earldom of Brittany; but Richard no sooner heard his father's request than he was violently angry, saying it was unreasonable, whilst their father was alive, that they should subject themselves to their elder brother, who was born of the same father and mother as themselves, that, as the eldest brother would claim the father's inheritance, so he, Richard, would justly claim the succession to his mother's property. King Henry was much displeased at this conduct, and earnestly enjoined the young king his son to do his utmost to check his brother's pride. When they had frequently met for this purpose, and there appeared no hopes of peace, the young king assembled a large army, and determined to fight his brother, but his life was suddenly cut off like a thread, and with him were cut off the hopes of many; for in the flower of his youth, when he had just completed his twenty-eighth year, he died in that part of Gascony which is called Turonia, at the castle of Martel, on the feast of St. Barnabas the apostle, and his body, wrapped in the linen garments, which he wore anointed with the chrism at his coronation, was carried to Rouen, where it was buried near the high altar in the cathedral with the

honour due to so great a prince. The same year Girard, surnamed la Pucelle, having been consecrated to the see of Coventry, died after he had been bishop ten weeks. Also Walter de Coutance bishop of Lincoln, came into England, and was solemnly enthroned in his see.

A.D. 1184. Richard archbishop of Canterbury, died at Allingham, a village belonging to the bishop of Rochester; and king Henry escorted the duke of Saxony with his family to England, where the duchess a few days afterwards gave birth to a son named William, at Winchester. The same year, Baldwin bishop of Worcester was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and Walter of Lincoln was elected to the archbishopric of Rouen. Both these prelates received the pall, and were solemnly enthroned in their sees. At this time Philip archbishop of Cologne, and Philip count of Flanders, came into England to discharge their vows to the blessed martyr St. Thomas. King Henry went out to meet them, and invited them to pay a visit to London the royal city. When they arrived in London, that capital presented such a festive appearance as had never been seen before, and all its streets sounded with mirth and revelry. The archbishop of Cologne and the count of Flanders were received in solemn procession at St. Paul's church, and the same day similar honours were paid to them; after which they were entertained during five days in the palace at the king's expense; but whether they carried home many presents with them or not, it seems superfluous to inquire. The same year died Joceline bishop of Salisbury.

How the Saracens attacked the Christians in Spain, but retreated in confusion.

In these days, about the feast of St. John the Baptist, Gamius king of the Saracens in Spain, conducted the king of kings of the Saracens named Macemunt, at the head of thirty-seven other kings, into the territories of the Christians. They first besieged St. Irenæus and after a fight of three days and three nights made a breach in the walls and entered the town: but the garrison escaped into the citadel. The following night the bishop of Portugal with the king's son came upon the Saracens and slew king Gamius, with fifteen thousand of his men, whose bodies they piled up in place of

the walls which had been broken down. The next day, being the festival of St. John and St. Paul,* the archbishop of St. Iago assembled twenty thousand men, and at dawn of day slew thirty thousand Saracens. On the following day, which was the feast of St. Margaret's, the Saracens destroyed at Alcubaz ten thousand women and infants; but those who were in the town of Alcubaz sallied out and slew three kings with all their army. Afterwards, on the eve of St. James's, king Macemunt heard that the king of Gallicia was come to fight him in single combat; and when he wished to mount his horse, he fell off three times and died; upon which all his army fled, leaving behind them all their money. The king of Portugal gave some of the Saracen prisoners as slaves to serve the masons in rebuilding the churches, and with the money he made a golden shrine for St. Vincent. Afterwards came numerous galleys of the Saracens to Lisbon, bringing with them a dromund, in which there was a machine of such a nature that the Saracens could issue forth upon it in arms beyond the city walls and again return. By God's providence, however, some one dived into the water under the vessel, and bored a hole in her bottom, which caused her to sink. The Saracens, perceiving that they were baffled, took to flight, leaving behind them all their baggage.

How Guy de Lusignan was made protector of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

In these days reigned at Jerusalem Baldwin, son of king Amalric. From the very beginning of his reign he was afflicted with elephantiasis, which had already deprived him of sight, and of the use of his feet and hands. But, notwithstanding his weakness of body, he was strong in mind, and endeavoured, even beyond his strength, to discharge his royal duties. To this end he convoked the nobles of his kingdom, and in presence of his mother and the patriarch, he appointed Guy of Lusignan, count of Joppa and Ascalon, to be regent of the kingdom. This Guy had married the king's sister Sibylla, formerly wife of the marquis of Montferrat, by whom she had Baldwin; but when he had been some time regent, and the kingdom of Jerusalem did not prosper, the king removed Guy, and appointed Raymund count of Tripoli in his place.

* The 26th of June.

How Saladin the sultan of Babylon, destroyed several cities of the Christians.

At this time, Saladin sultan of Damascus had subdued all the Saracenic kings throughout the east, so that he might truly be called king of kings and lord of lords, and now purposing to subdue all Christendom also, he passed the river Jordan at the beginning of July, and foraged for provisions the country round the castle of Crach, formerly called Petra in the desert. He then passed on to the town of Neapolis, which he plundered, and afterwards burned. At Sebastæa, the bishop ransomed the city and church by giving up to him eighty captives; and Saladin, proceeding into Arabia, devastated that country, and carried off both men and women for slaves. From thence he proceeded to the castle of Great Gerin, which he destroyed, and, except a few whom he made prisoners, he slew both men and women. Little Gerin, a village belonging to the temple, shared the same fate, after which the Saracenic army retired by way of Belvere, a castle belonging to the temple, slaying some of the people, and carrying off the others as captives.

The king of England elected king of Jerusalem.

Baldwin, the leprous king of Jerusalem, being at last dead, Baldwin, a boy of five years old, reigned in his place. He was nephew to the late king, by Sibylla his sister, and William marquis of Montferrat, and immediately after his coronation was placed under the tuition of Raymund count of Tripolis. But the clergy and people, seeing the kingdom now reduced to a state which could not long be maintained, began seriously to consider what steps were to be taken; and, as they entertained suspicions that Saladin would not long remain inactive, and had little to hope from the tender years of the king, they all agreed to send ambassadors to Henry king of England, and offer to him the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the keys of the holy city and of our Lord's tomb. Heraclius the patriarch, at their request, undertook this embassy, and in company with the master of the temple and some others, crossed the Mediterranean sea, and arriving at Rome, obtained letters from pope Lucius, praying the king of England to grant their request.

Heraclius the patriarch comes to England, and notifies to king Henry his election.

A.D. 1185. Heraclius patriarch of the holy resurrection, and the lord Roger master of the hospital of Jerusalem, came to king Henry at Reading, and delivering to him the pope's letter, explained the object of their journey, and the desolate condition of the city and whole country of Jerusalem. The recital moved the king and all the assembly to tears; for their petition took notice of our Lord's nativity, his passion, resurrection, the tower of David, the keys of the holy sepulchre, and the banner of the kingdom, all of which the king respected beyond measure. The pope's letter, among other subjects, contained the following:

The letter of pope Lucius to the king of England.

"*Lucius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, &c.* Whereas all your predecessors have been famous, above all the other princes of the world, for valour in arms and nobility of mind, and the people of the faithful have been taught to look on them as patrons in their adversity, it is not without propriety that application is made to you, who inherit all your father's virtues as well as his kingdom, at a moment when not only danger but even imminent destruction hangs over the Christian people; to the end that your royal power may protect the members of that Christ, who has mercifully allowed you to reach your present height of glory, and made you a wall of defence against those who wickedly assail his name. Be it known, moreover, to your highness, that Saladin, the wicked persecutor of the holy name of the Crucified, has now prevailed to such an extent in his fury against the Christians of the Holy Land, that, unless his fierce rage is checked, he already confidently looks forward to the whole of Jordan flowing into his mouth," &c.

King Henry refuses the kingdom of Jerusalem.

The king of England having received this communication, convoked the clergy, people, and nobility of his dominions, on the 18th of March, at Clerkenwell, in London, where the king in the audience of the patriarch and master of the hospital, solemnly adjured all his faithful servants to make public whatever should seem to them to tend to the salvation

of his soul in connexion with the subject before them, adding that he was strongly disposed in his own mind to abide by the advice which they should offer. The whole council then, considering on what they had just heard, deemed it more sound and salutary to the king's soul that he should govern his whole kingdom with proper moderation, and defend it from the irruption of the barbarians, than attend in his own person to the welfare of the people of the east; but they did not deem it meet to come to any decision respecting the king's sons, who were absent, one of whom the patriarch requested might be sent to Jerusalem, if the king should decline to go himself.

The same year also, John, the king's son, was made a belted knight by his father at Windsor, on the last day of March, after which he crossed into Ireland. The king and the patriarch then sailed over to Normandy, and celebrated Easter at Rouen. The king of France hearing of the arrival of the king of England, came with all speed to Vaudreuil, where the two kings passed three days in familiar converse, and many noblemen took the cross in their presence, but the kings themselves only promised that they would both send speedy help to the Holy Land, for they did not think it an easy matter to carry on so important an enterprise from the remote bounds of the west; and the patriarch, disappointed in the object of his commission, and with baffled hopes, returned to his own country.

The same year, Hugh de Lacy, lord of the province called Media,* was slain on the 25th of July. At the same time, the earl of Huntingdon having died without children, the king gave that earldom with its purtenances to William king of Scotland. Also, Gilbert de Glanville archdeacon of Lisieux was consecrated bishop of Rochester on the 29th of September,† and Henry duke of Saxony, with the emperor's permission, returned home and contented himself with his own paternal inheritance.

Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury receives the pall and the legatine authority.

A.D. 1186. Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury received

* Meath, in Ireland.

† "The same year died pope Lucius, and, according to some accounts, was succeeded by Urban."—M. PARIS.

the pall, with the legatine commission, in the province over which he presided. Also, William de Vere, on the festival of St. Lawrence, was consecrated bishop of Hereford. The same year Geoffrey count of Brittany, and son of the king of England, died on the 19th of August, and was buried at Paris, in the church of Nôtre Dame, in the choir of the canons. He left two daughters, by his wife Constance, the daughter of Conan formerly count of Brittany, and his wife, after his death, gave birth to a son, called Arthur. The same year, Hugh of Burgundy, and prior of the Carthusian order in England, was consecrated bishop of Lincoln on the feast of St. Matthew; upon which day, also, William de Norhale was consecrated bishop of Worcester. Pope Lucius died, and was succeeded by Urban, and John precentor of Exeter was consecrated bishop of that church.

Pope Urban grants permission to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury to build a church at Akington.

About the same time, pope Urban wrote to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury as follows: "We notify to you by these presents, that you have leave to build a church in honour of the blessed martyrs Stephen and Thomas, and to provide proper persons to be attached to it, to whom you shall assign benefices for their maintenance, according as you shall appoint: also, that of all oblations which are made at the relics of St. Thomas the martyr, one-fourth part shall be devoted to the use of the monks, one-fourth to the fabric of the church, one-fourth to the poor, and the remaining fourth to such uses as you shall think proper.*

Sibylla is crowned queen of Jerusalem.

About this time, Baldwin the young king of Jerusalem died, and there was no one to succeed him on the throne, except Sibylla, wife of Guy count of Joppa, sister of the leprous king, and mother of the boy-king, just deceased;

* "About this time died that most illustrious of ladies, the empress Matilda, daughter of king Henry the First, wife of the Roman emperor Henry and mother of Henry the Second, the greatest of the English kings. Hence that epitaph which was written on her:—

Great was her birth, her husband greater, greatest was her son,
Here lieth Henry's daughter, wife, and mother, all in one!"

but as the truce between Saladin and the Christians was just upon the point of expiring, the protection of the kingdom was in a critical state, which would brook no longer of delay. A council of the nobles was therefore held, and it was agreed that Sibylla, wife of Guy, as heiress of the kingdom, should be crowned queen, and repudiate Guy, as unequal to the government. Sibylla, rejected the sovereignty on these terms, until the nobles, in granting it to her, bound themselves by oath to obey as king the man whom she should choose as her husband. Guy also himself entreated her not to neglect the care of the kingdom on his account. Thus, after some delay. Sibylla acquiesced in tears, and being solemnly crowned queen, received the homage of all the people, whilst Guy her husband, deprived at the same moment of his bride and his crown, returned to his own people. Meanwhile, a report was spread, and soon confirmed by facts, of the hostile approach of Saladin; upon which the queen, convoking her ecclesiastic and temporal nobles, deliberated with them about choosing a king; and, whereas they had all previously allowed her to choose whomsoever she pleased, and now anxiously looked to the choice which she should make, she said to Guy, who was standing by among the others, "My lord Guy, I choose you for my husband, and give up myself and my kingdom to you as the future king." All were astonished at her words, and wondered that so simple a woman had baffled so many wise councillors. Her conduct was in fact worthy of great praise, both in point of modesty and discretion; for she saved the crown for her husband, and her husband for herself. About this time, there happened so dreadful an earthquake, that even in England, where such things rarely occur, several houses were thrown down. Also, the mother of Saladin, on her way from Egypt to Damascus with a large and splendid retinue, passed through the Christian territories which lie on the other side of Jordan, trusting to the truce; but Reginald de Castiglione, assaulting the company, carried off all their valuables, but Saladin's mother saved herself by flight. Saladin, aroused by this injury, demanded restitution and satisfaction, according to the terms of the treaty, and Reginald, when called upon to give it, returned a harsh and insulting reply. Upon this, Saladin rejoiced beyond measure

that the Christians had first infringed the treaty, and prepared himself for war and for revenge.*

Saladin lays waste the Holy Land.

A. D. 1187. Saladin, inflamed with anger against the Christians, summoned the Parthians, Bedouins, Turks, Saracens, Arabs, Medes, Curds, and Egyptians, and at the head of these nations invaded and laid waste all the Holy Land. Not content with occupying some minor fortresses in Galilee, he prepared to besiege mount Calvary; and proceeding thither with a variety of warlike engines, he, on his way, defeated a large body of Christians, slew the grand master of the temple and sixty of the brethren, and elated with this success, pressed forwards to the siege. When the king of Jerusalem heard that the city was besieged, and the inhabitants hard-pressed, he summoned by proclamation all the strength of his kingdom, leaving none but those who were incapacitated for battle, by their age or sex, to garrison the fortresses. The rendezvous was the fountain of Sephor, and, when they marched thence, they amounted to twenty thousand warriors. Raymund count of Tripolis was appointed their commander-in-chief; and they set out towards Tiberias, and when the fatal day of battle approached, the king's chamberlain dreamed that an eagle flew over the Christian camp, bearing in his talons seven missiles, and crying aloud, "Woe to you of Jerusalem! woe to you of Jerusalem!" In explanation of this vision, it is sufficient to remember the words which the Holy Spirit spake by the prophet, "The Lord hath bent his bow, and in it hath prepared the vessels of death."

Saladin takes the city of Jerusalem and the king's person.

Saladin hearing that the king was approaching to raise the siege, bravely marched to meet them, and perceiving that the Christians were hemmed in by the narrow and precipitous rocks, not far from Tiberias, at a place called Marcschallia, he rushed with confidence of success upon the king's army, who nevertheless received them bravely as well as the nature of the ground would permit. The battle raged with fury, and

* Matthew Paris adds that, "the kings of France and England took the cross on the 20th of January; and that the city and cathedral of Chichester were burned on the 19th of October."

numbers fell on both sides; but, at length, for the sins of the Christians, the enemy prevailed; for, as they say, the count of Tripolis, who commanded the army, treacherously lowered his banner, and caused his men to think of flying, though they had no way of escape, except through the enemy. King Guy was made prisoner, the holy cross captured, and the whole army either slain with the sword or taken by the enemy, except the count of Tripoli who was suspected of having betrayed them, the lord Reginald governor of Sidon, and the lord Balian with a few brethren of the temple. This disastrous battle was fought on the 3rd and 4th days of July, within the octaves of the apostles Paul and Peter. The master of the temple also, named Theodoric, escaped from this disaster, but with the loss of two hundred and thirty of the brethren. The count of Tripoli having escaped without a wound was assumed as a proof of his having betrayed the army. Together with the holy cross, the bishop of Acre, and the precentor of our Lord's sepulchre, were overpowered by the enemy: the former was slain, and the latter made prisoner: and in this manner the holy cross, which formerly redeemed us from the yoke of captivity, was now made captive for our sins, and profaned by the hands of the infidels.

How the holy city and almost all the kingdom was subdued by Saladin.

Saladin, having obtained this victory, returned to Tiberias, and when he had reduced the only fortress which remained, he sent the king and his prisoners to Damascus. Then entering Galilee he found no one to oppose him, and coming to Ptolemais took it without bloodshed. From thence he proceeded to Jerusalem, and planted his machines on all sides round the walls: the citizens erected such defences as they were able, but their bows, cross-bows, and stone-engines were plied in vain: the people, in terror, flocked round the patriarch and the queen, who at that time governed the city, and entreated that terms might be entered into with Saladin for a surrender. A capitulation was in consequence effected, more worthy to be lamented than to be described; that every man should pay a ransom of ten bezants, a woman five, and a child one; but in the whole city there were fourteen thousand of both sexes, who, being unable to pay this ransom, were reduced to perpetual slavery. Thus the holy city was

surrendered to the enemies of Christ: the sepulchre fell into the hands of those who persecuted Him that was buried therein, and those who blaspheme the Crucified are in possession of His cross! Saladin entered the city with the sound of timbrels and trumpets, and hastening to the temple removed the cross erected there, and all the other objects which Christians held in veneration. He then caused the temple to be sprinkled within and without with rose-water, and the superstitions which belong to his religion to be proclaimed in all its four corners; the church of the resurrection and the tomb of our Lord was let to certain Syrians at a stipulated tribute; after which Saladin sallied forth and reduced all the other cities and towns except Ascalon, Tyre, and Crach beyond Jordan, otherwise called Mount Royal.

The pope forbids the building of Akington church.

The same year pope Urban wrote to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury in these terms:—"Our dear sons, the prior and convent of your church, have sent us messengers bearing letters on the subject of the church which you have begun to build, stating that unless the work is discontinued, the credit and condition of their own church will be much impaired: we therefore wishing to make careful provision that no discord may arise between you and your brethren, since you cannot properly attend to your sacred duties when quarrelling amongst yourselves, by the advice of our brethren, warn and strictly enjoin your brotherhood, that, until from known reasons we determine what ought to be done in the matter, you put off all occasion of appeal, and desist from building that church, until letters be granted from the apostolic see not opposing it." In the same year pope Urban dying, Gregory succeeded him, and he also after holding the see two months, died, and Clement the third was appointed on the 20th of December. In this year, too, Gilbert bishop of London paid the debt of nature. In the same year Richard count of Poictou, hearing of the disaster in the Holy Land and the capture of the cross, without waiting for any one's proposing it, and against the advice and will of his father, was the first of the transmarine nobles who took the sign of the cross, which he received at the hands of the archbishop of Tours.

How at the preaching of the crusade many took the cross.

A.D. 1188. Frederic the Roman emperor took the cross on the preaching of Henry bishop of Alba, a legate of the apostolic see, who had been sent by pope Clement, and at the same time Philip king of the French and Henry king of the English came to a conference in Normandy, betwen Trie and Gisors, for the purpose of rendering assistance to the Holy Land, where, after long deliberations, they in the presence of Philip count of Flanders mutually agreed to take the sign of the cross, and to hasten their journey in company to Jerusalem. Thereupon the king of the English first took the sign of the cross at the hands of the archbishop of Rheims and William of Tyre, the latter of whom had been entrusted by our lord the pope with the office of legate in the affairs of the crusade in the western part of Europe. After this the king of the French and Philip count of Flanders also took the cross; and the example thus shown was so powerful, that throughout the kingdoms and dominions of the two above named kings, the cross was eagerly assumed by archbishops, bishops, dukes, marquises, counts, barons, and soldiers, as well as by the middle and lower classes of the people promiscuously. It was agreed between the princes that the French should all wear red, the English white, and the followers of the count of Flanders green, crosses. Concerning their dominions, fortresses, and all their possessions, it was agreed that, until their pilgrimage was accomplished, and each of them had passed forty days in his own country, all things should remain as they were before their taking the cross.

How the affection of Richard count of Poictou was estranged from his father.

About this time, Geoffrey of Liziniac by treachery slew a certain friend of Richard count of Poictou; and to punish such a crime the court was provoked to resort to arms, but remembering the sign of the cross which he wore, he spared those followers of Geoffrey who were willing to take the sign, others he slew, and subdued several fortresses. Geoffrey, relying on the money and assistance, as was said, of the king of England, made resistance against count Richard, but with little success, and this circumstance

estranged the count's mind from his father. After Geoffrey was subdued, the count having received injury at the hands of the count of Toulouse, invaded that noble's territory, and in a short time reduced seventeen of his castles. The French king, being offended at count Richard's having attacked the count of Toulouse's territories without his knowledge, secretly attacked the castle of Ralph, and compelled all whom he found there to make their fealty to him. This seemed to be a most dishonourable act on the part of so great a prince, especially as the king of England, when about to cross over to England, had entrusted the care of all his territory to the king of the French. Afterwards, the French king, partly by threats, and partly by promises, brought over to himself the friendship of some of the holders of castles which were in subjection to the king of England. Thus, at the prompting of the devil, disagreements arose between the two kings, who even after their taking the cross inflicted mutual injuries on each other, and at length the king of England invaded the French kingdom, and burned the whole country from Verneuil to Meudan. In this year, Richard bishop of Winchester died on the twenty-second of December, and was buried at Winchester.

Letter of Frederic the Roman emperor to Saladin.

In the same year, Frederic emperor of the Romans, wrote to Saladin concerning the Holy Land, to the following purport :—*

[*We,*] *Frederic, by the grace of God, emperor of the Romans, ever august, the magnificent triumpher over the enemies of the empire,* [*and the fortunate governor of the whole monarchy,*] *to the illustrious Saladin, governor of the Saracens. May he take warning from Pharaoh, and touch not Jerusalem !*

[The letters which your devotion sent to us a long time ago, on weighty and important matters, and which would have benefited you if reliance could have been placed on your words, we received, as became the magnificence of our majesty, and deemed it meet to communicate by letter with your greatness.] But now that you have profaned the Holy

* This letters occurs more complete in Vinsauf than in Wendover. The passages in brackets have been introduced from Vinesauf.

Land, over which we, by the authority of the Eternal King, bear rule, as guardian of Judæ, Samaria, and Palestine, solicitude for our imperial office admonishes us to proceed with due rigour against such presumptuous and criminal audacity. Wherefore, unless, before all things, you restore the land which you have seized, and give due satisfaction, to be adjudged according to the holy constitutions, for such nefarious excesses, that we may not appear to wage unlawful war against you, we give you from the first of November, a period of twelve months, after which you shall try the fortune of war, in the field of Zoan,* by the virtue of the vivifying cross, and in the name of the true Joseph. For we can scarcely believe that you are ignorant of that which all antiquity and the writings of the ancients testify. Do you pretend not to know that both the Æthiopias, Mauritania, Persia, Scythia, Parthia, where our general Marcus Crassus met with a premature death, Judea, Samaria, Arabia, Maritima, and Chaldæa, Egypt, where, [shame to say! a Roman citizen, Antony, a man endowed with signal virtues, passing the bounds of temperance, and acting otherwise than as became a soldier sent from so great a state, submitted to the unchaste love of Cleopatra; do you pretend not to know that] Armenia, and other innumerable countries, are subject to our sway? This is well known to those kings in whose blood the Roman sword has been so often steeped; and you, God willing, shall learn by experience the might of our victorious eagles, and be made acquainted with our troops of many nations—the anger of Germany—the untamed head of the Rhine—the youth from the banks of the Danube, who know not how to flee—the towering Bavarian—the cunning Suabian—the cautious Franconian—Saxony, that sports with the sword—Thuringia—Westphalia—the active Brabantine—the Lorrainer, unused to peace—the fiery Burgundian—the nimble mountaineer of the Alps—the Frison with his javelin and thong—the Bohemian ever ready to brave death—Polonia, fiercer than her own fierce beasts—Austria—Styria—Ruwennia—Istria—Rocumphia—Illyria—Lombardy—Tuscany—the march of Ancona—the resolute Venetian and the Pisan sailor—and lastly, also, you

* The allusion is to Psalm lxxviii. 12. The emperor seems to mean that he will attack Saladin in Egypt.

shall assuredly be taught how our own right hand, which you suppose to be enfeebled by old age, can still wield the sword upon that day of reverence and gladness which has been appointed for the triumph of Christ's cause.

Saladin's answer to the emperor Frederic.

To the great king, his sincere friend, the illustrious Frederic, king of Germany:—In the name of God the merciful: by the grace of the one God, the powerful, the surpassing, the victorious, the everlasting, of whose kingdom there is no end.

We give continual thanks to Him, whose grace is over all the world: we pray that he may pour out his inspiration over all his prophets, and especially on our teacher, his messenger, the prophet Mahomet, whom he sent to teach the true law, which he will make to appear above all laws. But we make it known to the sincere and powerful king, our great, amicable friend, the king of Germany, that a certain man, named Henry, came to us, professing to be your envoy, and he gave us a letter, which he said was from your hand. We caused the letter to be read, and we heard him speak by word of mouth, and to the words which he spake by word of mouth we answered also in words. But this is the answer to your letter:—You enumerate those who are leagued with you to come against us, and you name them and say—the king of this land and the king of that land—this count and that count, and such archbishops, marquises, and knights. But if we wished to enumerate those who are in our service, and who listen to our commands, and obey our words, and would fight for us, this is a list which could not be reduced to writing. If you reckon up the names of the Christians, the Saracens are more numerous, and many times more numerous than the Christians. If the sea lies between us and those whom you name Christians, there is no sea to separate the Saracens, who cannot be numbered; between us and those who will come to aid us, there is no impediment. With us are the Bedouins, who would be quite sufficient singly to oppose our enemies; and the Turkomans, who, unaided, could destroy them: even our peasants, if we were to bid them, would fight bravely against the nations which should come to invade our country, and would despoil them of their

riches and exterminate them. What! have we not on our side the warlike Soldarii, by whom we have opened and gained the land, and driven out our enemies? These, and all the kings of Paganism will not be slow when we shall summon them, nor delay when we shall call them. And whenever your armies shall be assembled, according to the import of your letter, and you shall lead them, as your messenger tells us, we will then meet you in the power of God. Nor will we be satisfied with the land which is on the sea-coast, but we will cross over with God's good pleasure, and will take from you all your lands, in the strength of the Lord. For if you come, you will come with all your forces, and will be present with all your people, and we know that there will remain none at home to defend themselves or fight for their country. And when the Lord, by his power, shall have given us victory over you, nothing will remain for us to do but freely to take your lands, by His power, and with His good pleasure. For the union of the Christian faith has twice come against us in Babylon; once at Damietta, and again at Alexandria: [it was also in the coast of the land of Jerusalem in the hand of the Christians, in the land of Damascus, and in the land of the Saracens; in each fortress there was a lord who studied his own interests.] You know how the Christians each time returned, and to what an issue they came. But these our people are assembled together with their countries, and the Lord has associated with us countries in abundance, and united them far and wide under our power. Babylon, with its dependencies, and the land of Damascus, and Jerusalem on the sea-coast, and the land of Gesireh with its castles, and the land of Roasia with its dependencies, and the land of India with its dependencies—by the grace of God, all this is in our hands, and the residue of the Saracenic kings is in our empire. For if we were to command the illustrious kings of the Saracens, they would not withdraw themselves from us. And if we were to admonish the caliph of Bagdad (whom God preserve) to come to our aid, he would rise from the throne of his great empire, and would come to help our excellence. We have obtained, also, by the virtue and power of God, Jerusalem and its territory; and of the three cities which still remain in the hands of the Christians, Tyre, Tripoli, and Antioch, nothing

remains but that we should occupy them also. But, if you wish for war, and if God so will of his good pleasure that we occupy the whole land of the Christians, we will meet you in the power of the Lord, as is written in this our letter. But, if you ask us for the boon of peace, you will command the warders of the three places above mentioned to deliver them up to us without resistance; and we will restore to you the holy cross, and will liberate all the Christian captives who are in all our territories; and we will be at peace with you, and will allow you to have one priest at the sepulchre, and we will restore the abbeys which used to be in the time of paganism,* and will do good to them, and will permit the pilgrims to come during all our life, and we will be at peace with you. But if the letter which came to us by the hand of Henry be the letter of the king, we have written this letter for answer, and may God give us counsel according to his will. This letter is written in the year of the coming of our prophet Mahomet, 584, by the grace of the only God. [And may God save our prophet Mahomet and his race, and may he save the salvation of our Saviour, illustrious Lord, and victorious King; the giver of unity; the true word; the adorner of the standard of truth; the corrector of the world and of the law; soldan of the Saracens and pagans; the servitor of the two holy houses, and of the holy house of Jerusalem; the father of victors; Joseph the son of Job; the reviver of the progeny of Murmurænus !]

How Guy king of Jerusalem was released from prison.

In the same year, Guy king of Jerusalem, after being kept prisoner for a year, was released from prison by Saladin, on condition of his abdicating his sovereignty, and going immediately into exile beyond sea; but the clergy of the kingdom were of opinion that this agreement ought to be nullified, and that faith was not to be kept in a case where religion was endangered, as long as the land of promise was destitute of all security in having no head or ruler, and pilgrims who might arrive had no leader, and the people had no protector. Therefore, on the release of the king,

* This letter has evidently been translated out of the original Saracenic with reference to Christian notions: a Saracen would hardly have described his own faith by the word "paganism."

many pilgrims, lately arrived, flocked to him together with the people of the country, and formed a large army; these wished to enter Tyre, but the marquis refused to admit them, although the city had been entrusted to him on condition that it should, on the request of the king and the heirs to the kingdom, be restored to them; however, on the death of the marquis a few days afterwards, this trouble ceased. At the same time, also, died Raymund count of Tripoli, to whom was imputed the whole of the disaster at the land of promise, for which, as is said, he did not receive the last rites of Christianity at the hour of death. After these occurrences the king, with his army, consisting of the barons of the kingdom, who still adhered to him, in conjunction with the templars and hospitallers, the Venetians who had lately arrived, and pilgrims from Genoa, took his route towards the city of Ptolemais, otherwise called Acre; the whole force of his armed troops exceeding nine thousand men. The king of Jerusalem on arriving near the city, ordered all his followers to ascend a mountain in the neighbourhood, which from its rotundity and tower-like form at the top, was commonly called Turon; this mountain rises loftily on the east side of the city, and extending in a circuit spreads itself over the plain. On the third day after their arrival, the Christians laid siege to the city, which never afterwards was relaxed until the time when it was taken by Philip king of France, and Richard king of England. The common soldiers were inspired with such zeal that they did not wait for the kings, but flocked together from all parts to serve in the Lord's army.

How Saladin retired from Acre in confusion.

The king of Jerusalem, surrounded by his vast multitude of pilgrims, ordered all his troops to descend from Turon, and with them pitched his camp before the city. After a few days, however, Saladin came against them, and with a strong force made a fierce attack on the Christians, as if he thought to conquer them in one onset; but the army of the faithful being in one close mass, as if fighting for their souls, bravely opposed them, and Saladin, in giving orders to surround them, judged it impossible for a single one of them to escape: but it was otherwise decreed by Him, who puts to confusion the

plans of the wicked; for after enduring for three days the attacks of the infidels, who harassed them on all sides, when they had begun to fail from being weakened by the enemy's attacks, they beheld a fleet with twelve thousand Danes and Frisians under full sail entering the harbour, which by God's assistance they had reached after a prosperous voyage. Saladin, being alarmed at this sight and other like events, retired in confusion to the lower parts of his country.

Of the great hindrance to the cause of the Holy Land.

At this time there was a great drawback to the cause of the Holy Land in the differences which had lately, even since their taking the sign of the cross, arisen between the king of the French and Richard count of Poictou on the one part, and Henry king of the English on the other; so great indeed was their quarrel, that they took castles from one another, and committed many excesses by slaughter and rapine; at length for the sake of peace they came to a conference in Normandy, but the devil sowed tares amongst the wheat, so that they separated still at enmity.

How John, cardinal of Anagnia, endeavoured to make peace between the kings Philip and Henry.

A.D. 1189. King Henry, whilst staying in the country beyond sea, was grievously harassed by the annoyances which Philip king of the French, and Richard his son count of Poictou, caused him; at Christmas he was at Saumur in Anjou, keeping that festival there, although several of his counts and barons had left him and gone over to the side of Richard his son. After the feast of St. Hilary, the treaties which had existed between the two kings, were broken off, and the French king Philip, and count Richard, entered the territories of the king of England and ravaged them; the Bretons, too, left him and went over to count Richard; but pope Clement, wondering that peace had not as yet been made between the kings, sent John cardinal of Anagnia, with full power to settle the disputes between them. This prelate endeavoured to bring them to terms of amity at one time by reproaches, at another by mild arguments, till at length the kings gave security, and swore to abide by the arbitration of the archbishops of Bourges, Rouen, and Can-

terbury; so that if either of them should fail in his compact so as to render the peace between them less firm, or to delay the expedition to Jerusalem, against that one should the sentence of excommunication be promulgated by authority of our lord the pope, as against a subverter of our Lord's cross and of the whole Christian religion; and immediately the cardinal took the opinion of all, priests as well as laymen, to determine who it was that caused the breach between the kings, saving the persons of the said kings.

Letter of the marquis's son concerning the oppression of the Holy Land.

"Conrad, son of the marquis of Mont-Ferrat, to Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, greeting.—The elements are disturbed, and it is derogatory to the catholic faith that the see of Jerusalem should be separated from the apostolic see. Jerusalem has become extinct, and the inactivity of the Christians is most contemptibly spoken of by the Saracens; they are polluting our Lord's sepulchre, they are destroying Calvary, they despise the birth-place of Christ, and are utterly destroying the sepulchre of the blessed virgin Mary; the see of Constantinople shows no reverence for that of Rome. Antioch, too, is known to be in its last extremity. All these things are known to have happened through the idleness of the Christians. But the holy city of Jerusalem is much to be wept for and lamented, since it is deprived of its worshippers, and where once Christ spent daily and nightly hours in prayer, there the name of Mahomet is now worshipped aloud. To your highness, therefore, I put forth my prayers mingled with tears, that you will deign to commiserate the sufferings of the Holy Land, that you will comfort kings, and admonish those of the true faith, that by expelling these dogs from the patrimony of Jesus Christ, they may out of charity assist to free it from bondage, and so deliver from the dominion of the infidels the land which has been trodden by the holy feet of our Saviour. In addition to this mass of iniquity and desolation of Christianity, a friendship is cherished between Saladin and the emperor of Constantinople, to whom the said Saladin has delivered all the churches of the land of promise that sacred rites may be performed in them by his followers after the Greek custom. Moreover Saladin also by consent of that emperor sent

his idol to Constantinople to be publicly worshipped there, but by the grace of God it was captured at sea by the Genoese, and brought, with the ship which carried it, to Tyre. Lately, too, an army was supplied by the emperor before Antioch, and he promised Saladin a hundred galleys; and Saladin has given him the whole land of promise, if he will prevent the march of the French to the assistance of the Holy Land; every one at Constantinople who would take the cross, is immediately taken and thrown into prison. But we have this one consolation, that the brother of Saladin, and also his son, were lately taken prisoners before Antioch, and are handed over to safe custody. Farewell."

Of the causes which led Richard to rebel against his father.

The same year, after Easter, a conference was held between the kings at Ferté-Bernard, and at last they met in Whitsun-week and the French king demanded that his daughter Alice, whom Henry had under his charge, should be given in marriage to count Richard, together with a guarantee of the crown of England after his own death; also that his son John should embrace the crusade, for Richard would not go without him: but the king of England would not give his consent to these proposals, and the two kings parted in anger. In this conference the cardinal aforesaid positively threatened, if the king of France and count Richard would not make peace with the king of England, to lay their dominions under an interdict. The king of France replied that he had no fear of so unjust a sentence; that it was not in the power of the church of Rome to pass judgment on the king or kingdom of France, for taking arms to punish rebellious subjects; that the cardinal had smelt the king of England's pounds sterling, and that he suspected his judgment had been perverted thereby. On the other hand, the archbishops and the nobles advised the king of England to agree to his son's demands, saying that it was right to give so noble a son and brave knight some security of obtaining the kingdom after his father's death: but the king refused to do so in the existing state of things, lest he should be said to have done so by constraint and not of his own free will. Count Richard, having heard this reply, did homage to the French king, before them all, for the whole territory of his

father which belonged to the crown of France, saving the tenure to his father as long as he lived, and saving the allegiance due to his father. Thus the conference ended, and the kings and all the people separated.

How the king of France took four castles from the king of England, and drove away the king himself from the city of Mans.

The French king, departing from the conference in company with count Richard, took Ferté-Bernard, Montfort, and Baalverque, fortresses belonging to the king of England, and after taking them, remained there four days. Thence proceeding to Maine, and pretending to go to Tours, on the following Monday, whilst the king of England and his men thought themselves in safety there, he disposed his forces to make an attack on the city of Mans; and Stephen de Turnham, the king of England's seneschal of Anjou, set fire to the suburbs, but the flames passing the walls, reduced almost all the city to ashes. The French upon this proceeded to a stone bridge, where Geoffrey de Biurlun and many others with him from the king of England met them, and endeavoured to break down the bridge: a severe conflict took place, and many fell on both sides. Geoffrey, after having received a wound in the neck, was taken with many others: the rest essaying to escape into the city, the French entered with them, and the king of England, despairing of resistance, fled with seven hundred horsemen. The French king and count Richard pursued him for three miles, and if the stream, which they forded, had not been wide and deep, all the knights of the king of England's household would have been taken prisoners. Many Welshmen fell in that battle. The king of England, at the head of a small party, took refuge in the castle of Tours, and the rest of his men in the tower of Mans. The king of France immediately besieged the tower, and partly by his engines and partly by his miners, reduced the garrison, consisting of thirty knights, and sixty men-at-arms, to surrender. Marching thence he reduced Mont-Double, Trou, de Rocher, Montoire, Carciere, Chateau-du-Loir, Chaumont, Amboise, Roche-corbon, and Beaumont.

The city of Seville is captured.

The same year many ships passing through the British

seas, entered into an agreement with the pilgrims of England, and, by common consent, leaving Dartmouth on the 18th of May thirty-seven vessels, deeply laden, put to sea, and after various adventures arrived at Lisbon. The king of Portugal, seeing that they carried arms and soldiers well equipped for battle, entreated them to assist him in reducing the city of Seville, promising to lend them thirty-seven galleys and many other ships: he also entered into a treaty with them on oath that they should keep all the gold, silver, and other spoil, which they should find in the city, when they had taken it, and give up to him only the city itself. They therefore left Lisbon with a favourable wind, and soon reached the port of Seville, where they brought their ships to land, pitched their camp, and laid siege straightway to the city. The number of their men fit for battle was three thousand five hundred. On the third day they made a fierce assault on the walls and forced their way into the suburbs, where there was a fountain surrounded by a double wall, and having a barbican defended by nine towers, from which the inhabitants of the city got water. This fountain they filled with dung and stones. The gentiles were now alarmed at being cut off from their supply of water; and Alchad the prince of the city, going to the king of Portugal, surrendered the city to him without the knowledge of the Christians. Thus the crusaders took the city in this wonderful manner, and found in it sixty thousand people, all of whom, except only thirteen thousand of both sexes, were put to the sword. By the mercy of God, this victory was obtained without loss to the Christians, and when the city had been cleansed from its impurities, the king of Portugal dedicated the great mosque to the honour of the mother of God, and made bishop of it one of the pilgrims who had come thither from Flanders.

How king Henry was compelled to make peace with Richard his son.

The same year, on the day after the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, Philip count of Flanders, William archbishop of Rheims, and Hugh duke of Burgundy, came to Saumur for the purpose of making peace between the French king and count Richard of Poictou. Now count Richard had joined the Bretons to the men of Poictou, and they had obtained letters patent from the king of France, to the effect that he would

never make peace with king Henry without comprehending them also in the treaty. Meanwhile the king of France and Richard count of Poictou laid siege to Tours, and on the next Monday after the festival aforesaid, they applied their scaling ladders to the walls on the side of the Loire, which contained very little water, and took the city, with its garrison of sixty-nine knights and a hundred men-at-arms. Then the king of England was compelled to make a discreditable peace, on the following terms:—"The king of England places himself wholly under the counsel of the king of France, so that whatsoever the latter shall think proper to be done, the king of England will fulfil without gainsaying." The king of England then did homage to the king of France as he had formerly done in the beginning of the war. It was also provided that Alice the French king's sister should be given into the charge of count Richard until his return from the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and that she should then become his wife. It was also provided that count Richard should receive the homage of all his father's subjects on both sides of the sea, and that none of the barons or knights, who in this war had adhered to count Richard, should return to England, except in the last month before the departure of the kings towards the Holy Land, the term of which will be in the middle of Lent. Moreover that he should pay the king of France twenty thousand marks of silver for his services in assisting count Richard; and that the king of France and count Richard should hold the cities of Mans and Tours, with Chateau du Loir and Trou, until all the aforesaid conditions should be fulfilled. By this transaction the prophecy of Merlin seems to have been fulfilled that a bit fabricated in the coasts of Armorica should be put into his jaws: for a bit was now put into the jaws of the king of England, by reason that the dominions, which his predecessors had acquired in Auvergne, had become the property of another, for he now was obliged to give up to his son Richard, whether he would or no, those who had deserted from him, namely Geoffry de Meduan, Guy du Val, Ralph de Fulcher, all residing within the coasts of Armorica, *i. e.* Brittany, through which is a peaceable passage between Britain and France, without trespassing on the coasts of Normandy.

Of the Roman emperor's departure on pilgrimage.

About this time, on the feast of St. George, Frederic the Roman emperor set out on pilgrimage from Remesburg, intending to march through Hungary and Bulgaria.

Of the death of king Henry.

King Henry returned to Chinon from the conference much dejected, and cursed the day on which he was born: three days after, he was no more. He died on the octaves of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, after a reign of thirty-four years, seven months, and five days. On the morrow, as they were carrying him to be buried, arrayed in his royal robes, his crown, gloves, shoes, ring, sceptre, and sword, he lay with his face uncovered; and when Richard, hearing the news of his death, came to meet the convoy, blood flowed from the nostrils of the deceased, as if he was indignant at the presence of one who was believed to have caused his death. Count Richard, seeing this, shed tears bitterly, and followed his father's corpse in much tribulation to Font-Evraud, where he caused it to be buried with honours by the archbishops of Tours and Treves. And whereas the deceased monarch had often said that the whole world ought not to suffice for the ambition of one king, there was an inscription put upon his tomb of the following import:—

"Here lies King Henry, I, who many realms
Did erst subdue, and was both count and king.
Though all the regions of the earth could not
Suffice me once, eight feet of ground are now
Sufficient for me. Reader, think of death,
And look on me as what all men must come to."

I would also add in this place the laws which king Henry made for the good of his kingdom, if I did not fear to weary the patience of my readers. About the same time died Matilda, Henry's daughter and wife of Henry duke of Saxony.

How earl Richard obtained the duchy of Normandy.

When king Henry therefore was dead, his son Richard immediately laid hands on Stephen de Turnham,* the seneschal of Anjou, and committing him to custody required him

* More properly of Tours.

to deliver up the castles and treasures which were in his hands belonging to his father. He next honourably retained with him all those who had served his father and on whose fidelity he could reckon, and recompensed each according to his deserts for the long services which he had rendered to his father. Moreover, when John his brother came to see him, he received him with due honour. He then proceeded to Rouen in Normandy, and on the 13th before the kalends of August,* in presence of the bishops, earls, barons and knights, he took the sword of the duchy of Normandy, by the ministry of the archbishop, from the altar of the blessed virgin Mary: and having received the allegiance both of the clergy and the people, he abundantly confirmed to his brother John all the lands which his father had given him in England, namely, an estate of 4000 marks, and the whole county of Mortaigne. He also granted to his brother Geoffrey, formerly bishop elect of Lincoln, the archbishopric of York; and Geoffrey, immediately sending his clerks with the duke's letters, took the archbishopric into his own hands, having expelled the guards of the king and of Hubert Walter, dean of that same church, who had also been elected bishop by some of the canons. On the third day of his reign the duke had an interview with the French king between Chaumont and Trie, wherein the king of the French demanded the castle of Gisors and all the neighbouring province; but because the duke was about to take the king's sister Alice in marriage, he forbode to press his demand for a time, and the duke on his part promised to pay 4000 marks more than the sum which his father had promised.

How king Richard released his mother from her long confinement.

Meanwhile his mother queen Eleanor, who for sixteen years had been removed from his father's bed, and kept in close confinement, received her son's permission to manage matters in the kingdom according to her own pleasure, and the nobles were instructed to obey her in every respect. The queen, with these powers, released all those who were in prison throughout all England, knowing from her own experience how painful to mankind is imprisonment. In these days was fulfilled the prophecy of Merlin, which says,

* July 20.

"The eagle of the broken treaty shall rejoice in her third nestling." The queen is meant by the eagle, because she stretches out her two wings over two kingdoms, France and England. She was separated from the king of the French by divorce on account of consanguinity, and from the king of the English by suspicion and imprisonment; and so she was on both sides the eagle of a broken treaty. The next part of the sentence, "shall rejoice in her third nestling," may be understood in this way:—The queen's first-born son, named William, died when he was a boy; Henry her second son, was raised to the rank of king, and paid the debt of nature, after he had engaged in hostilities with his father; and Richard his third son, who is denoted by the "third nestling," was a source of joy to his mother, and released her, as I have said, from the misery of confinement.

King Richard comes to England to be crowned.

When all these things were arranged, duke Richard, administering due justice to all his subjects, arrived at Barbefleuve, where he took ships and landed at Portsmouth on the ides of August [Aug. 13]. His arrival was soon blazoned through England, and caused much joy to both clergy and people; for although some grieved for the death of his father, yet they took consolation from those words of the poet:—

> "Wonders I sing: the sun withdrew his light,
> And yet no darkness followed."

Immediately therefore after his arrival, the duke proceeded to Winchester, where he caused all his father's treasures to be weighed and an inventory of them to be made; there were found to be nine hundred thousand pounds in gold and silver, besides precious stones. From thence he proceeded to Salisbury, and thence from one place to another granting to all the objects of their petitions, and bestowing lands on many who before had none. Moreover he gave to his brother John the daughter of Robert earl of Gloucester, together with that earldom and the castles of Marlborough, Lutegareshale, Bolsover, Nottingham, and Lancaster, with the honours belonging to it, and the honour of William Peverel. All these possessions he confirmed to his brother John, who afterwards espoused the aforesaid earl's daughter, contrary to the prohibition of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury,

because their parents were in the third degree of consanguinity. About the same time certain of the canons of York elected Geoffrey the duke's brother, and, having sung a hymn, solemnly confirmed the election by affixing their seals; but master Bartholomew, the official of Hubert Walter dean of that church, unwilling that this should take place in the absence of the bishop of Durham and of Hubert Walter the dean, both of whom had a right to be present at the election, appealed to our lord the pope against it.

Geoffrey of Ely dies intestate.

At the same time, Geoffrey bishop of Ely died intestate on the 12th before the kalends of September (Aug. 21.); wherefore out of what he left behind him, three thousand marks of silver and two thousand marks of gold were confiscated to the king; and the quantity of his furniture and stuff in rings, gold and silver plate, corn, rich garments, and other things, was immense.

Of the coronation of king Richard the first.

Duke Richard, when all the preparations for his coronation were complete, came to London, where were assembled the archbishops of Canterbury, Rouen, and Treves, by whom he had been absolved for having carried arms against his father after he had taken the cross. The archbishop of Dublin was also there, with all the bishops, earls, barons, and nobles of the kingdom. When all were assembled, he received the crown of the kingdom in the order following:—First came the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and clerks, wearing their caps, preceded by the cross, the holy water, and the censers, as far as the door of the inner chamber, where they received the duke, and conducted him to the church of Westminster, as far as the high altar, in a solemn procession. In the midst of the bishops and clerks went four barons carrying candlesticks with wax candles, after whom came two earls, the first of whom carried the royal sceptre, having on its top a golden cross; the other carried the royal sceptre, having a dove on its top. Next to these came two earls with a third between them, carrying three swords with golden sheaths, taken out of the king's treasury. Behind these came six earls and barons carrying a chequer, over which were

placed the royal arms and robes, whilst another earl followed them carrying aloft a golden crown. Last of all came duke Richard, having a bishop on the right hand, and a bishop on the left, and over them was held a silk awning. Proceeding to the altar, as we have said, the holy gospels were placed before him together with the relics of some of the saints, and he swore, in presence of the clergy and people that he would observe peace, honour, and reverence, all his life, towards God, the holy church and its ordinances: he swore also that he would exercise true justice towards the people committed to his charge, and abrogating all bad laws and unjust customs, if any such might be found in his dominions, would steadily observe those which were good. After this they stripped him of all his clothes except his breeches and shirt, which had been ripped apart over his shoulders to receive the unction. He was then shod with sandals interwoven with gold thread, and Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury anointed him king in three places, namely, on his head, his shoulders, and his right arm, using prayers composed for the occasion: then a consecrated linen cloth was placed on his head, over which was put a hat, and when they had again clothed him in his royal robes with the tunic and gown, the archbishop gave into his hand a sword wherewith to crush all the enemies of the church: this done, two earls placed his shoes upon his feet, and when he had received the mantle, he was adjured by the archbishop, in the name of God, not to presume to accept these honours unless his mind was steadily purposed to observe the oaths which he had made: and he answered that, with God's assistance, he would faithfully observe every thing which he had promised. Then the king taking the crown from the altar gave it to the archbishop, who placed it upon the king's head, with the sceptre in his right hand and the royal wand in his left; and so, with his crown on, he was led away by the bishops and barons, preceded by the candles, the cross, and the three swords aforesaid. When they came to the offertory of the mass, the two bishops aforesaid led him forwards and again led him back. At length, when the mass was chanted, and every thing finished in the proper manner, the two bishops aforesaid led him away with his crown on, and bearing in his right hand the sceptre, in his left the royal wand, and so they returned

in procession into the choir, where the king put off his royal robes, and taking others of less weight, and a lighter crown also, he proceeded to the dinner-table, at which the archbishops, bishops, earls, and barons, with the clergy and people, were placed, each according to his rank and dignity, and feasted splendidly, so that the wine flowed along the pavement and walls of the palace. All this took place on Sunday the third before the nones of September.*

Of the persecution of the Jews.

Many Jews were present at this coronation, contrary to the king's command; for he had caused proclamation to be made the day before, that no Jews or women should attend, on account of the magical incantations which take place sometimes at royal coronations. But the courtiers laid hands on them, although they came in secret, and when they had robbed and scourged them dreadfully, they cast them out of the church; some of them died, and others could hardly be said to have life left in them. The populace of the city hearing of this attack of the courtiers on the Jews, made a similar assault on those who remained in the city, and, after they had put to death numbers of both sexes, and rased to the ground or burned their houses, they plundered their gold and silver, their writings and valuable garments. Those of the Jews who escaped being put to death, took refuge in the tower of London, and afterwards, by taking up their residence secretly here and there among their friends, they caused others to become rich by their own losses. This persecution began in the year of their jubilee, which they call the year of remission, and it hardly ceased before the end of the year, so that what ought to have been to them a year of remission, was turned into a jubilee of confusion. On the morrow when the king heard of the wrong that had been done them, he chose to consider it as a wrong done to himself; wherefore, he caused three of them to be apprehended, tried by the judges of his court, and hanged one of them because he had stolen something belonging to a Christian; and the other two, because they had kindled a fire in the city, by which

* Vinesauf [Itiner. Rich.] agrees with Wendover in this date; which makes it probable that Gervase, who fixes it on the 11th, is in error, for the 11th of September in that year fell on a Monday.

the house of a Christian citizen had been consumed. When the English people throughout the country heard of this attack on the Jews in London, they assailed them with one consent, and made a perfect havoc of them, slaughtering their persons and plundering their goods. But on the day after the coronation, king Richard, having received homage and the oath of fidelity from the nobles, gave orders that no Jews should suffer forfeiture, but that they should live in peace throughout all the cities of England.

Of king Richard's munificence.

When the Cistercian monks came together from different parts of the world to a general chapter of their order, king Richard gave them every year a hundred marks of silver, and confirmed it by a charter.

How king Richard bestowed pastors on the churches which were vacant throughout England.

On the morrow of the elevation of the holy cross,* king Richard was at Pipewell,† where, by the advice of his archbishops and bishops he convened a large council, and gave to his brother Geoffrey the archbishopric of York; whilst he appointed Godfrey de Lucy to the bishopric of Winchester, Richard archdeacon of Ely to that of London, Hubert Walter to Salisbury, and William de Longchamp to Ely: but Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, after the elections were made, forbade Geoffrey archbishop elect of York, to receive sacerdotal orders or episcopal consecration from any other hands than his own, and on this behalf he appealed to the apostolic see.

How Hugh bishop of Durham obtained the title of earl for money.

At this time, king Richard deposed from his office of bailiff, Ralph de Glanville, justiciary of England, together with almost all the English sheriffs and their officers, compelling all of them to pay a heavy fine of redemption; and to raise funds for the recovery of the Holy Land from the dominion of the infidels, he set every thing up for sale; lordships, castles, townships, woods, farms, shrievalties, and such like. Whereupon Hugh de Pusaz, bishop of Durham, bought for

* The 17th of September. † In Northamptonshire.

himself and his see, the king's township of Segesfeld, together with the wapentake and all its appurtenances, and the earldom of Northumberland during his own life; and when the king girded on him the sword which entitled him to claim the name of earl, he said to the attendants with a laugh, "I have made a young earl out of an old bishop." But the bishop went still further, for to complete the ridiculousness of the thing, he gave the king ten marks of silver, that he might be made justiciary of England, and not go to the Holy Land: and as a precaution against all gainsayers, he gave a considerable bribe to the apostolic see, which is never backward to meet a person's views, and so obtained a licence to remain. In this manner worldly ambition led him to lay aside the sign of the cross, which, as preachers tell us, ought to be borne by all men, and especially by bishops. By this conduct of the bishop was fulfilled a prophecy of St. Godric the hermit, who, when the bishop came at the beginning of his promotion, to ask the hermit about his future prospects, and the length of time he should live, used these words to him, "Of your future prospects and the number of years you have to live, you must inquire from the holy apostles and others like them, but not from me; for I am here doing penance for my sins, and grieve to say that I am still a wretched sinner: but this I tell you, that for seven years before your death you shall suffer from a most lamentable blindness!" The bishop left the man of God, revolving in his mind the words which he had heard; and as he had the most implicit confidence in the hermit, he paid great attention to his eyes, and consulted several physicians, that he might preserve his sight as long as he lived. But when many years had passed away, and he was seized with the sickness of which he died, he asked the physicians with much anxiety what he had best do, upon which all of them with one voice advised him to think in time of the state of his soul, and the more so, as he would soon be obliged to leave this world. The bishop, hearing these words, said, "Godric deceived me; he promised me seven years of blindness before my death!" Now, surely we are justified in saying that he was blind, for by bribes he usurped to himself the empty title of earl and justiciary, mixed himself up with secular affairs, put off his pilgrimage to the Holy

Land, and paying little regard to the care of the inward soul and the duties of a pastor, was not only deprived of his eye-sight, but was sunk in total darkness; and thus this bishop, according to the sentence of the man of God, died at the end of seven years. At this time, earl William of Magnaville died at Rouen.

Of a glorious battle fought by the Christians against the pagans.

On the 4th of October in this year a battle was fought at Antioch between the Christians and the Saracens in the manner following:—on the side of the Christians were the king of Jerusalem, the templars, the hospitallers, the marquis of Montferrat, the French, Theobald the prefect, and Peter Leonis the Landegrave, who, with the Teutons and Pisans, collected together an army of four thousand cavalry and a hundred thousand foot. The pagan army under Saladin consisted of a hundred thousand horse and an immense multitude of foot soldiers. The Christians, bearing the sign of the cross on their armour, began the battle about the third hour in the morning, and, having God on their side, drove the pagans to their camp, and pursuing them at the sword's point, attacked and destroyed seven battalions of the infidels, slew five hundred of Saladin's knights, amongst whom were Baldwin, Saladin's son, and mortally wounded his brother Thacaldine. Whilst they were thus gloriously fighting, five thousand Saracen soldiers made a sudden sally, and attacked the Christians; on seeing which Saladin roused all his strength. The Christians, pressed on both sides, forced their way in retreat through the pagans to their camp, but with the loss of the master of the templars and many others, who were slain on that day.

Ambassadors on the part of the French king come to king Richard to ask him to hasten his pilgrimage to the Holy Land in company with the king of the French.

In the same month of October Rotrod, count of Perche, came as ambassador on the part of the king of the French to England, to tell king Richard and the barons of England, that he with the nobles of the kingdom of France, at a general assembly at Paris, had sworn that he would without fail, God willing, come with his barons to Vizelai, after Easter, thence to set out for Jerusalem; and in proof of this oath the French

king had sent a letter to the king of England, asking him likewise to give him a guarantee at the same term for the prosecution of his journey. On this the king of England assembled the bishops and nobles of the kingdom at Westminster; and, after hearing the oath of the king of the French, to the effect that he would hasten his departure without fail, he ordered William his earl marshal to make oath by his own soul, that he, Richard would, at the time previously fixed on, meet the king of the French at Vizelai in order to start together from that place for the land of promise. The ambassadors, having fulfilled the object of their mission, returned to their own country. On the 1st of November in this year Godfrey de Lucy of Winchester, and Hubert Walter bishop of Salisbury elect, received consecration at the hands of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel of St. Catherine at Westminster.

Of a conversation made between the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of that place, and other matters.

In the same month of November, John cardinal of Anagni, arrived in England at Dover; and as the king was in the northern part of the kingdom, he was forbidden by queen Eleanor to proceed farther without an order from the king; on which he spent thirteen days there at the expense of the archbishop, until peace should be made between the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury concerning the chapel of Akington. But Richard, who was a very wise king, being appealed to on both sides, came and in the same month of November arranged final terms of peace between them, as follows:—First, that Roger the prior, whom the archbishop had installed in that office in opposition to the wishes of the monks, should be deposed; that the chapel, which the archbishop had built in the suburb without their consent, should be destroyed; that the monks aforesaid should, according to the rule of St. Benedict, show canonical obedience and subjection to the archbishop; as they had been accustomed to do to his predecessors; and at the request of the archbishop the king gave to the deposed prior the abbacy of Evesham. It was also provided that the chapel aforesaid should not have the privilege of baptism or burial, nor the administering of any sacred rites, except such as could be discharged by one secular priest.

How William king of Scots did homage to king Richard at Canterbury.

At the same time William king of Scots, did homage to the king of the English for his rights in England, and king Richard restored to him the castles of Roxburghe and Berwick; for the redemption of which fortresses, and as a quit-claim for his fealty and allegiance concerning the kingdom of Scotland, and the confirmation of his charter, he paid to the king of England ten thousand marks of silver.

Of the liberality of king Richard.

At this time king Richard gave to his brother John the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Dorset; he also gave to his mother Eleanor her usual dowry, with lands and honours in addition to it.

How king Richard crossed the sea to Normandy.

On the 5th of December* in the same year, king Richard set out from the city of Canterbury for Dover; thence to cross the sea, and accordingly, on the eve of the feast of St. Lucy the virgin, he sailed for Flanders, where he was joyfully received by count Philip, who also accompanied him into Normandy. The king appointed Hugh bishop of Durham, and William bishop of Ely, his chancellor Hugh Bardulph, and William Briwere, guardians of the kingdom of England, to keep the laws and customs of the kingdom in observance, and to administer justice to those who required it; but distinction was made between these guardians in favour of Hugh bishop of Durham, and William bishop of Ely, to the former of whom was entrusted the administration of justice in that part of the country extending from the great river Humber to the Scotch sea; whilst the latter obtained the judgeship of the country from the before-mentioned river to the Gallic sea. This much annoyed Hugh bishop of

* Instead of this sentence, Matthew Paris has as follows:—"About the same time, on the 5th day of December, king Richard, when he had finished his praying, fasting, and almsgiving, left the city of Canterbury, promising to do all that the martyr could wish for touching those things for which the saint had contended so gloriously. He started for Dover on the eve of St. Lucy, and crossed over to Flanders the same day. Whilst he was at sea, he made a vow to build a chapel to the martyr in the Holy Land, where the saint should be his guide and protector, both by sea and land. This vow he fulfilled at Acre as shall be said hereafter."

Durham, who then, for the first time, learnt that the king had made a justiciary of him, not from regard to justice, but that he might extort money, as has been before mentioned, from him; for this reason he and the chancellor were seldom agreed, as the saying is,

. . . 'For every power
Is jealous of a rival.'

How the archbishop laid an interdict on the lands of John the king's brother, but the cardinal reversed it.

About this time John, the king's brother, laid a grievous complaint before the legate and the bishops, that the archbishop, even after an appeal made to the apostolic see, had laid an interdict on all his lands, because he had espoused the daughter of the earl of Gloucester, who was related to him in the third degree of consanguinity; and on hearing this complaint the legate confirmed his appeal, and released his lands from the interdict.

How the tenth part of property in England was given to assist the Holy Land.

At this time a tax of the tenth part of all moveables was generally levied throughout England, and collected for sending assistance to the Holy Land, and this violent extortion, which veiled the vice of rapacity * under the name of charity, alarmed the priesthood as well as the people. In this year Richard bishop of London, and William of Ely, were elected and consecrated at Lambeth on the last day of December.

How the confederate kings determined to depart together to the Holy Land.

A.D. 1190. At Christmas, Richard king of the English was at Bure in Normandy, and passed the time of that solemn festival there with the primates of that country. After Christmas, at an interview between the kings of England and France in the ford of St. Remy, it was agreed that they

* "Besides the oppression which England thus endured, the king, eager to acquire money, pretended that he had lost his seal, and commanded a new one to be made, and ordered it to be proclaimed in every county, that whoever desired to give greater validity to their charters should come without delay and have the new seal affixed to them. Many persons therefore, not finding the king in England, were obliged to cross the sea, and to pay whatever fine he imposed for having the new seal affixed to their charters."—*M. Paris.*

should, under the Lord's guidance, hasten their departure for Jerusalem at the same time. A form of agreement for the preservation of peace between the two countries was, at the feast of St. Hilary, made in the presence of the bishops and nobles of both kingdoms, and having been confirmed by oath between the two sovereigns, it was committed to writing as follows, "I, Philip, king of the French, will keep good faith with Richard king of the English, as my friend and ally for life, for limb, and worldly honour; and I, Richard, king of the English, promise to keep the same good faith with the king of the French as my lord and friend, for life, and for limb. We also agree to lend aid each of us, if necessary, in defending the territories of the other as zealously as if they were his own possessions." The nobles and barons of both kingdoms swore not to depart from their fealty to their kings, or to make war, till forty days should have passed in peace after the return of the sovereigns, and both of the kings joined in this oath. The archbishops and bishops of both kingdoms swore to promulgate the sentence of excommunication against those who should break through this compact. It was also determined that if either king should die on the expedition, the survivor should take charge of the treasure and forces of the deceased, to fulfil the service which they owed to God. As they were not able to settle this treaty definitively they delayed the business till the feast of St. John's nativity, in order that the sovereigns and all the crusaders might assemble without fail at Vizelai, to enter upon their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. "And if any shall attempt to contravene," such were the words of the treaty, "this our agreement, their lands shall be laid under the interdict of the church, and their persons be excommunicated. Having thus arranged matters they broke up the conference.*

How William bishop of Ely was appointed chancellor.

Richard king of England, sent ambassadors, in conjunction with others sent by William bishop of Ely, to pope Clement, and obtained from that pontiff a decree as follows. "We, Clement the pope, greeting,—The laudable request of our well

* "About the same time Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury held a council at Westminster, at which he bade farewell to his brethren and set out for the Holy Land, in magnificent array."—*M. Paris.*

beloved son in the Lord, Richard the renowned king of the English, we in our apostolic office, have decreed to entrust to thy brotherly care the duty of chancellor in all England, Wales, in the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York, and in those parts of Ireland in which John earl of Moreton, brother of the king, holds power and authority given this 2nd of June, in the third year of our pontificate."

How the archbishop of Canterbury suspended bishop Hugh.

In this year, Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury wrote to Richard bishop of London as follows: "Whilst we were at Rouen, we suspended from the performance of his sacred duties, our brother Hugh of Coventry, for having, without regard to the dignity of his episcopal rank, usurped the office of sheriff; but on his faithfully promising to resign into our hands the charge of the sheriff's office, and never again to busy himself with affairs of this kind, we thought him deserving of absolution. We, therefore, send this same bishop to you with this our letter, ordering you, in conjunction with the bishop of Rochester and our clerks, without fail, to appoint a time and place to hear and make a just decision concerning the charges for which that prelate was suspended by us.

Of the massacre of the Jews in sundry places.

In this same year, many persons throughout England who were about to journey to Jerusalem, determined previous to their departure, to cause a rising against the Jews. This first broke out at Norwich, where the Jews, as many as could be found, were slain in their own houses; some few, however, escaped, and took refuge in the castle at that place. After this, on the 7th of March, many were slain at Stamford on market day; on the 18th day of March fifty-seven were said to have been slaughtered at St. Edmund's; thus, wherever the Jews were found they were slain by the hands of the crusaders, except those who were protected by the municipal officers. But we must not believe that such a massacre of the Jews was pleasing to wise men, since it is written, "Do not kill them, lest my people should forget."

Of the dreadful slaughter of the Jews at York.

In the same year, during Lent, that is, on the 15th of

March, the Jews of the city of York, to the number of five hundred, besides women and children, through fear of an attack on the part of the Christians, by permission of the sheriff and the governor of the castle, shut themselves up in that fortress, and when the garrison required them to give up possession of it, they refused to do so. On this refusal, repeated attacks were made both by day and night, and at length the Jews after reflecting, offered a large sum of money for their lives, but this was refused by the people. Then one of them skilled in the law, rose and addressed his companions thus, "Oh, men of Israel, hear my counsel. It is better, as our law instructs us, to die for our law than to fall into the hands of our enemies." This being agreed to by all, each head of a family came with a sharp razor, and cut the throats first of his wife, sons, and daughters, and afterwards of all his family, and threw the dead bodies, which they considered as sacrificed to devils, on the Christians outside the castle; they then shut themselves up in the king's house, and setting fire to it, both living and dead were burned together with the buildings. After this the citizens and soldiers burned the Jews' houses, with the papers of their debtors, but retained their money for their own use.

Geoffrey, archbishop elect of York, is ordained a priest.

At that time, bishop William, the king's chancellor and justiciary of England, levied a tax of two palfreys and two chargers on each city of England, and of one palfrey and one charger on each of the abbacies. At this time, too, John bishop of Whithern, a suffragan of the church of York, ordained Geoffrey archbishop of York elect, to the priesthood. At the same time, the election of the aforesaid Geoffrey was confirmed by pope Clement, who, amongst other things, in a letter which he wrote to the chapter ot York, added these words, "We therefore admonish the whole brotherhood of you, and command you by these our apostolic writings, that you pay reverence and honour to him as your prelate, that you may thereby prove yourselves praiseworthy in the sight both of God and man. Given at the Lateran, on the 7th of March, in the third year of our pontificate."

Of the array of the Christian army at the siege of Acre.

The army of the Christians at this time before Acre was disposed as follows :—In front of mount Musardus, near the sea, were the Genoese; after them came the hospitallers and the marquis of Montferrat; next in succession were Henry count of Champagne, Guy of Duinperc, and the count of Brenne; next came the counts of Bar and Chalons, and after them, Robert of Dreux and the bishop of Beauvais; then followed the bishop of Besançon, and near him towards the plain were count Theobald, the count of Claremont, Hugh de Gournay, Otho de Treson, Florentius de Haugi, and Walkeline de Ferrars: then came the Florentines, next the bishop of Cambray, near whom was the bishop of Salisbury, with all the English force; then came the steward of Flanders, with John de Neele, Odo de Ham, and the Flemings; after them were the lord of Hissoldone and the viscount of Tours, and near them the king of Jerusalem, and Hugh of Tabaria, with their kinsmen; next were the templars and James d'Avennes, besides whom, were the Landegrave and the count of Geldres, with the Germans, Dacians, Teutons, and Frieslanders, between whom the duke of Suabia had pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of a mosque; following them, near a tower, were stationed the patriarch and bishop of Acre, the bishop of Bethlehem, the viscount of Chatel-Herault, with Reginald de Fleche, and Humphry of Tours, and the money changers under Turon; at the extremity, near the port, was the archbishop of Pisa, with the Pisans; lastly came the Lombards.

A chapel is built at Acre in honour of the blessed martyr Thomas.

About this time, a certain English chaplain, named William, a familiar of Ralph de Diceto, dean of London, when on his voyage to Jerusalem, made a vow, that on his safe arrival at the port of Acre, he would, at his own expence, build a chapel in honour of the blessed martyr Thomas, and would cause a cemetery to be consecrated to that saint, which vow he fulfilled. Many from all directions flocked together to the service of this chapel, and William, by the decision of all the Christians, took the name of prior, and to show his devotion as a soldier of Christ, made it his business to attend to the poor, and especially to the burial of the bodies of those who perished from disease, as well as those slain in battle.

Of the chiefs of Saladin's army.

The chiefs in Acre under Saladin were as follow:—Caracos, who had been made a knight by Corboran at the siege of Antioch, and who had also brought up Saladin, and with him Gemaladin, Gurgi, Suchar, Simcordoedar, Belhagessemin, Fecardincer, and Cerantegadîn. The chiefs of the army were these: his four brothers, Saphadin, Felkedin, Sefelselem, Melkalade; his three sons, Miralis, Melcaleth, Melcalezis; his two nephews, Techaedin and Benesemedin, and the chiefs Coulin, Elaisar, Bederim, and Mustop Hazadinnersel. All these chiefs held authority over the provinces of Joramma, Rotassia, Bira, the Persians, the Turks, the Hemsiensians, Alexandria, Damietta, Aleppo, and Damascus, and of all the country beyond the Euphrates, extending to the Red Sea, and beyond it towards Barbary. Metalech ruled over Babylon, and to the four brothers of Saladin were entrusted the provinces of Abesia, Leeman, the Moors, Nubia, Cæsarea, Ascalon, Amira, Bedreddin, Amirasen, Nazareth, Neopolis, Camele, Mustoplice, and Maruch; Hazadinneassar had charge of Mount Royal, Crach, Corisin, and part of Armenia, but Saladin was the sovereign ruler over all of them.

How the battering engines of the Christians were burned by the Saracens.

In the same year, Greek fire was hurled by the Saracens who were blockaded in the city of Acre, upon the engines which the Christians at great expense had constructed for subduing the city, and this instantly spreading abroad, reduced them all to ashes; this took place on the fifth of May.

How traitors were discovered among the Christians.

At this same time, Anser of Mount Royal revealed a conspiracy which he in conjunction with the bishop of Beauvais, count Robert his brother, Guy of Duinperc, the Landegrave, and the count of Geldres, had entered into with Saladin, and for which they had received from that prince thirty thousand bezants and a hundred marks of gold, besides a bribe of four camels, two leopards, and four falcons received by the Landegrave, for which and for other gifts they had agreed to put off the attack on the city, and had allowed their battering forts to be burned.

King Richard's letter on behalf of his chancellor.

At this same time, Richard king of England issued letters to all his liege subjects throughout England, as follows: "Richard, by the grace of God, &c. We command and enjoin you, that as you regard us and our kingdom, as well as yourselves and your possessions, ye be in all things obedient to our friend and well-beloved chancellor, the bishop of Ely, in all things which tend to our welfare, and that ye act for him in all his commands on our behalf, as if we ourselves were in the kingdom. Witness myself at Bayonne."

Of the commanders of king Richard's navy, and the laws made against malefactors.

About that time, king Richard, in a council of nobles, chose and appointed Gerard archbishop of Auxienne, Bernard bishop of Barvia, Robert des Sables, Richard de Canville, and William de Forêt, to be justiciaries over the combined navy of England, Normandy, Brittany, and Poictou, which was about to sail for the Holy Land, and delivered letters patent to them as follow: "Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, to all his subjects about to sail to the Holy Land, greeting: Know all men, that we by the advice of our good council, have made these laws:—Whoever on board ship shall slay another shall be bound to the dead man, and cast into the sea with him; if any one shall kill another on land, he shall be bound to the dead man and buried with him; if any one shall be convicted of having drawn a knife to strike another, or shall draw blood from another, he shall lose his hand; if any one strikes another, he shall be dipped three times in the sea; whoever shall offer insult, or reproach, or curse his companion, shall be fined as many ounces of silver as times he shall have so insulted him; a robber convicted of theft shall have boiling pitch poured on his head, and a shower of ashes scattered thereon to know him, and he shall be set adrift at the first place the ships touch at." He caused an oath to be administered to each and all, that they would keep these laws, and would obey the beforenamed justiciaries; after which he ordered the commanders of his navy to set sail and meet him at Marseilles.

How king Richard received the scrip and staff at Vizelai.

In this year the French and English kings met on the octaves of St. John the Baptist at Vizelai, where the body of St. Mary Magdalene is buried, and stayed there two days; here the king of the English received the staff and scrip in the church of St. Denis. After this the kings with all their forces set out for Lyons, on the Rhone, where, when they and a great part of their armies had crossed the bridge, it broke, and many of both sexes were drowned. After this the kings separated, because one place was not large enough to hold such large forces when united; the king of the French took the road to the city of Genoa, and the king of England towards Messina; and on the arrival of the latter at that place he found there many pilgrims who, owing to their long stay there, had spent all their money: of these, king Richard kept many and united them to his army. After having stayed at this place eight days in expectation of the arrival of his navy, finding himself deceived in his hopes, he collected together ten large busses, and nine well armed galleys, and embarked in these vessels, being anxious on account of the delay of his fleet; and in the mean time, that he might not appear inactive, he sailed with a strong armed force, passing by the island of St. Stephen, Aquileia and the Black Mountain, the island of St. Honoratus, the city of Meis, and a city called Wintilimine. Thence he made his journey to the castle of Seine, and on the day he reached it he had an interview with the king of the French, who was lying ill there. On the 14th of August the king of the English reached the port of Dauphin, and stayed there five days. Whilst at this place the king of the French sent to ask him to supply him with five galleys; the English king offered him three, but they were refused by the French king. On the 24th of August the king came to the harbour of Portesweire, which is half way between Marseilles and Messina, and so passing different places he entered the river Tiber, near the mouth of which there is a fine tower. At this place he was met by Octavian bishop of Ostia, with a message on behalf of the pope, that the king would visit him: this the king refused, upbraiding the bishop for the simony and greediness of the Romish priests, and many other charges,

adding, that they had been paid seven hundred marks for the consecration of the bishop of Maine, that they had received fifteen hundred marks of silver for granting the legateship to William bishop of Ely, and moreover of having received a large sum of money from the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was accused of a crime by his clerks, and so after his refusal to visit Rome, he entered Apuleia near the town of Capua.

How king Richard appointed his nephew Arthur to be his heir.

At this time Tancred king of Sicily (who had succeeded to king William), in order to keep on peaceable terms with king Richard, gave to that king twenty thousand ounces of silver in discharge of all his claims against him, and the same quantity of gold as a quit-claim of the will, which king William had made in favour of king Henry, Richard's father, and in consideration of the marriage which had been agreed to be contracted between Arthur duke of Brittany and the daughter of king Tancred; on which king Richard appointed the before named Arthur his heir, in case of his dying without any lawful heir, after which he set out on his pilgrimage.

How queen Eleanor, on leaving her son, left Berengaria with him.

At this time queen Eleanor, determined to follow the route of her son the king, and crossing mount Janus and the plains of Italy, she at length came up with him; and after spending four days with him, she by his permission, returned to England, leaving with her son, Berengaria daughter of the king of Navarre, whom Richard was about to marry; for king Richard had given to the king of the French ten thousand pounds as a quit-claim for his marriage with that monarch's sister; and, by that agreement too, the king of the French had ever resigned all his claim to the castle of Gisors and the whole of the Vexin. In this same year too Frederic, the Roman emperor, in the fortieth year of his reign, passed through Bulgaria on his way to Jerusalem, and in marching from Iconium to Antioch, whilst his army safely passed the river Saphet, the emperor fell from his horse into the stream and was drowned.

How the blessed martyr Thomas appeared to the commanders of king Richard's navy.

In the same year the king of England's fleet was exposed to many dangers: on their voyage towards Lisbon they had doubled the promontory called Godesterre, and having passed Brittany with St. Matthew of Finisterre on their left, and the ocean, on which was their route to Jerusalem, on the right, they left Poictou and Gascony on their left. On the day of our Lord's ascension they were in the Spanish sea, when a dreadful tempest came on them, which dispersed the fleet immediately. In the raging of the storm, whilst all in their alarm were calling on the Lord, the blessed martyr Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, appeared at three different times to three different persons who were on board the ship of the Londoners, and said to them, "Be not afraid, for I, and the blessed martyr Edmund, and St. Nicholas the confessor, have been appointed by the Lord, guardians of the king of England's fleet; and if the crews and commanders of the fleet will guard themselves against sin, and repent of their former offences, God will grant them a prosperous voyage and direct their ways in his paths." These words were heard to be thrice repeated, after which the blessed Thomas disappeared and the storm forthwith ceased. Amongst the crew of that ship were, one called William with the beard, William Fitz Osbert, and Geoffrey the gold-worker, and with them many citizens of London. These had now passed Lisbon and Cape St. Vincent, and had neared the city of Seville, which was then the extreme of Christendom in Spain; indeed the Christian faith was as yet in its infancy there, for it was only the year before that it became Christian, and had been wrested from the power of the pagans. The crew of the London ship, steering near the city, found by certain indications that Christians dwelt there; they therefore put in, and were received with much honour by the bishop and all the rest of the inhabitants. There were on board this ship more than eighty well armed youths, whom the people of the city and the king of Portugal retained in their service for fear of the emperor of Morocco, giving them every kind of security for the pay they required, and a promise of large gifts in addition. Besides this ship, ten more of the English

fleet which, with their crews, had been dispersed here and there, at length, by the grace of God, arrived at the city of Lisbon by way of the river Tagus. Afterwards the archbishop of Auxia, Robert des Sables, Richard de Canville, and William de Fortz, taking their course between Africa and Spain, after many storms, arrived, on the octaves of St. Mary, at Marseilles, with the whole of the fleet which was under their charge, and, finding the king there, they stopped to attend to the necessary repairs of the ships.

How Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, and some others landed at Tyre.

About the same time Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert bishop of Salisbury, and Ralph de Glanville, formerly justiciaries of England, who had preceded the king of England on the voyage to Jerusalem, making a direct course, left Sicily on the left hand, and, after experiencing many dangers, arrived at Tyre about Michaelmas. John bishop of Norwich, however, went to the pope, and having obtained his permission, there laid aside the cross of the Lord, and so having cleared out his baggage, he returned to England absolved from his vows.*

Of a quarrel between the kings at Messina.

On the 16th of September in this same year Philip the French king arrived at Messina, and was entertained in king Tancred's palace; king Richard arrived on the 23rd of the same month, but was not allowed ingress to the city, for the French were afraid that the provisions would not suffice for the multitudes who followed the two kings. Richard, on learning this, sent his marshals to the elders of the city, requesting them to sell provisions to his army that they might not be pressed by want; the citizens wished to open their gates and to treat such a great prince hospitably, but the French would not permit them, but climbed the walls in arms and resolved to defend the gates. At this king Richard ordered his troops to fly to arms, and to force an

* M. Paris amplifies this sentence as follows: "He also offered money, which the pope received with avidity. Thus he easily obtained licence to depart, and emptying his baggage, that it might not be too heavy for him, he returned to England absolved from his vow, leaving behind him a disgraceful example to the army."

entrance for himself and his followers, in spite of their enemies. The troops obeyed the king's commands, attacked the gates, forced their way into the city, and, after slaying many of the French, they, with the king at their head, put the rest to flight. When this event came to the ears of the French king he conceived the most violent indignation against the king of the English, and he never dispossessed himself of it as long as he lived; nevertheless the two kings had a peaceable interview on the same day and made no mention of what had taken place.

How king Richard subdued some fortresses.

On the 24th of September in this year, the king of the French embarked, but as the wind was unfavourable he returned the same day to Messina. On the 30th of September king Richard crossed the river Var, and took a very strongly fortified place in Calabria, called Labamare, and, putting in it his sister Joanna, formerly queen of Sicily, he returned to Messina. The next day he took a fortress called the monastery of the Griffones, between Messina and Calabria; at this place the Griffones making an attack on Hugh Brun earl of March, were driven back by king Richard, on which they closed the gates of the city, and betook themselves to the ramparts, and from thence slew and wounded several of the king's men and horses. The king, enraged at this, attacked and forced the gates, and took the city, and on the 4th of October placed followers of his own in it, and on the following day the elders of the city gave hostages for the due observance of peace by them; after this he there built a castle which was called Mate-Griffon. At this time a provincial council, of which William bishop of Ely, the legate of the apostolic see, was president, was held at Westminster on the 15th of October, but at this little or nothing was done for the edification of the English church.

How the Norman church was freed from the yoke of slavery.

At this time the church of God in Normandy, with king Richard's consent, was freed from its long endured yoke of slavery. In the first place it was determined and granted by the king, with regard to clerks, that on no occasion should they be taken by the secular authority, as had been the

custom, unless for murder, theft, arson, or crimes of the like enormity; but that, immediately on the requisition of the ecclesiastical judges, they should be handed over for judgment in the ecclesiastical courts. Also that in general, all questions of breach of faith or breaking an oath should be decided on in the ecclesiastical court. Also all questions of dowry, or marriage gifts, where goods or live stock were claimed, were to be referred to the church's arbitration. Also that in conventual establishments the election of abbats, priors, and abbesses should be with the consent of their bishop. Also that the secular courts should have no cognizance where ecclesiastics could prove that, by deed or otherwise the estate was eleemosynary, but that it should be referred to the decision of ecclesiastic judges. Also that the disposal of property bequeathed by will should rest with the church authorities; and that no tenth part, as heretofore, should be deducted. Also with regard to the goods of clerks, although they were said to be usurers, that, however they might die, the secular authorities should have no power, but that their property should be distributed by the episcopal authority in works of piety. Also that whatever property laymen might have disposed of in their life time, by whatsoever title they had aliened it, although they might be called usurious, the same should not be revoked after their death; but that whatever should be found unaliened after their death, if it could be proved that they were usurious at the time of their death, should be confiscated. Also that if a person deceased should have any pledge by which he had gained any interest, his portion should revert to the depositor of the pledge, or to his heirs; the same should be done with the portions of his wife and children after their death. If any one should be overtaken by sudden death or by any event, so that he could not dispose of his property, the distribution of it should rest with the church authorities.

Of the death of Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury.

At this time Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, being at the point of death at Acre, bequeathed all his property to assist the crusade in the Holy Land, and after his decease Hubert bishop of Salisbury, who had been appointed by the archbishop, his executor, faithfully distributed his property

on pious uses. Being chiefly anxious about the sentries of the camp, he paid, as the archbishop had in his life time determined to do, fixed salaries for several days to twenty knights and fifty of their attendants; he always took on himself the care of the poor, casting the eye of compassion on the helpless, and in all respects fulfilling the duties of a good prelate. But the city of Acre, notwithstanding the numerous assaults of the Christians, resolutely held out, for it was surrounded by strong walls, and was well garrisoned and supplied with warlike engines; moreover Saladin's army surrounded the besiegers on all sides, from which cause as well by the withdrawal of some of the Christians as by the numbers who were slain, the army of Christ was much diminished; nevertheless the Christians, having confidence in the consolation of Christ, were in hopes of being able to endure the hardships and toils of the siege until the arrival of the kings, if they should reach them by the ensuing Easter, but if not, then their money would fail, and all hope of earthly assistance would vanish.*

Of the pride of William bishop of Ely, and chancellor of England.

At this time William, justiciary of England and legate of the apostolic see, caused a deep trench to be dug round the tower of London, hoping to be able to bring the waters of the Thames into the city, but after expending much from the treasury his labour proved fruitless. Moreover this same chancellor had become very great amongst all the people of the west, in England he was both a king and priest, and he paid no regard to anything, whilst he was not contented with the episcopal dignity alone, but showed that his thoughts were bent on things too high for him; for he showed his vanity and haughtiness by saying at the beginning of all his letters "We, William, by the grace of God bishop of Ely, chancellor of our lord the king, justiciary of all England, and legate of

* "Saladin continually hovered over the besieging army, and did them as much harm as he could, and the Christians received much damage at his hands. If we may believe the report, Richard then received privately many presents from Saladin, namely, precious jewels, gold of the finest quality, and the most valuable of all, a coat of mail which no spear could penetrate. Richard, excusing his prodigality and veiling his own avarice, said to his men, 'Let him give away what is his own, if he likes to do so.'"

the apostolic see, greeting, &c." He exercised to an immoderate excess the dignities which he had obtained by bribery, endeavouring to repair the sacred establishments which he had despoiled for the sake of acquiring his honours. He distributed money at his tables, so that he might come again and extort the same with interest, for he performed the duty of the legateship, which he had acquired at the expense of a thousand pounds of silver, so immoderately that he became burdensome to all the establishments of England, both conventual and cathedral; indeed he travelled through England with an array of fifteen hundred attendants, and accompanied by crowds of clerks, and surrounded by a troop of soldiers, neglecting all things which belonged to the dignity of his episcopal station. He was waited on at his table by all the sons of the nobility whom he had married to his nieces and female relatives, and all those whom he kept as his attendants thought themselves lucky. Never was there land for sale, which he did not purchase, never was there a church or abbacy vacant which he did not dispose of or retain for himself, nor any castles or towns of which he would not either by threats or bribes obtain the guardianship; by these acts and many others of like character he struck terror into the people. The kingdom of England was silent in his presence, and no one murmured, for there remained in England no power to resist him. His train was composed of—

> "Ambubaiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
> Mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne."

So that he on earth was followed by all kinds of music and singing, as the holy angels follow the all-powerful God in heaven. He acted entirely in such a way that he seemed to strive to put himself on a level with God, but the end of all this will be related in the subsequent history in due time.*

Of the mortality at Acre.

A.D. 1191. After the death of the venerable Baldwin archbishop of Canterbury, nobles and knights of well-tried powers died at the siege of Acre, as was said, from the unhealthiness of the atmosphere; amongst these were Ralph

* "Having obtained the legatine power from the pope, he held a council at Westminster. W. bishop of Worcester, and W. abbat of Westminster, died on the 28th of March."—*M. Paris.*

de Fulcher, count Robert of Perche, Theobald of Blois, count Stephen, his brother, the count and son of the emperor Frederick, the earl of Ferrars, earl Robert of Leicester; Ralph de Glanville, Ralph Hauterive, the archdeacon of Colchester, and innumerable others besides. The French and English kings, in the meantime, were waiting in Sicily the arrival of spring to avoid the dangers of a voyage by winter. In this year too, pope Clement, after filling the apostolic chair for fourteen months, died, and was succeeded by Celestine, formerly called Hyacinthus.

How Philip king of the French, and Richard king of the English, embarked at Messina.

On the 29th of March in this year, the French king embarked at Messina and made sail direct for Jerusalem. On the 10th of April he was followed by king Richard in great pomp with a fleet consisting of thirteen busses with three masts besides a hundred transports and fifty triple banked galleys; after a passage of twenty days they neared the island of Rhodes, and ten days after they put into Cyprus. But Cursac, the ruler of the island, who had assumed the title of emperor, came with a strong armed force to prevent the king's entering the harbour, and made prisoners several of his followers who were shipwrecked, robbed them, and cast them into prison to die of hunger. The English king, burning with rage, attacked this enemy and soon defeating him, took and detained him prisoner, and reduced to submission his only daughter and the whole of the island with all the fortified places. Cursac made an agreement with the king that he was not to be kept in iron chains, and the king to keep his word caused him to be bound in chains of silver, and ordered him to be placed in a castle near Tripoli, called Margeth; but his daughter with the two queens he kept honourably guarded in his own house. King Richard had, for the sake of refreshing himself and his followers after their tedious voyage, and of procuring an increase of fresh provisions, determined to stop at this island, without doing damage to any one, but the above named Cursac forbade him to attempt entering his territories; more than this he had forbidden any of his subjects to sell provisions to the English king's army, or to expose articles to

them for sale, and by these means he roused the mind of the king to anger, and forced him to inflict on him the before named injury. When at length the king had obtained possession of all the money of the island, and had arranged all matters to his satisfaction; he there married Berengaria, daughter of the queen of Navarre, the same whom queen Eleanor had brought to him whilst he was staying in Sicily. On the 4th day of Easter week in this year, pope Celestine consecrated as emperor, Henry son of the emperor Frederick. In this year too, Philip count of Flanders, who had sailed for the Holy Land with the king of the French, died without leaving any children.

How Geoffrey, archbishop of York, was imprisoned at Dover.

About this same time, by command of the supreme pontiff, Bartholomew, archbishop of Tours, ordained Geoffrey, elect of York, a bishop, and he, after his consecration, set out for England, and arrived with his followers at Dover. Matthew de Clere sheriff of that county had shortly before received a letter from William bishop of Ely, to this effect, "We order you that if the bishop elect of York shall arrive at any port in your jurisdiction, or any messengers of his, you cause him to be detained until you receive orders from us regarding him; we likewise order you that you cause to be detained all letters of our lord the pope or of any great man, which may come to those parts." Matthew therefore, on learning the arrival of the archbishop, with the advice of the bishop of Ely's sister, who then had the charge of the castle, was not slow to fulfil his instructions; for six days he with a band of armed men besieged him in the priory of St. Martin, and reduced him to such straits that in the meantime it was with difficulty that provisions which he obtained from charity could be brought to him; for the treachery of the disaffected increased daily, and the soldiers of the bishop of Ely came to the above named church with staves, and rushing armed into the archbishop's presence peremptorily ordered him to leave the kingdom without delay and to sail for Flanders. On his refusal to obey this mandate, with his robe over his shoulders, and the cross in his hands, he was violently dragged from before the altar by his feet, arms, and legs, with his head beating against the ground, and, together with his clerks and

religious men, who had come to see him from many quarters, was taken to the castle and thrown into a dungeon, where he was kept close prisoner for eight days. This treatment coming to the knowledge of the bishop of London, that prelate immediately went to the chancellor, and with much difficulty after many entreaties obtained the archbishop's release, being obliged to give his whole bishopric as security for him. The archbishop therefore, released from prison, came to London, where he was received by the bishop, clergy, and people, with all honours and in solemn procession. This rash presumption, as the following history will show, afterwards redounded very much to the disgrace of the chancellor.

A remarkable eclipse of the sun.

In the month of June in the same year, on Sunday, the eve of St. John the Baptist, there appeared about the sixth hour of the day, an eclipse of the sun, which lasted till the eighth hour, the moon being twenty seven days old and the sun being in the sign of Cancer.

How king Richard took a ship called a dromund.

On the 21st of March* in that year, Philip king of the French landed at Acre, and Richard following him, embarked at Cyprus with a large stock of provisions. He heard that the French king's army was suffering at Acre from hunger and scarcity to such a degree, that a quart of corn cost sixty marks, and he therefore hastened to the relief of such distress and misery with his ships loaded with large quantities of corn. Whilst he was sailing with a fair wind towards Acre, which city was formerly called Ptolemais, there came in sight on the 6th of June, a very large ship, called a dromund, which had been sent loaded with an immense sum of money from the city of Baruch, by Saladin's brother, Salahadin, Soldan of Babylon, to carry assistance to the pagans who were besieged in Acre. On board this vessel they had Greek fire, and many pots of fiery serpents; and the crew consisted of fifteen hundred warriors, besides fifteen hundred strong men by whose aid the ship might be strengthened. King Richard immediately ordered his followers to prepare for

* Some mistake in date here: Philip only left Messina on the 29th of March.

action, and on the galleys nearing one another a fierce attack commenced on both sides, but the hostile ship became helpless on account of the wind failing. At length one of the king's rowers, who was a skilful diver, approached the pagan vessel under water, and bored a hole in it, after doing which, under Christ's protection, he returned to his own ship and told the king what he had done. The water entering in a short time rose over the deck of the ship, and the crew, who before trusted to their bulwarks, soon lost all hope of escape; thirteen hundred of these were drowned by king Richard's order, the surviving two hundred he kept as hostages.

Of king Richard's arrival at Acre, and the capture of that city.

King Richard, after collecting all the spoils of the pagan ship approached the port of Acre, whither he was bound, with a favouring wind. At length on the 8th of June the king entered the harbour, and the shrill sound of clarions, the braying of trumpets, with the horrid din of the horns filled the air near the shore, and resounded for a distance round inland; this event animated the Christians to battle, but struck terror into the besieged Saracens, for it proclaimed the arrival of this great chief. King Richard showed his generous feelings to all by supplying food to the famished army. The two kings then, attended by crowds of knights and soldiers, arranged stone engines and other machines around the city, and by the weight of their missiles, and constant use of these engines day and night, they battered the walls of the city so that the infidels were panic-struck, lost all confidence in their power of resistance, and at length held a council, and began to treat of peace. The conditions of the agreement were, that, for the ransom of the garrison, Saladin should restore the true cross, which he had taken in battle, and should release fifteen hundred captive Christians, to be chosen by them, and in addition to the above stated agreement should pay seven thousand bezants. Thus the city, with the arms and everything in it, excepting only the persons of the Saracens, was happily surrendered to the two kings on the 12th of July. When the appointed day of payment arrived Saladin did not fulfil his agreement. To punish this great transgression, therefore, about two thousand six

hundred were beheaded, only a few of the most noble were saved and placed in prison at the disposal of the kings.

How the French king through envy returned to his own country.

After the city was subdued, the king of the French made arrangements to return home, as though the war was entirely an end; for he was annoyed beyond measure at all the credit of the success of the Christian army being given to king Richard. Pleading, therefore, want of money and poverty as his excuses, he said he could not stay there any longer; but the English king Richard, who had a burning desire to promote the cause of the crusade, on hearing this, promised that he would supply the king of the French with a share of all he possessed, in money as well as in his supplies of provisions, horses, arms, and ships, in order that they might unitedly endeavour to drive the enemies of Christ from the Holy Land. But in as much as the French king had sworn to return, and determinately arranged for it, notwithstanding that his followers loudly exclaimed against it, and the whole army was greatly excited; he embarked to return to his country with only a few in his company. Moreover there had arisen between the two kings a secret disagreement, so that the king of France proposed to deliver the city of Acre, and the other cities, castles, and districts, which they might take, to the marquis of Montferrat, and to appoint him king of the Holy Land; for this same marquis had married the daughter of king Almeric, sister of the queen of Jerusalem, who was lately deceased. King Richard was throughout opposed to this wish, and plainly proved that it would be more consistent with right to restore to king Guy his kingdom, of which he had been some while since deprived, than to appoint another whilst he yet lived; since it appeared that he had lost his sovereignty, not through his own indolence, but that, through his boldness in a fierce war, owing to the number of his enemies, and the weakness of his own army, he had been taken at the same time as the cross by the Saracens. This is known to have been the original cause of discord between the before-named princes, although a difference had sprung up in the first place, though concealed, at Messina in Sicily, when king Richard had obtained possession of the city with an armed force, and destroyed many of

the followers of the French king, on account of the abuse and harassing treatment of the English by his army. The king of the French, therefore, seeing that the people of different countries, who had flocked to the Holy Land, placed themselves under the command of king Richard, and that the fame of the latter's prowess increased daily, because he was better supplied with money, more profuse in bestowing gifts, possessed of a larger army, and was braver in attacking his enemies, thought that the fame of his own prowess was dimmed by that of another's, and was therefore in greater haste to embark. In addition to these reasons, he wished to possess himself of the territory of the count of Flanders, who had lately died: therefore after he had pledged his oath not to invade the territories of the English king or of the chiefs, who remained with him, he took his departure. King Richard then caused the trenches and breaches in the walls of Acre to be repaired, and fortified it with men and arms.

Of king Richard's progress.

After these events, on the eve of the assumption of the blessed Mary, king Richard, with his fellow warriors, led the way from the gates of Acre, and boldly set out on his march to besiege and take the cities on the sea coast; and he ordered his camp to be pitched near and in sight of Saladin's army, at the place where he had caused the two thousand six hundred of the Saracens, whom the two kings had taken prisoners at Ptolemais, to be beheaded, as has been before related. When the report of this event reached the Saracens, who occupied the maritime cities, they were alarmed lest the king in his anger should inflict on them a similar punishment to that of the Ptolemaidans, and having no confidence in Saladin's assisting them, since he had refused to pay what was demanded of him for the ransom of the others, they evacuated their cities and fled immediately on hearing of the approach of the king. This was the case with the inhabitants of Caiphas, Cæsarea, Assur, Joppa, Gaza, and Ascalon, and thus, by the will of God, all the maritime district in that part of the country fell into the hands of the Christians. This did not however result without some severe fighting; for the army of Saladin followed closely on the Christian flanks, and in the defiles dreadfully harassed the out-posts,

from which cause great slaughter often ensued in both armies. King Richard, therefore, after he had fortified the cities above named, returned in triumph to Acre.*

But this account which we have given will be more clearly understood by our giving the letter which Richard sent to Walter archbishop of Rouen, on this same subject. "Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, &c.—Know that our lord the king of the French, has returned home; and we, after repairing the damage and breaches of the city of Acre, in order to promote the Christian cause, and to fulfil the purpose of our vow, marched to Joppa, in company with the duke of Burgundy and his French followers, count Henry and his troops, and many other counts and barons. Whereas between Acre and Joppa the country is extensive and the way long; we at length, with much sweat and toil, came down to Cæsarea; Saladin too lost several of his followers in this same march. When the army of God had rested some time at Joppa, we set out again on our proposed march; and when our advanced guard had gone forward and was pitching the camp near Assur, Saladin, with a large host of pagans, made an attack on our rear guard; but, by the divine favour, though only four battalions were opposed to him face to face, he was put to flight; they pursued him for one league, and made such a slaughter of the Saracen nobles on that day, St. Mary's eve, at Assur, as Saladin for forty years past has not in one day sustained. After this, under God's guidance, we came to the city of Joppa, and strengthened it with trenches and walls; it being our purpose, wherever we could reach, to promote the cause of Christianity as much as lay in our power. Saladin, indeed, since the day of the above mentioned discomfiture, has not dared to come to a close engagement with the Christians, but secretly lays snares for destroying the friends of the cross, as a lion in his den awaits

* Matthew Paris gives this sentence as follows:—"Severe conflicts however continually took place, in consequence of Saladin's continually hovering on the Christian army. Thus the king returned triumphant to Acre, and after a few days went to Joppa, not far from Cæsarea, where he gave Saladin a disgraceful defeat, and obtained a glorious victory. He then bestowed the kingdom of Jerusalem on his nephew Henry, together with the widow of the marquis of Montferrat for a wife. At the same time he redeemed for a large sum of money the relics of many saints, which Saladin had taken."

sheep destined for the slaughter. On hearing, however, that we were marching with haste on Ascalon, he razed that city to the ground, and now, as if deprived of all plan and deliberation, he leaves all Syria to its fate; on which account we take courage, being in good hopes that in a short time the inheritance of our Lord will be entirely regained.—Farewell, Farewell."

How king Richard gave the kingdom of Jerusalem to his nephew Henry.

On king Richard's return, as has been mentioned, to Ptolemais, he gave to his nephew Henry the kingdom of Jerusalem, with the wife of the marquis of Montferrat, as she was the heiress to the kingdom, since the death of her sister the queen of Jerusalem. This arrangement was willingly agreed to by Guy of Lusignan, formerly the sovereign of that kingdom, and for securing peace he received the island of Cyprus, which in the late war had been taken from the king of that island by the English king, to whom Guy did homage for it. The marquis had been lately slain at Tyre by the Saracen assassins; and at his death, the kingdom of Jerusalem, as has been said, belonged by hereditary right to his wife.

How king Richard redeemed all the relics of the Holy Land.

Saladin had some time before made prisoner Guy king of Jerusalem, and taken the cross of our Lord, soon after which he laid siege to Jerusalem. The inhabitants, who had remained in the city, being in consternation at their reverses, and despairing of being able to resist Saladin, at once surrendered the city to him; but he allowed none to depart from it unless they paid ten bezants each as a ransom. The rich at once ransomed themselves, but seven thousand men were found in the city, who had not the means of payment; but their fellow citizens compassionating their misfortune, by unanimous consent, took the gold and silver crosses, the cups and phylacteries, stripped our Lord's sepulchre of its metal, and the other ornaments found in the churches, and redeemed their poor townsmen. They also collected all the relics of the saints which could be found in the sanctuaries, and put them in four large ivory coffers. Saladin, on the surrender of the city, amongst other things which he had

seized, had seen these, and making earnest inquiries what they contained, he ordered them to be taken to Baldach, and to be delivered to the caliph, that the Christians might no longer boast of the bones of dead men, nor believe that they had, as interceders for them in heaven, those whose bones they worshipped on earth. But the chief and patriarch of Antioch and others of the faith, by no means wishing to be despoiled of such a store of treasure, promised on oath to pay fifty-two thousand bezants to redeem these same relics, and if they should fail in payment of the aforesaid money on the day agreed on, that they would resign the said relics to him. According to this agreement, the chief of Antioch took the relics away with him under seal; and now all the followers of Christianity were overcome with grief and alarm because the time for payment fixed by Saladin was approaching, and the beforenamed chief had taken the relics away with him to restore them sealed, as he received them, to that prince. But the English king Richard, who was at Furbie, heard of this, and knowing that the thing had been done in all due order, at once paid the prearranged sum to Saladin for the sacred relics, and piously retained the pledges of the saints, that these men of God, whose bones he had redeemed from impious hands on earth, might, by their intercession, assist his soul in heaven. Each coffer was of such a size and weight that four men could hardly carry it for any length of time.

The discovery of Arthur, the most famous king of the Britons.

In the same year the bones of Arthur, a renowned king of Britain, were found buried at Glastonbury, in a very old sarcophagus, near which two pyramids stood, and on these, letters had been carved out, but which were scarcely legible on account of their roughness and shapelessness. The occasion of their being found was as follows:—Certain people who were digging a grave in the same place to bury there a monk, who had during his life earnestly desired to be buried there, found a kind of sarcophagus, on which was placed a leaden cross with these words carved on it: "Here lies the renowned Arthur, king of the Britons, buried in the island of Avalon." The place is surrounded on all sides by marshes, and was formerly called the "island of Avalon," that is, the isle of apples. In this year too, Robert, a canon of the

church of Lincoln, and son of William, seneschal of Normandy, was at Canterbury consecrated bishop of Winchester, by William, legate of the apostolic see.

How king Richard had suspicions regarding the chancellor.

At this time the most serious complaints came from day to day to the king of the pride of his chancellor, and the injuries he inflicted on many; he therefore wrote to the nobles of England as follows:—"We Richard, king of England, to William our marshal, G. Fitz-Peter, H. Bardolph, and W. Bruyere, &c. If by chance our chancellor, to whom we entrusted the management of affairs in our kingdom, shall not have faithfully performed his duties, we order you to take measures for managing the affairs of the kingdom at your own discretion, both as regards escheats and fortresses. At this same time William archbishop of Rouen, came to England, bearing letters from the king to this effect: "We Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, to William, marshal, and others his compeers, greeting.—Know that we have thought fit, for the defence and arrangement of our kingdom, to send to you our beloved father William archbishop of Rouen, who has been recalled from his pilgrimage by the consent of the supreme pontiff; wherefore we command and strictly enjoin you that, in the management of our affairs, you order all things with his advice; and it is our will that, as long as we are on our pilgrimage, you mutually take counsel together in arranging all matters,—he with you, and you with him." *

Of the disgraceful fall of the chancellor.

In this same year on the Saturday next after Michaelmas, at the request of earl John, brother of the king of England, the English nobles assembled near the bridge of the Loddon, between Reading and Windsor, to hold a conference on matters of importance to the king and kingdom. But on the day after the conference, the archbishop of Rouen, as well as the archbishop of York, and all the bishops who had assembled at Reading to be present at the conference, in

* "This year died pope Clement, and was succeeded by Celestine, by whom the emperor Henry was crowned on the eve of saint John the Baptist."—*M. Paris.*

solemn form, with lighted candles, excommunicated all those who had advised, aided, or commanded the abduction from the church, and the unworthy treatment and imprisonment of the archbishop of York, especially naming Albert de Marines, and Alexander Puintil. On the Monday following, the before mentioned earl, knowing that the chancellor feared an attack from him, proposed to him, in order to lull all suspicion, to come to a conference at a safe place near Windsor Castle, as the chancellor had requested, and gave him a guarantee for his safety by the bishop of London; the chancellor, however, not satisfied with this security, fled immediately, and took refuge in the tower of London. The earl on learning the flight of the chancellor, came himself to London, but as he was about to enter the city, he was met by a body of the chancellor's knights, who with drawn swords made a fierce attack on him and his followers, and slew a nobleman called Roger de Planes. On the following day, Tuesday, the said earl with the archbishops, bishops, knights and barons, assembled in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and in the chancellor's presence, after a long discussion, swore fealty to king Richard; earl John first took the oath, and was followed by the two archbishops, and all the bishops, and the knights and barons assembled. On the Thursday following this meeting, another conference, at which the before mentioned nobles were present, was held in the eastern part of the Tower of London, at which it was definitively determined, by unanimous consent, that the kingdom of England should not again be under the rule of a man, by whose conduct the church was degraded, and the people reduced to want; for this same chancellor and his satellites had so exhausted all the wealth of the kingdom, that they did not even leave a man a silver belt, a woman her necklace, or a nobleman a ring, or money, or any thing of value to a Jew; they had likewise so emptied the king's treasury, that, after the lapse of two years, nothing could be found in his coffers except keys and empty vessels. It was also provided, that all the fortresses, which the chancellor had at will entrusted to the charge of his followers, should be given up, and in the first place the Tower of London; and these resolutions the chancellor swore he would comply with. In pursuance of this, on the following Tuesday he left the Tower

with all his household, and crossed the river Thames to Bermondsey, leaving his brothers Henry and Osbert as security for the restoration of the castles; for he had sworn too that he would not leave the kingdom till the fortresses had been given up. He thence went to Canterbury, and took the cross of the holy pilgrimage, laying aside that of the legateship, which he had borne for a year and a half after the death of pope Clement, to the detriment as well of the Roman as the English church. After doing this he went to Dover, attended by Gilbert bishop of Rochester, and Henry de Cornhill, sheriff of Kent, and thinking he could blind the eyes of the sailors there, he invented a new kind of fraud; he converted the man into the woman, inasmuch as he exchanged the priest's robe for the harlot's gown. He clothed himself in a woman's green gown, with a cape of the same colour, and with a hood over his head, he went down to the beach carrying some linen cloth as if for sale. As the priest thus disguised was sitting on a rock near the shore waiting for a fair wind, a sailor who wished for some sport with the woman, was astonished to find breeches on a female, and immediately shouted aloud, "Come here, all of you, come here!" said he, "and look at a man in woman's dress!" A number of idle women assembled, and eagerly inquired the price of the cloth which he carried for sale: he made them no answer, as not understanding the English language, on which they consulted amongst themselves; and suspecting him to be an impostor, they laid hands on the veil which covered his mouth, and pulling it down from his nose backward, they discovered the features of a man, dark, and lately shaved. Immediately they shouted to each other, saying, "Come, let us stone this monster who is a disgrace to both sexes." A crowd of men and women got together there, and, tearing the hood from his head, they threw him down and dragged him ignominiously by his sleeves and cape over the sand and stones, injuring the prelate much. At length his followers came up to release him, but without success, for the people followed him up with insatiable eagerness, reviled him, assailed him with blows, spat on him, and after dragging him through the streets, shut him up as a prisoner in a cellar. And thus he became an object of derision to the populace, and would that he had only disgraced himself and

not the whole priesthood; he who had dragged the archbishop of York to prison was himself dragged to prison,—the captor was made captive, the binder was himself bound, the incarcerator was incarcerated; so that the degree of punishment may be considered as commensurate with that of the offence. At length, regardless of the hostages he had left, and the oath he had made not to leave the kingdom of England before the castles were surrendered, the said chancellor crossed sea into Normandy on the 29th of October.

An unheard-of event.

In the same year, a young man of the bishop of London's household, taught a hawk especially to hunt teals; and once, at the sound of the instrument called a tabor by those who dwelt on the river's bank, a teal suddenly flew quickly away; but the hawk baffled of his booty, intercepted a pike swimming in the water, seized him, and carried him apparently forty feet on dry land. The bishop, astonished at this singular circumstance, sent the hawk and pike, as a curiosity to future times, to earl John, on the 22nd of October.

Of the death of Reginald, archbishop elect of Canterbury.

A.D. 1192. Reginald bishop of Bath, who had been elected to the archbishopric by the monks of Canterbury, died on Christmas day, twenty-nine days after his appointment, and was buried in his own church at Bath, near the great altar.

The king of the French arrived at Paris from his pilgrimage.

About this time the king of the French returned from his pilgrimage, and was received at Paris in solemn procession, on the 27th of December.

Of the capture of Darum by king Richard.

After Easter in this same year, king Richard came to Darum, the last fort of Christendom next to Babylon, and after a siege of five days took it, and allowed the garrison to depart on payment of a heavy ransom.

How king Richard took seven thousand camels laden with treasure.

After this victory, the duke of Burgundy came to king Richard with the French troops, of whom he had, by the

authority of the king of the French, been appointed leader and commander-in-chief; to this duke, king Richard had at the preceding festival, given thirty thousand bezants, on condition of his faithfully standing by him in attacking the enemies of Christ, and, at a council held by them, they determined to go without fail to Jerusalem. When king Richard, with all his army, had reached Castle-Ernald and Bethonople, near Emaus, some Bedouins, who were under obligations to the king, brought him news that a large company of merchants were on their way from Babylon to Jerusalem, with seven thousand camels, laden with merchandize of various kinds, and that this company was under the convoy of some of the bravest picked troops of Saladin's army. The king marched with a few soldiers to meet this company, and near the Red Well he surprised them all, and carrying off the camels with their burdens, he liberally distributed his prize amongst his army. He afterwards returned to the before mentioned camp, and prudently placed armed garrisons in each city and castle.*

Of a certain woman who was friendly to the Christians, especially to king Richard.

King Richard returned victoriously with all his spoil to Castle-Ernald, which is three miles distant from Jerusalem, and earnestly exhorted each of the chiefs to march and lay

* "About this time, the duke of Austria came to discharge his vow of pilgrimage by serving in the Christian army, and to adore the places where our Saviour had trodden. When his marshals had engaged a lodging for him, and made the necessary preparations, a Norman knight, of king Richard's household, came in haste, and beginning foolishly to bluster after the manner of his nation, asserted that he had the greatest right to those quarters, by having them assigned to him as first comer. The quarrel began, and the noise reached the ears of the king, who, showing himself favourable to the Norman, was inflamed with anger against the duke's men, and not heeding our Lord's admonition to go and see how matters were, gave hasty and unbecoming orders that the duke's flag, which had been erected over his lodgings, should be thrown into a ditch. The duke thus deprived of a lodging, went, amid the taunts of the Normans, to complain of it to the king, but he gained nothing but sneers for his pains; and thus, being slighted by the king, he with tears invoked the King of kings to avenge his wrong, according as it is written, 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' The duke soon after this, returned in confusion to his own country, and king Richard afterwards blushed with shame at the deed."

siege to Jerusalem, whilst they had such a plentiful supply of everything, namely, of provisions and beasts of burden, and reminded them of the great benefits conferred on them in their pilgrimage by the divine clemency. Moreover, the king was encouraged to this in no slight degree by a religious woman, a Syrian by country, who dwelt in the city of Jerusalem. This woman had communicated to him all the secrets of the city, how frightened and spiritless the Saracens were become on account of his arrival; she also told him that all the gates of the city were locked except St. Stephen's gate, at the north side of the city, near which she advised him to station his army, and also sent him a key by means of which he could unlock the gates. After, however, it had been determined by all to lay siege to Jerusalem, the duke of Burgundy, taking counsel with the templars and the French chiefs, was induced to revoke his determination; they asserted that the duke with all the French, would incur their lord the French king's severest displeasure, if, by their aid, king Richard should triumph over so great and renowned a city, and none of the credit of the victory were ascribed to the duke himself, or to the French, although it was by them that such a great city was taken.

How the duke of Burgundy was bribed by Saladin, and departed from the Holy Land.

In the meantime, messengers were sent by the duke to Saladin, but for what end past and future events will show. One night, whilst the English king was staying at the before named camp, and the duke with his followers was at Bethonople, a spy of king Richard's, by name Jumaus, heard the noise of camels and men in motion coming down the mountain: he stealthily followed them, and found that they were people sent by Saladin to the duke's camp, with five camels laden with gold, silver, and merchandize, and with silk stuffs, and many other presents. The spy hurried back to his master, and told him all these circumstances, and then taking some of the king's attendants, set out cautiously on the road by which the messengers would return, to lie in wait for them; and as they were on their way back he took them prisoners, and brought them into the presence of the king: one of them, after being put to torture, unwillingly revealed

all that had passed between Saladin and the duke. At daylight, the king, after removing the messengers out of sight, ordered the duke as well as the patriarch and prior of Bethlehem to be sent for; and when they were together in a private place, he immediately made oath in their presence upon the sacred relics, that he stood prepared, as had been agreed between them, and confirmed by oath, to march with his army to the attack of Jerusalem and the city of Baroch, without possession of which the king of Jerusalem could not be crowned. After he had sworn thus, the king called on the duke to take an oath to the same effect; this the duke refused to do, at which the king was greatly enraged, and at once called him a traitor, and reproached him with receiving various presents from Saladin, and concerning the secret messengers and communications which had passed between them. The duke denied, and endeavoured to defend himself against these accusations, but the king ordered the messengers whom the spy had made prisoners, to be brought before them: after they had been brought in, and had revealed all the secret proceedings, the king ordered his servants to shoot them in sight of the whole army, although both armies were ignorant of the reason for such cruelty, and did not know what those men had done, or whence they had come. As for the duke, he was so overcome with shame and rage at being proved a traitor, that, as soon as he could, he left with the French army, and set out for Acre; but the king learning his intention, sent word to the commanders of that city not to allow a man of them to enter it, so they pitched their camp outside the place.

Of a certain hermit, who prophesied that Jerusalem would not be subdued.

On the night after the duke's departure in the manner described, there came to the king a devotee, who brought him a message from a holy hermit, to the effect that he should hasten to see him. The king rose, although it was night, and taking five hundred attendants with him, went to the man of God. This holy man had lived for a long time on the mountain at St. Samuel's, and was endowed with the spirit of prophecy; from the day of the capture of our Lord's cross and the taking of the holy place, he had eaten nothing but herbs and roots, and wore no other covering than

that of his hair and lengthened beard. The king gazed for some time in astonishment at the hermit, and then asked him what he wanted with him. The holy man, delighted at the king's arrival, took him with him into his oratory, and there removing a stone from the wall, he drew forth a wooden cross, and devoutly held it out to the king, declaring that without doubt this cross was made from the wood of our Lord's cross. He also, amongst other things, told the king that he would not by any means obtain possession of that country at present, although he had acted most perseveringly, and, in order that the king might the more readily put faith in what he said, he declared that he should himself depart this life on the seventh day from that time. The king, in order to prove the event of his words, took the hermit with him to his camp, and, as he had foretold, he died on the seventh day after.

Of the miserable death of the duke of Burgundy.

On the day after these events the king moved his camp, and, following the route of the duke of Burgundy, pitched his camp near that chief outside the city of Acre; but scarcely had he and his weary army rested for three days, when there came to him in alarm some messengers, who had been sent from Joppa with the news that Saladin with his whole army had laid siege to that city, which they said would soon be captured, and the knights and soldiers, whom he had placed there as a garrison, be slain, unless he could soon bring assistance to the besieged. At receipt of this intelligence the whole Christian army was thrown into great alarm and sorrow: amongst the rest king Richard in a state of great anxiety endeavoured both by his own exertions and those of others to bring back the offended duke of Burgundy to terms of agreement and peace, and earnestly begged him to give his assistance to prevent such a great calamity. That chief, however, disdained to listen to their entreaties, and not wishing to be annoyed by their requests, set out with his followers that night towards Tyre; but immediately on his arrival there he was struck by a visitation of God, and becoming insane, terminated his life by a miserable death.

How king Richard forced Saladin to raise the siege of Joppa.

King Richard, after the death of the duke of Burgundy, embarked on board his ships of war with a small force, and hastened to Joppa to render assistance to the besieged; but owing to the violence of the winds and the heavy sea his ships were driven in a contrary direction towards Cyprus, and the inhabitants of Acre, seeing this, suspected that the king was returning home. But the king and those with him, in spite of the fury of the winds, by means of strong rowing, made an oblique course, and on the third day, at glimmer of dawn, they arrived with but three ships at Joppa. In the meantime Saladin, after frequent assaults, had now taken the city, and had slain all the infirm and wounded soldiers, who, on account of their weakness remained there; but five of them bolder than the rest, whom Richard had placed there in charge of the city; left it and betook themselves to the castle, where they were debating about surrendering the castle before they should be compelled to do so by assaults of the enemy. This they would quickly have done had they not been forewarned by the patriarch, who was allowed free passage between the two armies, that the army of Saladin had, to avenge the deaths of their friends and relatives whom the English king had beheaded without mercy in many places, sworn to slay them all, notwithstanding they should have Saladin's free permission to depart. Thus they were in great danger of death, and were in doubt as to what they should do, considering the number and ferocity of their enemies, and the few there were of themselves, and having no confidence in the king's coming to assist them; when however, they learned that the king had arrived they became bolder and defended themselves courageously. The king, knowing from the fierce struggles both of besiegers and besieged, that the castle of the city was not yet taken, leaped nimbly into the sea armed as he was, and with his followers, boldly threw himself like a raging lion into the thickest of the enemy's troops, hewing them down right and left. The Turks being unable to endure this sudden attack, and thinking that he had brought a more numerous army with him, soon abandoned the siege, exhorting each other to fly, and announcing the inopportune arrival of the king; and their panic was such that their flight could not be checked till they

entered the city of Ramula, Saladin all the time leading their rapid flight in his chariot. King Richard having thus put the enemy to flight, pitched his camp in the plain outside the city, to the great and unexpected joy of the besieged.

How king Richard with a small force defeated sixty-two thousand pagans at Joppa.

On the day after his defeat Saladin was told that the king had come with only a very small army, and that he had no more than eighty knights, besides four hundred of his cross-bowmen in company with him, on hearing which he was greatly enraged and indignant with his army, because they, so many thousands, had been put to the rout by such a few. He thereupon, to the confusion of his army, there counted them out, and issued his imperial edict that sixty-two thousand of them should return immediately to Joppa, take the king himself prisoner, and bring him alive on the following day into his presence. The king and his army were resting that night in security, and without fear of any inopportune attack, when at daybreak the whole army of the infidels came up and entirely surrounded the king's camp, and, that they might have no chance of escaping into the city, an immense force had stationed themselves between it and the royal camp. The king and all the Christian forces, aroused by their bustle and shouting, were wonder-struck at seeing themselves hemmed in on every side by the enemies of Christ. The king, however, perceiving their imminent dangers, immediately armed himself, and mounted his horse as if he flew with wings, and laying aside all fear of death, as if he were emboldened by the number of his enemies, encouraged by his voice his men to the combat; he himself with eleven knights, who alone out of the whole number were mounted, boldly broke through the ranks of the enemy, with his drawn sword and quivering lance, and dealt thundering blows with his clashing sword on the helmed heads of the enemy, and freeing the Arab horses from their proper riders, he distributed them to his own knights, who were on foot. They, nimbly mounting them, with the king always leading the way, dispersed the troops of the enemy on all sides, and put to death without mercy all that came in their way. The pagans falling under the strokes of the enemy uttered

miserable cries and yielded their souls to Tartarus. In this battle the crossbowmen took the lead, and behaved most praiseworthily, for by their incomparable valour especially the enemy's attack was repelled, and their fierce audacity humbled. How much the king's valour shone in this battle, and how much the prowess of his men, how many thousands of the enemy he put to flight, would seem incredible, were it not that the divine hand protected him. For who would ever believe that eighty knights could so invincibly cope with sixty-two thousand men for almost an entire day, could endure the showers of their missiles, and the attacks of their javelins without retreating a foot from their first position, but could moreover disperse their adversaries in all directions, and after putting them to flight, have thus gained a joyful and unlooked-for victory over them, unless they relied on the assistance of God, and believed that they were under the protection of Heaven? At length the garrison of Joppa, beholding the invincible bravery of the king and his followers, boldly sallied forth, and suddenly falling upon the enemy in the rear, by repeated attacks on their part as well as on that of the king, the infidels turned their backs and fled in confusion, with great loss, taking to woods and caves for safety.

How the army of the Christians arrived to the assistance of king Richard.

In the meantime news had reached the army, which had been left at Ptolemais by the king, that he was hemmed in on all sides at Joppa by the enemy, and was placed in great peril, unless they speedily went to his succour. This news struck fear and grief into all, and they all had thoughts of flight; but the more courageous part of the army assembled to deliberate on the chances of their being able to render the king any assistance. They therefore by common consent marched to Cæsarea, not daring to go further for fear of the enemy; and being there told of the unexpected victory of the king, they were overcome with joy, and gave praises to God as the preserver of them all. This battle took place at the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*.*

* Matthew Paris adds here:—"When Saladin heard these things he was compelled to glorify Christ the Lord and God of the Christians, adding that king Richard was the most wonderful prince in the world, if he would only be less prodigal of his life, for, said he, it did not become a king to

How king Richard determined to return home.

After this unequalled victory the king remained seven weeks at Joppa, during which time a deadly disease, caused by the unwholesome atmosphere, made destructive attacks on him and his followers, and all who were seized with this disease perished, with the exception of the king, who was preserved in health by divine favour. Moreover the king at this time discovered that his money was by degrees falling short, owing to the bountiful distributions he had unadvisedly made amongst his soldiers, and finding that the French army, and others, whom, on the duke of Burgundy's death, he had at great expense kept together and retained with him, were anxious to leave him, and that his own army was diminished in number by the deadly disease and by conflicts with the enemy, whilst their numbers daily increased, he took counsel with the templars, hospitallers, and the chiefs who were with him, and made arrangements to return home immediately, binding himself by oath to return to the siege of the holy city as soon as he had reinforced his army, and supplied himself with money. Besides the foregoing reasons for his departure, what had much the most weight with him was, that he had been told that his brother John, whom he had left in England, was conspiring to bring England to subjection to him, and the result proved that he wished to do so. As it was evident that the departure of such a great army, and such a prince as Richard, could not but expose those who re-

expose himself to such dangers; but any king who had a thousand such warriors under him, might soon vanquish the whole world." At the same time also Saladin, for vengeance' sake, commanded a captive, who had once been prince of Antioch, and had now been worn down by long confinement, to be brought before him. "What would you do," said he looking grimly on him, "to me, if you had me prisoner as I have you?" The captive remained silent, and Saladin adjured him to speak the truth. "Then," said the prisoner, "you should be capitally punished, and no gold should ransom you, because you are an enemy to our Lord: though you are a king as I am, I would cut off your head, because you persist in your own houndish laws." To which Saladin replied, "I think you will never have such power over me. Out of your own mouth will I judge you, for I will cut off your head." He then ordered a sword to be brought, and the captive offering his neck, exclaimed, "This is what I always prayed for, and I am glad to receive death at your hands." His hands were then bound and Saladin cut off his head. Who will deny that this was glorious martyrdom?—See *Passio Reginaldi* in *Petri Blesensis Opera*, vol. iii.

mained there to great danger, and hazard the loss of the country they had subdued, a truce was, at the request and by the advice of both armies, agreed on between the Christians and pagans for a period of three years, to commence from the ensuing Easter.

How king Richard returned from his pilgrimage.

Accordingly in the autumn, when his ships were ready and all his arrangements made, king Richard with his queen, and her sister Johanna the queen of Sicily, and his nobles, set sail to cross the Mediterranean. Whilst on their voyage unusual storms arose, and they suffered many hardships in reaching land, some suffered shipwreck, some, after being shipwrecked, escaped to shore, almost naked, and with loss of their property; but a few reached the destined port in safety. Those however, who escaped the dangers of the sea, found themselves everywhere set upon by bands of enemies on shore, by whom they were made prisoners and robbed, and some were obliged to pay heavy ransoms; there was no place of refuge for them, as if both land and sea had conspired against the retreating crusaders. From this it is sufficiently evident that their departure, before the object of their pilgrimage was accomplished, was by no means pleasing to God, who had determined after a short time to enrich them in that country, by bringing their enemies into subjection to them, and bestowing on them the land on behalf of which they had undertaken such a toilsome pilgrimage. For while they were thus absent, that invader of the Holy Land, Saladin, in Lent following closed a wicked life by a miserable death, and they, if they had been present at that time, would have very easily obtained possession of the Holy Land, whilst the sons and relatives of the same Saladin were disputing amongst themselves and contending for their father's kingdom.

How the said king escaped from many snares laid for him by his enemies.

King Richard with some of his followers, after being harassed by storms for six weeks, approached the coast of Barbary, about three days' sail from Marseilles, where, from an increasing report, he learned that the count of St. Giles, and all the other princes, through whose territories he was about to travel, had unanimously conspired against him, and

everywhere laid snares for him; he therefore arranged to return secretly by way of Germany. He accordingly put back with a few of his followers, amongst whom were Baldwin of Bethune, and Master Philip, his clerk, Anselm* his chaplain, and some brothers of the templars; this party put into a town in Slavonia called Gazara, and thence they immediately sent a messenger to the nearest castle to ask for peace and safe conduct from the lord of that province, who was nephew of the marquis. The king had on his return purchased of a Pisan merchant, for nine hundred bezants, three jewels, called carbuncles, or more commonly "rubies;" one of these he had, whilst on board ship, enclosed in a gold ring, and this he sent by the said messenger to the governor of the castle. When the messenger was asked by the governor who they were that requested safe conduct, he answered that they were pilgrims returning from Jerusalem. The governor then asked what their names were, to which the messenger replied, "One of them is called Baldwin de Bethune, the other Hugh, a merchant, who has also sent you a ring." The lord of the castle looking more attentively at the ring said, "He is not called Hugh, but king Richard," and then added, "Although I have sworn to seize all pilgrims coming from those parts, and not to accept of any gift from them, nevertheless for the worthiness of the gift and also of the sender, to him who has so honoured me a stranger to him, I both return his present and grant him free permission to depart." With this the messenger returned and told the king all that had passed. In alarm at this discovery, the party procured horses, and in the middle of the night set out secretly from the above-named town, and for some time proceeded without interruption through that country; but that same governor had sent a scout after them to his brother, telling him to seize the king when he came into his territory. When therefore the king had arrived there, and had got into the city where the before-mentioned lord's brother lived, the latter immediately sent for a trusty friend of his, called Roger, of Norman race, an inhabitant of Argenton, who had lived with him for twenty years, and whose niece he had married, and ordered him carefully to search all houses where pilgrims were lodged, and if possible

* Who saw and heard all these things and told them to us.—*M. Paris.*

to find out the king either by his language or any other sign, promising to give him half the city if he should take the king. This messenger, by inquiring at the dwellings of the pilgrims separately, at last found the king, who, after long dissembling, was compelled by the entreaties and tears of the faithful inquirer to acknowledge who he was, on which he with tears besought the king to take instantly to flight, and gave him a very excellent horse. After this he returned to his master and told him, that, what he had heard of the king's arrival was untrue, but that they were Baldwin de Bethune and his companions returning from their pilgrimage. His master, however, flew into a rage, and ordered them all to be seized; but the king with William D'Estaing and a boy, who understood the German language, escaped from the city by stealth, and remained on the road for three days and nights without food, when, driven by the calls of hunger, he diverged to a village, called Gynatia, on the Danube, where at that time, to complete his misfortunes, the duke of Austria was stopping.

How king Richard was taken by the duke, and thrown into prison.

King Richard having thus landed in Austria, he sent his boy to the town of Gynatia to market, to buy food for his hungry attendants. The boy, on going to the market, made a show of several bezants, and behaved in a haughty and pompous manner, on which he was seized by the citizens, who asked who he was, to which he replied that he was the servant of a rich merchant, who had arrived at that town after a three days' journey: they on this let him go, and he went stealthily to the secret dwelling of the king, and advised him to fly at once, telling what had happened to him. The king, however, wished, after his harassing voyage, to rest for a few days in the above-named town, and, having occasion to purchase necessaries, this same boy often went to the public market: and on one occasion, on St. Thomas the apostle's day, he happened incautiously to carry his master the king's gloves under his belt. The magistrates of the place seeing them, had him again apprehended, and after inflicting various tortures on him, and beating him, threatened to pull out his tongue and cut it off, if he did not at once confess the truth. The boy at length was compelled by

these tortures to tell them how the matter stood. The magistrates immediately sent word to the duke, and surrounded the king's house, insultingly ordering him to give himself up quietly; the king, however, undismayed by their tumultuous shouts, and seeing that even his prowess could be of no avail against such a number of barbarians, ordered the duke to be fetched, promising to give himself up to him alone; and on the latter coming up, he surrendered himself with his sword. The duke, delighted at this, took the king with him in an honourable way, but afterwards delivered him to the custody of his soldiers, with orders that they were to keep a most strict guard over him, with drawn swords day and night. Now, it must not be considered that this dreadful misfortune came to pass without the decree of the Almighty, although it is not revealed to us; whether it was to punish the king's own errors in his youth, or to punish the faults of his subjects, or that even the said king might be recalled to repentance and a just atonement for his crime, in having, by the assistance and advice of the French king, besieged his father in the flesh, king Henry, when ill in his bed, at the city of Maine; for although he did not slay him with his sword, yet, by frequent attacks he forced him to leave that place, and it cannot be doubted but that all these circumstances were the cause of his death. In this year too, Savary, archdeacon of Northampton, was elected bishop of Bath; he then went to Rome, and was there ordained a priest, and on the 19th of September he received consecration from Alban bishop of Albano.

How the duke of Austria sold the king of England to the emperor.

A.D. 1193. King Richard remained a prisoner of the duke of Austria till that prince sold him to the Roman emperor for sixty thousand pounds of silver, Cologne weight, and then on the Tuesday after Palm Sunday he caused him to be carefully guarded; and that he might compel the king to pay an immoderate sum for his ransom, he ordered him to be imprisoned in Trivallis (Treves), from which prison no one who had entered there up to that time had ever come out again, and of which place Aristotle says in his fifth book, "Bonum est mactare parentes in Trivallis," and elsewhere it is said, "Sunt loca, sunt gentes, quibus est mactare parentes." Into this place was the

king put under a strong guard of soldiers and attendants, who accompanied him wherever he went with drawn swords, day and night, and even kept guard by turns round his couch, not allowing any of his own followers to remain with him at night. None of these circumstances could ever cloud the calm countenance of the king, but he always seemed cheerful and agreeable in his conversation, and brave and daring in his acts, as time, place, cause, or person required. To others I leave the relation of his jokes to his guards; how he made them drunk, and assaulted their huge persons by way of amusement.

How the emperor accused king Richard in many things, and how the king prudently replied to them.

The emperor for a long time cherished feelings of anger and malice against the king, and did not even deign to receive him into his presence, or even to speak to him; for he complained that the king had offended him and his friends in many things, and pretended that he had many charges against him. At length, after the interposition of friends from time to time, especially of the abbat of Cluni, and William the king's chancellor, the emperor called together his bishops, dukes, and knights, and ordered the king to be brought into his presence, and there accused him of many offences before all of them. In the first place, to wit, that it was by Richard's advice and assistance that he, the emperor, had lost the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, which of right belonged to him on the death of king William, and to obtain which he had collected a very large army, and spent an endless sum of money, he, the said king, faithfully promising him his assistance to obtain that kingdom from Tancred. He next, with regard to the king of Cyprus, a relation of his own, accused Richard of having unjustly dethroned and imprisoned that monarch, and of having forcibly invaded his country, robbed his treasury, and sold the island to a foreigner. He next accused him of the death of the marquis of Montferrat, his heir, asserting that it was owing to his treachery and machinations that that nobleman had been slain by the Assassins; and that he had also sent the same people to slay his lord the king of the French, with whom he had, during their pilgrimage, kept no faith in

common, as had been agreed, and confirmed by oath, between them. Lastly, he complained that he had at Joppa thrown into the dirt the flag of his relation, the duke of Austria, in contempt of him, and had always insulted his Germans in the Holy Land by offensive words and conduct.

After these and the like charges had been made by the emperor, the English king at once stood forth in the midst of the assembly; and replying to the charges one by one, spoke so clearly and convincingly, that he was looked upon with admiration and respect by all, and no suspicion of his being guilty of the offences imputed to him any longer remained in the minds of his hearers. For he plainly proved the truth and order of his words by veritable assertions and likely argument of the case, so that he quashed all the charges, and did not withhold the truth of what had happened. He firmly disavowed the accusation of treachery, or of his being the plotter of any prince's murder, asserting that he would prove his innocence of such charges as the court of the emperor should decide. After he had for a long time pleaded before the emperor and his nobles, in answer to the charges most ably, the emperor, admiring his eloquence, rose, and sending for the king to come to him, he embraced him, and from that time behaved with kindness and leniency towards him, and treated him with the greatest familiarity.*

How king Richard paid a fine of a hundred and forty thousand pounds for his ransom.

After these events, on the mediation of friends from time to time, the ransom of the king was for a long time discussed; and at length the result was, that a hundred and forty thousand marks of silver, Cologne weight, were to be paid to the emperor for his ransom money before they could come to any agreement. Accordingly on St. Peter and St. Paul the apostles' day, the bishops, dukes, and barons, made oath that, as soon as the king should have paid the above-named sum, he should be at liberty to return to his own kingdom. The news of this treaty was brought to England by the king's chancellor, William bishop of Ely, who brought with him

* "The duke of Austria was afterwards excommunicated by our lord the pope and all his cardinals: but on his death-bed, though he did not give satisfaction; yet, lest he should fall into desperation, he was absolved by his bishops, and died horribly."—*M. Paris.*

letters from our lord the king, and also the golden bull of the emperor; and a warrant was immediately issued by the justiciaries of the king, that all bishops, priests, earls, and barons, abbacies and priories, should contribute a fourth part of their incomes towards the king's ransom, and moreover they gave their gold and silver vessels for that work of piety. But John bishop of Norwich took half the value of the vessels throughout the whole of his diocese, and gave half to the king. The Cistertian order, which, up to that time, had been free from all tax, gave all their wool for the ransom of the king. Indeed, no church, no order, rank, or sex, was passed over without being compelled to aid in releasing him. Forewarnings of this calamity had appeared in unusual seasons—inundations of rivers, awful storms of thunder and rain three or four times in each month, with dreadful lightning throughout the whole year; all which caused a scantiness in the crops of fruit and corn.

Exculpation of king Richard from the charge of the murder of the marquis.

The English king, when he was unjustly, as has been said, accused of the murder of the marquis, sent messengers to the chief of the assassins, asking him to write to the duke or the emperor of Austria to prove his innocence; and from him the king obtained the following letter:—"The old man of the mountain to Leopold duke of Austria, greeting. Whereas several kings and princes beyond sea have accused our lord Richard king of the English, of the murder of the marquis; I swear by the God who reigns eternally, and by the law which we observe, that no blame attaches to him in regard of the death of that noble. The cause of the marquis's death was as follows:—One of our brotherhood was coming in a vessel from Salteleia to our part of the country, when a storm drove him into Tyre, where the marquis took him prisoner, murdered him, and took possession of a large sum of money belonging to him. We sent messengers to the marquis, asking him to restore to us our brother's money, and to make reparation to us for his murder, which he would not do, but insulted our messengers and charged the murder of our brother on Reginald lord of Sidon, yet we, by means of friends, ascertained of a truth that it was the marquis himself who caused the

man to be murdered and robbed. We again sent another messenger, named Edrisus, to him, and this one he wished to throw into the sea; but our friends hastened his departure from Tyre, and he returned at once and told us these things. From that hour we desired the death of the marquis, and accordingly sent two of our brothers to Tyre, and they there openly, and almost in the face of all the inhabitants, slew him. This was the cause of the marquis's death, and we indeed speak truly in saying that our lord king Richard had no hand in the death of that noble, on whose account he has suffered injury unjustly and without cause. Also be assured that we do not kill any man in this way for the sake of reward or for money, but only when he hast first inflicted an injury on us. And know that we have written this letter in our house, at our fort of Messiac, in the presence of our brethren, and sealed it with our seal, in the middle of September, in the year one thousand five hundred from the time of Alexander.

How Hugh bishop of Chester was robbed of all his goods.

About this time, Hugh bishop of Chester was hastening with large presents, which he had procured with the greatest trouble, to see the king; but as he was stopping a night near Canterbury to rest, he was seized and robbed of all he had with him. Matthew de Clera, castellan of Dover, showed favour to the robbers, for which he was excommunicated by the archbishop, but it is not known whether he atoned for it.

Of the death of Saladin, and succession of Saphadin.

About this same time Saladin, the public enemy of truth and the cross, was struck by the visitation of God at a feast at Nazareth, and expired suddenly, whereupon his brother Saphadin usurped the sovereignty there. But there were with him the seven sons of Saladin, against whom the sons of Nouredin, who had been expelled from his father's kingdom by Saladin, marched with a host of Persians. Of these two brothers, namely, Saladin and Saphadin, and their offspring, and the succession of their sons, little need be said for the elucidation of this history, except that they were pre-eminent in every science of paganism. Saladin, at his death, which has been mentioned, left nine sons heirs to his kingdom, but

Saphadin, his younger brother, slew all his nephews except one named Nouradin; he held possession of Aleppo, with all the neighbouring cities, castles, towns, and other fortified places, which were more than two hundred in number. Saphadin, who made himself master of his brother's kingdom, and slew his nephews, had fifteen sons, seven of whom he made his heirs in the kingdoms which he had acquired by murder. The first of the sons was named Melealim, and for his inheritance he had the government of Alexandria, Babylon, Cairo, Damietta, and Canisia, with the whole country of Egypt; his son Coradin has Damascus, Jerusalem, and all the country of the Christians, containing above three hundred cities, fortifications, and castles, besides villages. His third son Melchiphais, holds the district called Gemella, with the whole of the province, in which there are more than four hundred cities, fortifications, and castles, besides villages. His fourth son, Mehemodain by name, has possession of the kingdom of Asia, which contains more than six hundred cities, fortifications and castles, besides villages. His fifth son Mechisemaphat, holds the country of Sarcho, where Abel was killed; this kingdom contains nine hundred and more places, including cities, fortifications, and castles, besides villages. His sixth son, named Machinoth, rules the country of Baldach, where resides the pope of the Saracens, called the caliph, and who is feared and reverenced in their law as the Roman pontiff is amongst ourselves: this priest can only be seen twice a month, when he goes forth with his disciples, whom he keeps like a pope or cardinal, to the mosque, where Mahomet the god of the Agarenes is said to be, and there, after he has bowed his head and made a prayer according to their law, all present before they go forth from the temple, eat and drink, after which he returns to his palace. That Mahomet is visited and worshipped there, as a Christian nation worships Christ crucified; moreover the city of Baldach, where Mahomet and the caliph are, is the capital of the nation of the Agarenes, as Rome is of Christian nations. Saphadin's seventh son, named Salaphat, has no country for his inheritance, but dwells with his brother Melealim, and is his standard-bearer; and to the same Melealim, each of his brothers sends yearly a thousand Saracens, a hundred bezants, and two chargers well equipped. Saphadin their father, when he used to visit his sons, came with his

head covered with a red silk hood, and all his sons went to meet him bowing their heads four times to the earth, and kissed his feet; he then embraced and shook hands with them, and stayed with each of his sons three days once a year: each of his sons wore a ring with his father's likeness carved on it. And whenever this said Saphadin rode out, he did not show his face, except ten times in the year; and when he received messengers from any prince, he received them in his palace by means of his armed attendants on the first day, on the second his answer was told them as occasion required, but he did not give them permission to approach him till the third day. His eight sons, according to their father's arrangement, live in the following manner: two of them have charge of the sepulchre of Christ, and to them are paid the offerings which are made at the sepulchre, which they divide between them; their income is more than twenty thousand Saracens; four other sons receive the duties arising from the Nile, and their incomes are worth more than forty thousand Saracens; the two other younger sons stand daily before Mahomet, and to them are paid the offerings which are made at the feet of the prophet, which are worth more than thirty thousand Saracens. Saphadin has fifteen wives, and the same number of heirs; he is used to sleep with his wives each in turn, and when one of them is with child by him, he sleeps with her in the presence of all the rest; and when any of those fifteen dies, he, according to the custom of their law, introduces another in her place. These people too have a written law given to them by Mahomet, which is called the Alcoran, and the commands of that book are kept by that impious race of people as inviolably as we Christians observe the text of the gospel.

How John, the king's brother, wished to obtain the government of England.

Whilst king Richard, as has been related, was detained by the emperor, earl John, his brother, hearing of his misfortune, and thinking he would not return, entered into a friendly alliance with Philip king of the French, and by that monarch's pernicious counsel, made arrangements to be crowned in his brother's place, but the English with a laudable fidelity would not permit it.

How the king of the French endeavoured to seize on Normandy.

Philip, the French king, now gave vent to his hatred against the king of the English, and with a very large army invaded Normandy, sparing neither rank, sex, or age. Gilbert de Wascuil sent for the aforesaid king and treacherously surrendered Gisors to him, as had been agreed on between them. After this the said king, partly through treachery and partly by force, subdued all the Vexin of Normandy, and the county of Aumarle, as far as Dieppe and valley of Ruil, with the principal fortresses; he also conquered the country of Hugh de Gournai, who with some others had surrendered to the French king. He moreover besieged Rouen, but by the valour of the earl of Leicester and the prowess of the inhabitants, he was driven from that city in confusion, and with loss of some of his troops. The said king also took the city of Evreux, and delivered it over to the guardianship of the said earl.*

How the French king married the sister of the king of Denmark, and immediately divorced her.

About this time the French king espoused the sister of the king of Denmark, named Ingelburg, a lady of remarkable beauty; but after the marriage he divorced her and placed her amongst the nuns at Soissons, at the same time ordering all the Danes who had come with her to return to their own country. In this same year, Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, was canonically elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and, on the day after the feast of St. Leonard, was installed in his see; and to his care, by command of king Richard, was entrusted the kingdom of England and the administration of affairs there, Walter archbishop of Rouen, having been sent for by the king into Germany, whither he went accompanied also by Eleanor the king's mother, who was anxious to see her son.

How king Richard was released, and came to England.

A.D. 1194. The greatest part of the ransom money having been paid, and hostages having been given as security for what remained unpaid, king Richard was, on the day of the

* Earl John.

blessed Mary's purification, set free, and permitted to return to his kingdom. He accordingly, with his mother and the chancellor, set out through the territory of the duke of Louvain, and reached the British channel, and on the Sunday after the feast of St. Gregory he arrived in England at the port of Sandwich, to the great joy of all classes. At the very hour in which the king with his attendants landed, which was the second hour of the day, when the sun was shining clearly, there appeared a brilliant and unusual splendor in the heavens, extending about the length and breadth of the human body from the sun, of a very bright white and red colour, as if a sort of rainbow; and several people who saw this brightness declared that the king was about to arrive in England. Immediately on his arrival, the king set out for Canterbury to pay his devotions at the blessed Thomas's shrine; from that place he went to London, and was received with the most joyous pomp, the whole city being profusely decorated and adorned against the king's arrival with every variety of ornament that wealth could produce. When his arrival was known, nobles and commoners alike went to meet him on the way with great eagerness, being most anxious to see him returned from captivity who they had feared would never return.* The king stopped scarcely one day at Westminster before he started to St. Edmund's to return thanks; and from thence he hurried to Nottingham to besiege and take those who had conspired against him and joined earl John. The army of England had already taken every castle belonging to the before-named earl, with the exception of this one alone, which still held out and was bravely defended: but when the king laid siege to it, and had made one assault, the besieged were assured of his unhoped-for arrival, and surrendered the castle to him, placing themselves at the king's pleasure, and trusting to his mercy; some of these he imprisoned, others he set free on

* Matthew Paris adds:—"On his arrival at Westminster, he was met by Geoffrey Hakesalt, a servant of Warin abbat of St. Alban's, with large gifts of gold and silver, sufficient not only to propitiate but to rejoice the heart of the king's majesty. The king weighing his good-will by his gifts, gave the abbat abundant thanks as a friend and father who did not forget his son; for he called the abbat his dearest father on account of his great friendship. From that time their union was even closer than before, and the king favoured the abbat in every thing."

receiving a fitting ransom, as he was greedily anxious after the money of each and all of them in his then state of necessity. Two reasons principally urged him to take this course, which were, that he might release the hostages who had been given to the emperor for him, and that he might get together a very large army against the king of the French, who was every where ravaging his dominions with fire and pillage. On this account, although he exacted money for his prisoners more greedily than was compatible with his kingly dignity, yet it ought to be pardoned rather than throw a stain on the king on account of his necessities.

How king Richard was crowned, and immediately crossed the sea to Normandy.

After all his adversaries in England were thus quickly subdued, king Richard, by the advice of his nobles, although it could add but little to his renown, was crowned at Winchester in Easter week; at which ceremony Hubert archbishop of Canterbury performed mass, and William king of Scots attended. Afterwards, at the feast of the saints Nereus and Achilles,* he embarked at Portsmouth and sailed to Normandy, and on his arrival there he stopped that night at Barfleur to rest; at that place his brother earl John came to him as a suppliant, and, with many of his soldiers, threw himself at the feet of the king, asking his brother's mercy with tears, and accusing himself for his folly in many respects. The king, affectionate as he was, could not refrain from tears, and pitying his brother's misfortunes, raised him from the ground and restored him to his former favour.

How king Richard forced the king of the French to fly from Verneuil.

King Richard being informed that the king of the French had laid siege to Verneuil, and had been employed for eight days unceasingly in erecting stone engines, in bringing up large stones, undermining the walls, and harassing the besieged garrison, took his way to that place with all speed. The great day of Whitsuntide was at hand, and that the French might not have to boast of gaining a victory on that sacred day, they heard a little before dark that the English king was prepared for battle, and would arrive at daybreak.

* 12th May.

The French were panic-struck by this report, as they had often had experience of the king's bravery: they therefore chose to fly rather than to fight, and retreated from their camp, to their eternal disgrace and infamy.

How Herebert the Poor was made bishop of Salisbury.

About this same time, Herebert surnamed the Poor, archdeacon of Canterbury, being canonically elected to the bishopric of Salisbury, was ordained a priest at Whitsuntide, and on the day after was consecrated a bishop by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, at Westminter. At the same time the French king in his retreat from Verneuil, in order that he might not appear to have effected nothing, in his anger destroyed a little fort called Fountains, and thus with something having the appearance of a victory he returned to his own dominions.

Of the capture of Loches by king Richard.

King Richard, after these events, came to Tours, and received two thousand marks of silver by way of presents, from the burgesses of Neufchâtel, where the body of St. Martin reposes. He then marched within the boundaries of Tours, and laid siege to the castle of Loches, which he took by storm after a few days; this castle the king of the French had received from the lieutenants of the English king, when the latter was a prisoner, as a kind of security that they would not break the treaty which had been made between the monarchs, and had given it, well stored with provisions, into the charge of fifteen knights and eighty soldiers. At this time the son of the king of Navarre came to assist the English king, with a large army, and having amongst his followers fifty arbalesters, besides a hundred others; this prince laid waste the territory of Geoffrey de Ravenne, and that of the count of Angouleme.

How king Richard drove the French king out of Touraine.

At this time also Philip king of the French, entered the confines of Tours, and pitched his camp near Vindôme; but finding by means of his scouts that the king of the English was marching upon him, he early in the morning struck his camp and made all haste to Freitval; but the king of the

English pursued him, and captured all his teams as well as those of the counts and barons fighting under him, and all their baggage; he also took gold and silver, crossbows and tents, and other things innumerable, and brought them away with him. He in this way crossed into Poictou, and within a few days had reduced to submission the castle of Taileburc and the country of his adversaries, namely, the count of Angouleme, and Geoffrey de Ravenne, so that there did not exist a single rebel against him from the castle of Verneuil to Charlecroix.

How the French king endeavoured to impose on king Richard.

About this time the French king sent four messengers to the king of the English, deceitfully making use of friendly speeches, to propose, that, in order to save the subjects of each, whose coffers they in their wars had emptied of gold and silver and to spare the effusion of the noble blood of each kingdom, the claims of both should be determined by a combat of five men on each side, the chiefs of each kingdom to await the issue of the combat, until after it was over they could adjudge what ought by right to fall to each king. This proposal pleased the English king beyond measure, provided that the French king should be the fifth man on his side; and he, the English king, likewise be the fifth on the English side, and that they should preserve an equality in men and arms, and engage with equal odds; this the king of the French to the scorn of many refused to agree to.* After this on the mediation of some religious men a truce was agreed on between the French and English kings, but all intercourse of traders was forbidden on both sides.

How king Richard established tournaments throughout England.

At this time king Richard crossed to England and appointed tournaments to be held in certain places, being induced to do so perhaps for this reason, that the soldiers of the kingdom might meet from all quarters and prove their

* "This year also, Robert earl of Leicester was taken prisoner by the king of France and the count de Perche. Henry Marshal, also, brother of William Marshal the elder, was made bishop of Exeter."—*Matthew Paris.*

strength by manœuvring their horses in the ring, and thus be more nimble and practised for battle against the enemies of the cross, or even against their neighbours. At this time, too, one Alexius, son of Manuel, formerly emperor of Constantinople, assembled an army, and having made prisoner Cursac the present emperor, who had attacked him, he deprived him of his eyesight, and at length, after having emasculated him, condemned him to perpetual imprisonment and seized on his empire.

How the king of the English laid a complaint before our lord the pope against the duke of Austria for imprisoning him.

A.D. 1195. King Richard sent messengers to the apostolic see with instructions to lay the following complaint before our lord the pope. "Holy father, our lord Richard king of the English salutes your excellency, and asks for justice to be shown to him against the duke of Austria, who made prisoner of him when on his return from a toilsome pilgrimage, harassed him in a way not becoming so great a prince, and afterwards sold him as though he were a bull or an ass, to the emperor, after which the two of them consumed the substance of his kingdom by demanding an intolerable sum for his ransom. Moreover they, who were no strangers to the laws of Christianity, visited him with more severe judgments in such a case, than even Saladin would have done, if by a similar misfortune he had fallen into the hands of that infidel himself, to fight against whom the said king had travelled from his territories, leaving his lately acquired kingdom, his country, relations, and friends. He would perhaps know how to pay respect to the nobleness, valour, or majesty of a king, whom that barbarous and stiff-necked generation did not know how to appreciate, but perhaps they did this that the capture of such a great prince might be attributed as a praiseworthy victory to them, although they would never have dared to seek him in open fight, had he been surrounded by his valiant army. And let them not think that the disgrace of the king is to be imputed to them, but rather to the dispensation of God, at whose will the wheel of fortune humbles one and exalts another, casts down one and raises up another. It also greatly vexes our lord the king, that, in

a time of peace, and when your protection was granted to all pilgrims for a period of three years, the same being enforced and confirmed on penalty of excommunication, they made a prisoner of him as he came from his pilgrimage, and was making arrangements to return again, and threw him into prison, compelling him to pay a heavy sum for his ransom. May your excellency therefore give orders for that duke to permit the hostages for our lord the king, who are as yet detained as prisoners for the portion of the ransom which remains unpaid, to depart free, and also for him to restore entire the money which he, the excommunicated man, has received from our lord, as well as make a fitting atonement for the injury inflicted on him and his subjects."

Of the excommunication of the duke on account of king Richard.

After the messengers of the king had pleaded these and many other complaints before the supreme pontiff; our lord the pope then rose with his cardinals and excommunicated the duke himself by name, and in general all those who had laid violent hands on the king and his men; he also put the whole of the duke's territory under an interdict, giving orders to the bishop of Verona to publish this sentence of excommunication throughout the whole duchy of Austria on every Sunday and feast-day, as follows: "That, if the said duke shall determine to obey our mandates, you enjoin him by the virtue of God, to release the whole of the king of England's hostages, to cancel all agreements, and restore the property taken from them by him and his followers, as well as what he has received as an unjust ransom for the said king himself, and also shall send the said hostages in security to their own country, and for the future never venture on such things again, but make due compensation for the injury and wrongs inflicted.

Of the wretched death of the duke of Austria.

All this was denounced against the duke by the bishop of Verona, but he persisted in contemning the apostolic mandate, at a time too when his country was struck by an unheard-of sterility as well as by famine and disease; the river Danube, too, at this time overflowed unusually in some part of the country, and by that unexpected event ten

thousand persons were drowned. But notwithstanding all these things the duke's anger was not averted, but rather was increased, and at length he himself was struck by a dreadful divine visitation; for on St. Stephen's day as he was taking recreation on horseback with his attendants, the horse on which he rode kicked violently and inflicted an incurable wound with its foot on the leg of the rider, for immediately the leg and foot together turned black and rose to a swelling, which no physician's poulticing could reduce, and the duke was most unbearably tortured by the infernal fire, as it is called, in addition to the swelling. At length being unable to endure this torture he ordered his foot to be amputated, he himself at the same time taking an axe, every one else refusing with horror; but he did not by this escape the agonies of pain, for by and by his thigh with the rest of his body was eaten away by the same fire. At length, however, he acknowledged the wicked crime which he had committed out of malice against the king and his followers, and on the persuasion of the bishops who came to him, he gave up the hostages, and the remainder of the money due for the ransom of the king, and gave his word that he would also return what he had received, and promised henceforward to be obedient to the judgment of the church. The bishops on this seeing him in such a state of misery and suffering absolved him from the ban of excommunication, and admitted him to the communion of the faithful, after which he expired in dreadful agony. For a long while his body remained unburied, until it swarmed with horrible worms, because his son refused to fulfil his father's command, but at length being forced to do so by his friends he released the hostages, and allowed them to return to their own country.

How the emperor Henry, subdued the kingdom of Apulia.

About this time the emperor Henry obtained possession of the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, Tancred, who had unjustly succeeded king William, being dead; for this same emperor had married king William's sister, and to her the kingdom of right belonged at her brother's death.

Of the fearful invasion of Spain by the Saracens.

At this time the king of Morocco, with thirty chiefs, and

an innumerable army of pagans, burst forth from Africa on Spain, to take possession of the king of Spain's territories, and ravaged several other provinces with fire and pillage, sparing neither sex, rank, nor age, except those who gave themselves up to his anger: his army consisted of six million fighting men, and all Christendom was dreadfully alarmed at their unexpected invasion.*

Of the death of abbat Warin, and the succession of John to the abbacy.

On the 29th of April in the same year Warin, abbat of the church of St. Alban's, died after having held that see for eleven years, eight months and eight days; he was succeeded by John a monk of the same establishment, who was elected abbat on the 21st of August, and on the 30th of the same month received the benediction from Richard bishop of London.

Of the legateship of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury.

About the same time pope Cælestine wrote to all the prelates of England to this effect, "Cælestine, to our venerable brothers the archbishop of York, and all bishops, abbats, priors, and other appointed prelates of the churches throughout the kingdom of England, greeting &c. Since we by our commission are enjoined to provide for the pastoral care of all churches, we now, looking with the eye of our fatherly regard especially to the English church, have, for the safety of that establishment, by the common advice of our brethren, decreed, that our venerable brother Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in whose merits, and virtue, wisdom, and learning, the whole church rejoices, shall take on himself the management of the legateship and perform at will all our functions, to the honour of the church, and the peace and safety of the whole kingdom, throughout the whole of

* Some of the MSS. give the paragraph as follows: "About this time the king of Morocco invaded Spain with thirty chieftains and six millions of pagans, as they have been reckoned; and when they had devastated the provinces of Spain, they heard that the pope proposed to call a general council and institute a crusade against them, to be led by Richard the magnificent king of England, whose fame had already filled the East and caused alarm over great part of Africa. They had also heard of his imprisonment and delivery, and how he had since compelled the king of France to yield. All the unbelievers therefore returned to their own country."

England, without any privilege or exception to you or your church, brother archbishop, or to any other person. By the authority of these presents we therefore command all your community to pay all due reverence and honour to the said Hubert, as legate of the apostolic see."

The pope's reproof to the king of the French for his divorce of his wife.

At this time pope Celestine wrote amongst other things to the archbishop of Seine as follows, "Since we, in our bowels of affection, especially regard the king of the French, we have by our beloved son the subdeacon, a legate of the apostolic see sent especially for the purpose, required of the said king that he should treat with the affection of a husband his wife, whom he by evil counsel has put away from him, and not give ear to those persons, who consider it as gain to sow the seeds of hatred and discord between people when they can. Therefore we, by the advice of our brethren, entirely annul that sentence of divorce, which was passed contrary to law, and by these our apostolic letters command and strictly enjoin your brotherhood, that, if the aforesaid king shall, during her life, wish to espouse another in her place, ye take care to forbid him from the same, by our apostolical authority."

The pope's bull to the bishops of England on behalf of the Holy Land.

At this time pope Celestine wrote to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, and to his suffragan priests, amongst other subjects on behalf of the Holy Land to the following purport:—"My brethren, archbishops and bishops, to whom is entrusted the care of souls, make urgent and incessant prayers to God that you may induce the people, subject to your rule, to take the cross, and stir themselves to put to confusion the persecutors of Christianity, for as much as we hope, and you ought to hope also, that the Lord, by your preaching and prayers, will let down your net for a draught, and will arouse such men to the defence of the eastern land, by whose merits rather than their prowess in arms, God will arise and his enemies will be scattered, and those who hate him shall flee before him. But we, in regard to those who undertake this pilgrimage for the love of God, and endeavour to the utmost of their power to fulfil it, by virtue of our office entrusted

to us by God's authority, grant the same remission of any penance imposed on them by the priesthood, as our predecessors are known to have granted in their times; namely, that those who shall undertake the toils of this pilgrimage with a contrite heart and humble sprit, and shall set out on this journey as a penance for their sins shall, if they die in the faith, obtain full remission of their offences, and eternal life. Let their goods also from the time of their taking the cross, together with their families, be considered under the protection of the church of Rome, and also of the archbishops and other prelates of the church; and let there be no dispute as to the property they had peaceable possession of at the time of their taking the cross, until their return or death shall be known for certain, but let their goods in the mean time remain untouched and undisturbed; but those who have, for the assistance of that land, sent their property there, shall obtain pardon for their sins according to the jurisdiction of the bishops. But to you, brother archbishop, we have thought fit to entrust the labour of this work, commanding you to use your influence with our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, who has arranged a truce for three years at the Holy Land, that he may send well-equipped knights and soldiers to defend that country. We also order you to traverse England, and by continual exhortations, by opportune and inopportune preaching, to urge the people to take the cross and journey to the country beyond sea, to defend the Holy Land." *

* Matthew Paris inserts here,—"When these things reached the king's ears he was zealous in the work of the cross, and exhorted others, principally those whom he had exalted in many ways, to be zealous also, as well for the sake of his soul as for the advancement of the cross and the salvation of their own souls. That he might the more civilly reprove certain who were disobedient to these salutary admonitions, he assumed the form of a preacher, and frequently repeated the advice to those around him.

"About this time a remarkable circumstance happened to a rich and miserly Venetian, which we think it worth while to insert in this place: his name was Vitalis; and when he was on the point of giving his daughter in marriage, he went into a large forest near the sea to provide delicacies for the table. As he wandered alone through the forest, with his bow and arrows ready, and intent on taking venison, he suddenly fell into a pit-fall which had been cunningly set for the lions, bears, and wolves, out of which he found it impossible to escape, because the bottom of it was so wide and the mouth so narrow. Here he found two fierce animals, a lion and a serpent, which had also by accident fallen in; and Vitalis signing himself

Of a treaty made between the kings of France and England.

A.D. 1196. King Richard spent Christmas at the city of Poictiers; and after the feast of St. Hilary, Philip king of the French, and Richard king of the English, met at a conference at Louviers, where the following treaty was made between them. The king of the French quitted claim to king Richard and his heirs, of Isoudun with the appurtenances, and of all right which he had in Berry, Auvergne, and Gascony, and gave him quiet possession of the castle of Arches, and the counties of Auches and Aumarle, and many other fortresses which the French monarch had seized on since his return from his pilgrimage to the Holy Land; and the English king quitted claim to the king of the French of the castle of Gisors, and the whole of Norman Vexin; and in order that all these terms might be ratified and confirmed, they mutually found

with the cross, neither of them, though fierce and hungry, ventured to attack him. All that night he spent in this pit, crying and moaning, and expecting with lamentations the approach of so base a death. A poor wood-cutter, passing by chance that way to collect faggots, heard his cries, which seemed to come from beneath the ground, and following the sound till he came to the pit's mouth, he looked in and called out, "Who is there?" Vitalis sprang up, rejoiced beyond measure, and eagerly replied, "It is I, Vitalis, a Venetian, who knowing nothing of these pit-falls, fell in, and shall be devoured by wild beasts, besides which I am dying of hunger and terror. There are two fierce animals here, a lion and a serpent, but, by God's protection and the sign of the cross, they have not yet hurt me, and it remains for you to save me, that I may afterwards show you my gratitude. If you will save me, I will give you half of all my property, namely, five hundred talents; for I am worth a thousand." The poor man answered, "I will do as you request, if you will be as good as your word." Upon this Vitalis pledged himself on oath to do as he had promised. Whilst they were speaking, the lion by a bland movement of his tail, and the serpent by a gentle hissing, signified to the poor man their approbation, and semed to join in Vitalis's request to be delivered. The poor man immediately went home for a ladder and ropes, with which he returned and let the ladder down into the pit, without any one to help him. Immediately the lion and serpent, striving which should be first, mounted by the rounds of the ladder and gave thanks to the poor man, crouching at his feet, for their deliverance. The wood-cutter, approaching Vitalis, kissed his hand, saying, "Long live this hand! I am glad to say that I have earned my bargain," and with these words he conducted Vitalis until they came to a road with which he was acquainted. When they parted, the poor man asked when and where Vitalis would discharge his promise? "Within four days," said Vitalis, "in Venice, in my own palace, which is well known and easy to find." The countryman returned home to dinner, and as he was sitting at table, the lion entered with a dead goat, as a present in return for

sureties, and determined a penalty of fifteen thousand marks of silver in case of a breach of the treaty by either party. But in course of time, after Richard had received possession of the above-mentioned places, the French king repented having made such a bargain, and collecting a large army he laid siege to Aumarle; on this the English king ordered a seizure to be made of all the goods and possessions which were in his dominions belonging to the abbats of Marmontier, Cluni, St. Denis, and Charité, who were the French king's securities on the above-named treaty, and had bound themselves to pay the before-mentioned money to the king of the English if the former king should not stand to his agreement. In the meantime the French king took the castle of Aumarle by assault and destroyed it, and the king of England gave him three thousand marks of silver of the above-mentioned money as a ransom for the knights of that garrison and their followers, that they might be permitted to depart, saving their horses and arms. Afterwards the king of the French took Nonancourt, and king Richard took the castle Gameges, and so the two kings played at castle-taking.

his deliverance, and having laid it down, took his leave without doing any hurt. The countryman, however, wishing to see where so tame an animal lay, followed him to his den, the lion all the time licking his feet, and then came back to his dinner. The serpent now came also, and brought with him in his mouth a precious stone which he laid in the countryman's plate. The same proceedings again took place as before. After two or three days the rustic, carrying the jewel with him, went to Venice, to claim from Vitalis his promise. He found him feasting with his neighbours in joy for his deliverance and said to him, "Friend, pay me what you owe me." "Who art thou?" replied Vitalis, "and what dost thou want?" "I want the five hundred talents you promised me." "Do you expect," replied Vitalis, "to get so easily the money which I have had so much difficulty to amass?" and, as he said these words, he ordered his servants to cast the rash man into prison. But the rustic by a sudden spring escaped out of the house and told what had happened to the judges of the city. When, however, they were a little incredulous, he showed them the jewel which the serpent had given him, and immediately one of them, perceiving that it was of great value, bought it of the man at a high price. But the countryman further proved the truth of his words by conducting some of the citizens to the dens of the lion and the serpent, when the animals again fawned on him as before. The judges were thus convinced of his truth, and compelled Vitalis to fulfil the promise which he had given, and to make compensation for the injury which he had done the poor man. This story was told by king Richard to expose the conduct of ungrateful men.

Of the death of William, formerly a citizen of London.

At this time there arose in the city of London a dispute and difference between the rich and poor, about the allotment of the taxes to be paid into the exchequer, and which were often, as they said, unequally levied. The cause of this disagreement was William Fitz-Osbert, who, in contempt of the king's majesty, convoked assemblies of people, and binding many to him by oath at their meetings, persecuted even unto death his own brother, and two other honest men, as if they were guilty of treason towards the king, and at last raised a sedition and disturbance in St. Paul's church. When at length he learned that for his crimes the anger of the king was seriously aroused against him, he shut himself up in a tower of a church, which was the especial property of the archbishop, thus making a castle of a sacred edifice. But seeing at length that a band of armed men were assembled, he, in order to avoid the death with which he was menaced, set fire to the temple of the blessed virgin, and partly consumed a place consecrated to God. At last he was dragged forth from the church, and carried to the tower of London, where having received final sentence, in order that the punishment of one might strike terror into the many, he was deprived of his long garments, and, with his hands tied behind his back, and his feet fastened together, was drawn through the midst of the city by horses to the gallows at Tyburn; he was there hung in chains, and nine of his fellow conspirators with him, in order to show that a similar punishment would await those who were guilty of a similar offence. On the twentieth of October* in the same year, John dean of Rouen was consecrated to the bishopric of Winchester. In this year, too, king Richard built a new castle in the isle of Andelys, against the wish of Walter archbishop of Rouen; and after he had been repeatedly warned to desist from the undertaking, the aforesaid archbishop put the whole of Normandy under a ban, and thus went to the court of Rome.†

* November.

† "About this time there arose a dispute in the city of London between the poor and the rich on account of the talliage, which was exacted by the king's agents for the benefit of the exchequer: for the principal men of the city, whom we call mayors and aldermen, having held a deliberation at their hustings, wished to preserve themselves free from the burden, and to oppress

Of the capture of Hugh de Chaumont.

In the same year a battle was fought between the followers of the French and English kings, in which Hugh de Chaumont, a great friend of the former monarch, was taken prisoner, and brought before the king of the English, who gave him into the custody of Robert de Ros; that knight delivered him to the care of William d'Epinay, an attendant of his, owing to whose treachery he escaped, for he obtained

the poorer classes. Wherefore William Fitz-Robert, surnamed 'with the beard,' because his ancestors in anger against the Normans never shaved, made opposition to the same, and called the mayors of the city traitors to our lord the king for the cause above-named; and the disturbances were so great in the city that recourse was had to arms. William stirred up a large number of the middle and lower classes against the mayors and aldermen, but by their pusillanimity and cowardice the plans of William's confederates in resisting the injury done them were dissipated and defeated: the middle and lower classes were repressed, and the king, his ministers, and the chief men of the city, charged the whole crime on William. As the king's party were about to arrest him, he, being a distinguished character in the city, tall of stature and of great personal strength, escaped, notwithstanding their exertions, defending himself with nothing but a knife, and flying into the church of St. Mary of the Arches, demanded the protection of our Lord, St. Mary and her church, saying that he had resisted an unjust decree for no other purpose than that all might bear an equal share of the public burden, and contribute according to their means. His expostulations, however, were not listened to, the majority prevailed, and the archbishop, to the surprise of many, ordered that he should be dragged from the church to take his trial, because he had created a sedition and made such a disturbance among the people of the city. When this was told to William, he took refuge in the tower of the church, for he knew that the mayors, whom he had contradicted, sought to take away his life. In their obstinacy they applied fire, and sacrilegiously burnt down great part of the church. Thus William was forced to leave the tower, almost suffocated with the heat and smoke. He was then seized, dragged out of the church, stripped, and, with his hands tied behind his back, conveyed away to the tower of London. Soon after, at the instigation of the archbishop, the principal citizens, and the king's ministers, he was taken from the Tower, and dragged, tied to a horse's tail, through the middle of London to Ulmet, a pitiable sight to the citizens and to his own respectable relations in the city: after which he was hung in chains on a gallows. Thus William of the Beard was shamefully put to death by his fellow citizens for asserting the truth and defending the cause of the poor: and if the justice of one's cause constitutes a martyr, we may surely set him down as one. With him also were hanged nine of his neighbours or of his family, who espoused his cause. The same year, John dean of Rouen, was made bishop of Worcester, and consecrated by the archbishop of Canterbury on the 30th of October."—*M. Paris.*

the permission of the aforesaid William, and let himself down from the wall of the castle of Bonville, on the Tuke, where he was confined, and thus took his leave of them. The king of England was greatly enraged against Robert de Ros for this, and took from him a thousand two hundred marks of silver for his offence, and ordered William d'Epinay to be hung on a gibbet.

Of the capture of the bishop of Beauvais and William de Merle.

After this event, as John, the king's brother, and Mercadeus prince of Brabant, were making an excursion before the city of Beauvais, intent on the capture of booty, Philip, the bishop of that place, and William de Merle, with his son and several knights and some soldiers, came out of the city on them, but were in a short time all taken prisoners, and a great number of the soldiers slain. The same day, after this capture, the same English nobles proceeded to Milli, a castle belonging to the before-named bishop, took it by assault, and afterwards destroyed it, and then returned in triumph, and delivered all their captives to the English king; the bishops, on account of being taken in arms, was imprisoned, and heavily loaded with chains.* In this same year a sudden and rapid inundation of the waters of the Seine involved the adjacent buildings both wood and stone in destruction, which greatly alarmed the king of the French, and Maurice the bishop of Perche, who were staying at Paris; the king left his palace, and, taking his son Louis with him, went to pass the night at St. Genevieve, and the bishop fled to Saint Victor's.

Of a vision which was seen by a certain monk, of purgatory and the places of punishment; the reading of which is very useful.

In those days a certain monk, belonging to the convent of Evesham, fell ill, and for fifteen months was afflicted with

* This affair is given rather more in detail by Matthew Paris, who concludes his narrative as follows:—"The chapter of Beauvais laid a grave complaint about the capture of their bishop and archdeacon before the pope, who wrote a friendly letter to king Richard, requesting him to set his dear son, and the son of the church, at liberty. The king, in respect towards the pope, ordered the bishop's coat of mail to be carried to his holiness, with a request that he would see whether it was his son's coat or not. To which the pope replied, 'He is no son of mine nor of the church: let him be ransomed at the king's pleasure, for he is a soldier of Mars rather than of Christ!'"

grievous bodily pain, taking such a nausea of food and drink, that sometimes for nine days and more he would take nothing but the least drop of cold water; no skill of the physician could cure him, but whatever was offered him by any one by way of relieving him, had the contrary effect. Thus he lay languishing on his bed deprived altogether of bodily strength; he could not even move from the spot unless carried by the servants. As the day of our Lord's resurrection drew near, he began to feel easier, and walked about his cell leaning on his stick; and at length on the night next preceding the day of our Lord's supper, he went leaning on his stick into the large hall, instigated by devotion, not knowing whether he was in the body or in the spirit, and there, whilst the assembled monks were paying their accustomed nightly devotions to the Lord, he felt such an impression of the divine mercy and heavenly grace, that his own holy devotion seemed to exceed measure, and from the middle of that night to the sixth hour of the following day he could not restrain himself from tears and giving praise to God. He then sent for two of the brotherhood, called by religious men 'confessors,' one after the other, and there with tears and in all purity and contrition of heart, he made to each of them a confession of all his faults, even the smallest of them, whether against discipline or the commandments of God: he then asked for and obtained absolution; and thus in devotion and giving praise to God he passed the whole day.

How the same monk was found lying as if dead.

On the following night he obtained a little sleep, and when the bell for matins rang, he rose from his couch and took his way to the church; but what happened there the following narrative will tell. On the morning of the following day, which was the day of the Preparation, when the brotherhood had risen to primes, and were crossing before the chapter-house on their way to the church, they beheld this same brother lying prostrate and with naked feet before the abbat's chair, where the brothers were accustomed to crave pardon, and with his face close to the ground as if he was asking pardon of some one sitting before him; the brothers, astonished at this sight ran up, and, trying to raise him, they found him breathless and motionless, with his eyes

turned up, and the balls of the eyes and the nose wet with a quantity of blood. They all together cried out that he was dead, finding that he had lost all motion of the veins for a length of time; but at length discovering that he breathed, although but slightly, they washed his neck, breast, and hands, with cold water. In the first place they saw him tremble slightly throughout his whole body, but he soon became quiet and remained without motion; for a long time they were in doubt how to act, not knowing for certain whether he was dead or had got better; at length, after a debate, they carried him into the infirmary, and placing him on a bed, appointed some persons to keep a careful watch over him; they next applied plasters to his chest, and pricked the souls of his feet with needles, but could find no signs of life in him. In this manner, then, lying on his bed altogether motionless, he remained for two days, that is, from midnight of the Preparation, till midnight of the following sabbath; but on the great sabbath, when the monks were about to assemble for midnight mass, the eyelids of the aforesaid brother began to quiver slightly, and after a while a moisture, like tears, began to flow gently over his cheeks, and, as any one would lament in his sleep, he seemed to utter frequent sighs, and after a while he seemed to be uttering words in his throat with a deep though scarcely audible sound: at length as his breath by degrees returned, he began to call upon Saint Mary, saying, "O holy Mary! O holy Mary! for what crime am I deprived of joy so immense?" In this manner, often repeating these and other words, he made known to the bystanders his deprivation of some great joy. After this, as if awaking out of a deep sleep, he shook his head, and, weeping bitterly, he began to sob, his tears flowing unceasingly; then, with his hands clasped and his fingers hitched together he raised himself suddenly to a sitting posture, and placing his head covered with his hands on his knees, he continued unceasingly, as he had begun, his lamentable moanings. After many entreaties by the brethren that he would, after such a long fasting and suffering, take something to eat, he took a small piece of bread, and then continued awake in prayer; on being asked if he expected to escape from his sickness, he answered, "I shall live long enough, because I have entirely recovered

from my weakness." On the night following, that is, of our Lord's resurrection, when the bell was ringing for matins, he went to church without any support, and, what he had not done for eleven months before, entered the choir. On the day after, when his religious rites were duly performed, he was deemed worthy to be refreshed by a participation in the holy communion.

How the aforesaid monk related the vision that he had seen.

After this the same brother eagerly joined in the religious duties of the other monks; and they earnestly entreated him to relate for their edification what had happened to him and all that he had seen in his sleep; for they were convinced that many things had been shown him, by evident signs, and from having heard his words and beheld his unceasing lamentations when he awoke on the previous day. After putting them off for some time, they became urgent in their request, and at length with incessant tears and groans, choking his voice, he related the circumstances in order as follow:— "When," said he, "I was, as you know, failing from severe and lengthened bodily infirmity, and was blessing God verbally and mentally, and was returning him thanks for deigning to chasten his unworthy servant with his fatherly rod, after I had given up all hope of recovery, I began, as much as I could, to prepare myself, in order that I might escape the punishments of the future state, as I was on the point of being called from the body. Whilst I was diligently thinking on these things, I fell into temptation to ask of God that he would in some manner deign to reveal to me what was the state of the life to come, and what was the condition after this life, of souls released from the body; that, by learning this, I might more clearly ascertain what I, who was about, as I thought, to depart this life shortly, had to hope for and what to fear, that I might thus gain as much as I could on God's affection, whilst I was wavering in this precarious state. Desiring, then, to be satisfied on this, I with incessant supplications kept invoking, at one time our Lord the Saviour of the world, at another time the glorious virgin, his mother, at another I called on all the elect people of God; but it was especially through the intercession of the most pious and holy saint Nicholas the confessor, that I hope to gain the

end of my pious request; and behold, one night near the commencement of the Lent which we have just passed over, as I was sleeping a little, there appeared to me a venerable and altogether comely personage, who in most pleasant words addressed me as follows:—'Most beloved son, great is your devotion in prayer, and great perseverance have you in your purpose, nor will the continual aim of your prayer be fruitless through the clemency of the Redeemer; henceforward be of calm mind, and continue devout in prayer, for without doubt you will soon attain the object of your petition.' Having thus spoken, the image of the speaker vanished and I awoke."

How the same monk, as he was worshipping our Lord's cross, saw it become bloody.

"But, although awake, I still kept this vision steadily in mind, and, after six weeks had passed, when on the night of our Lord's supper I had risen to matins, and received, as you remember, discipline at your hands, I felt in the midst of it such a sweetness of mind diffused over me, that on the day following I felt it most pleasant to weep incessantly, as with your own eyes you saw. On the next night after this, which was the Preparation, as the hour approached for rising to matins, I sank into a calm sleep; then again I heard the same voice, but by whose agency it was conveyed to my ears, I know not; 'Arise,' it said, 'go into the oratory, and approach the altar consecrated to the worship of St. Laurence, and behind that altar you will find the cross, which it is the custom of the convent to worship on the day of the Preparation; for unless you do thus, nothing can be fulfilled by you on the morrow; for a long journey remains to you; wherefore, adore our Lord's cross in memory of himself, and offer the sacrifice of a humble and contrite heart, knowing for certain, that the offering of your devotion will be acceptable to the Lord, and that you shall hereafter rejoice abundantly in its richness.' After this I awoke from sleep, and proceeded, as it seemed to me, with the brethren, to hear matins; which being commenced, I met in the vestibule of the church, an old man clothed in white garments, that one from whom, on the preceding night, I had received discipline. I then beckoned him by the usual nod to give me discipline, on which we went into the chapter-house, and after having effected

my purpose, we returned to the oratory. I then went alone to the altar mentioned to me in my sleep, took off my shoes, and crawling on my knees, made for the place where I had been told the cross of our Saviour would be found. As had been foretold to me, I found it there, and shortly I became entirely dissolved in tears, and throwing myself on the ground at full length, I most devoutly worshipped it; as I was thus kneeling before the face of the image, and was kissing it on the mouth and eyes, I felt some drops falling gently on my forehead, and on removing my fingers, I, from their colour, discovered it to be blood; moreover, I saw the blood flowing from the side of the image on the cross, as it does from a living man's veins when cut for letting blood. I caught in my hand I know not how many drops as they fell, and with it I devoutly anointed my eyes, ears, and nostrils; afterwards, if I sinned in this I know not, I swallowed one drop of it in my zeal, but the rest which I had caught in my hand I determined to keep.

How the same monk was separated from the body, and entered the first place of punishment.

"When I had thus worshipped our Lord's cross, I, after a time, heard behind me the voice of the venerable man from whom, on the preceding night, I had received discipline. Then, leaving my shoes and staff near the altar, I know not how, I went to the chapter-house, and after receiving discipline, six several times, as I had done before, I received absolution. This same old man was seated in the abbat's chair, and I prostrated myself before him, but he approached me, saying these words only, 'Follow me.' After he had raised me up, he took hold of my right hand firmly, yet gently, and we remained all the time with our hands linked together, and at that time I was deprived of all sense of body and mind. We then walked on a smooth road, straight towards the east, until we arrived in a large tract of country, dreadful to look at, in a marshy situation, and deformed with hard thickened mud. In this place were such a multitude of men, or spirits, that no one could count them, who were exposed to various and unmentionable tortures; in this place was a great crowd of both sexes, of every condition, profession, and rank, and all kinds of sinners condemned to torments according to the variety of their

professions, and the degrees of their offences. Throughout the broad extent of that plain, beyond the extremities of which no eye-sight could reach, I saw and heard crowds of wretched beings collected in miserable troops, and bound in flocks according to the similarity of their crimes and professions, whilst they all were equally burning, though their cries were different. Whatsoever people I saw, and for whatsoever sins they were punished, I noticed clearly both the nature of their sin, and the degree of their punishment, whereby, atoning for their crimes, or by the intercession of others, they might in that place of exile and punishment, earn admission into the heavenly country. But some I saw endure more severe torments with a calm mind, and, as if conscious of a reward laid up for them, thinking lightly of the horrible agonies they endured. Some I beheld leap suddenly forth from their place of torture, and make their way as fast as they could to the extremities of the place; and when they, dreadfully burned as they were, were emerging from the pits, the torturers ran to them with forks, torches, and every sort of instrument of torture, and restored them back to their punishments again, to inflict every kind of cruelty on them; nevertheless, though thus wounded, thus burned, and pierced to the heart by their lashes, they at length came forth, always going in regular gradation from the most severe to more tolerable sufferings; for some of the most atrocious there remained a most horrible death, without proceeding to more severe tortures: each of them was treated according as they were benefited or impeded by their former actions, or by the good works of their friends. Endless were the kinds of punishment which I saw; some were roasted before fire; others were fried in pans; red hot nails were driven into some to their bones; others were tortured with a horrid stench in baths of pitch and sulphur, mixed with molten lead, brass, and other kinds of metal; immense worms with poisonous teeth gnawed some; others, in thick ranks, were transfixed on stakes with fiery thorns; the torturers tore them with their nails, flogged them with dreadful scourges, and lacerated them in dreadful agonies. I saw in that place many who were known to me, and who had been intimate with me in this life, tortured in various ways, some of whom were bishops, some abbats, and some of

other stations; some in the ecclesiastic, some in the secular forum, some in the cloister. I saw all these; and the less that they were in their former life supported by the privileges of honour, the more lenient were the punishments inflicted on them there. As a truth I now tell what I particularly noticed, which was that all those whom I knew to have been the judges of others or prelates in this life, were tormented more than the rest with an increased degree of severity. It would be too tedious for me to speak of what they severally received as their deserts, or what they suffered, however conspicuous all things were to me; but God is my witness, that if I saw any one, even had he slain all my friends and relatives, condemned to such torture, I would, were it possible, endure a temporal death a thousand times to snatch him from them, especially since all things which are there penal, exceed all measure of pain, bitterness, and misery.

Of the second place of punishment in purgatory, and the variety of punishments.

"After we had gone beyond this place of punishment, I and my guide passed onwards unhurt, as we did also other places of torment, which I shall relate below. After this then we arrived at another place of torment; the two places were separated by a mountain almost touching the clouds, over the top of which we passed easily and quickly. Under the farther side of this mountain was a very deep and dark valley, girt round on either side by ridges of lofty rocks, over which the sight could not extend; the bottom of the valley itself contained a piece of water, whether flowing or stagnant I know not, very wide and dreadful, owing to its stinking water, which continually sent forth a vapour of intolerable odour. The side of the mountain overhanging one part of the lake sent forth fire to the heavens; on the opposite promontory of the same hill there was such an intense cold, caused by snow, hail, and raging storms, that I thought I had never before seen anything more torturing than the cold at that place. The region of the above-mentioned valley, and the sides of both mountains, which bore this dreadful appearance of heat and cold, were occupied by a crowd of spirits, as numerous as bees at the time of swarming; and their punishment in general was at one time to be

dipped in the fœtid lake; at another, breaking forth from thence, they were devoured by the volumes of flame which met them, and at length, in fluctuating balls of fire, as if sparks from a furnace were tossed on high, and fell to the bottom of the other bank; they were again restored to the whirlings of the winds, the cold of the snow, and the asperity of the hail; then, thrown forth from thence, and as if flying from the violence of the storms, they were again thrust back into the stench of the lake, and the burnings of the raging fire. Some were tortured by the cold, some by the heat, for a long time, and some were kept for a long period in the stink of the lake. I saw others, like olives in a press, pressed and jammed together in the midst of the flames so incessantly, that it is horrible to relate. Of all those then who were there tortured, the condition was this, that for the fulfilment of their purification they were compelled to pass through the whole surface of that lake from the beginning to the end. There was, however, a very great and manifold distinction amongst those who were tortured in this place, for some of them were allowed an easy and quick transit, according to their merits, and the assistance rendered to them after their death; whilst those guilty of greater crimes, or less assisted by the masses of their friends, were punished more severely and for a longer time: but to all of them, the nearer they approached the end of the lake the less severe was the torture remaining to be endured, for those who were placed at the beginning, felt the punishment most severely, although all did not suffer alike; and the lightest torments of that place were more cruel than the most severe ones of the place we saw before. In this place of punishment I found and recognised many more acquaintances than I had seen in the first purgatory, and with some indeed I conversed. Amongst them I recognized a certain goldsmith who had been well known to me in life; but my guide, seeing me look at him earnestly, inquired if I knew him, and on his learning that he had been well known to me, he said, "If you know him, speak to him." But the spirit looking at us, and recognizing us with a gesture of unspeakable delight, gave praise to the man, my guide, and with out-stretched hands, and by a frequent bending of the whole of its body, worshipped him, and making obeisance, thanked

him much for kindnesses conferred on him. As he frequently cried out, 'Holy Nicholas, have pity on me,' I was pleased to recognize the name of my dear protector, St. Nicholas, from whom I hoped to obtain salvation both of body and soul. On my then asking the goldsmith how he had thus quickly gone through the cruel torments I had seen him suffering, he answered, 'You, my friend,' said he, 'and all my acquaintances, who, during my life, saw that all the supports of the Christian faith were denied me, such as confession and the viaticum, considered me a lost man, not knowing the mercy of my lord, who is with me, namely, St. Nicholas, who did not suffer me, his unhappy servant, to undergo the death of everlasting damnation; for now and ever, since I have been consigned to this place of punishment, when I was suffering under a severe torture, I have been refreshed by the visitation of his compassion. For in gold working, in which art I, in my life-time, committed many frauds, I now make most severe atonement, since I am frequently thrown into a heap of burning money, and most intolerably scorched; being often compelled to swallow with gaping mouth those very coins, which consume my internal parts; and moreover, am often obliged to count these coins, and feel my hands and fingers consumed and burned by them.' I then asked him, if men could by any remedy avoid such a dreadful torture; to which he replied with a sigh, 'If men were daily to write with the finger on their foreheads and on the parts near their heart, "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews," those of the faith would doubtlessly be preserved harmless, and, after their death, those very places would shine with a bright splendour.' These and many other things I heard from him; but let us hasten to describe other things, and let what has been said suffice.

Of the third place of punishment, and the manifold variety of torments.

"I and my guide, then, having left this truly called valley of tears which we got to in the second place, we arrived at a large plain situated low down in the bosom of the earth, and which seemed inaccessible to all except to torturing devils, and tortured spirits. The surface of that plain was covered by a great and horrible chaos, mixed with a sulphureous smoke, and a cloud of intolerable stench, with a flame of a

pitchy blackness, and this rising from all directions was diffused in a dreadful way, through the whole of that void space. The surface of the place abounded with a multitude of worms in the same way as the court-yards of houses are covered with rushes; and these, dreadful beyond conception, of a monstrous size and deformed, with a dreadful gaping of their jaws, and exhaling execrable fire from their nostrils, lacerated the crowds of wretched beings with a voracity not to be escaped from; and the devils running in all directions, raging like mad creatures, took the wretched beings and at one time were cutting them up piece by piece with their fiery prongs, at another time were tearing all their flesh off to the bone, at another time threw them into the fire, melted them like metals, and restored them in the shape of burning flame. Little it is, I call God to witness, yea nothing, that I recollect of the punishments of that place; for God knows that, in a very brief space of time I saw those wretched beings destroyed by a hundred or more different kinds of torture, and soon afterwards restored again, and again reduced almost to nothing, and then again renewed; for a lost life caused them to be tortured in that place, and owing to the different kinds of punishment there was no end to their sufferings. For the flame of that fire was so devouring, that you would think an ordinary fire or fever to be lukewarm in comparison with it; dead worms torn in pieces were collected in heaps beneath the wretches, filling every thing with an intolerable stench which surpassed all other suffering. The most loathsome and severe of all remains yet to be told; for all who were punished there had, in their life, been guilty of wickedness which is unmentionable by a Christian, or even by a heathen or a pagan. Those therefore were continually attacked by huge monsters of a fiery appearance and horrible beyond description, which, notwithstanding their opposition, committed on them the damnable crimes of which they had been guilty on earth; and their cries were horrid until they fainted apparently dead, when they again revived to be exposed to fresh torments. I tremble while relating it, and am beyond measure confounded at the filthiness of their crime, for till that time I had never heard or thought that both sexes could have been corrupted by such filthiness, and, oh shame! such an innumerable crowd of such wretches as

was there found most pitiably to be pitied. The figures of many in that place I neither saw nor recognized, for I was overcome with horror by the enormity of the torments and obscenity, and by the filthy stench; so that it was beyond measure offensive to me either to stop there a moment, or to look at what was being done there. Lastly amid the dreadful din one of them cried out, 'Alas! why did I not repent?' so loud was their grief that you would have thought all the sufferers in the world were there lamenting.

Of a certain lawyer and his punishments.

"Although I avoided as much as I could to look at what was passing there, I could not escape seeing a certain clerk, whom I had once known; he, in his life, was considered a most skilful man, of those who are styled lawyers and decretalists, wherefore in ecclesiastical revenues he was every day getting richer than the rest. I was astonished at the weight of his sufferings, and on my asking whether he expected to obtain mercy at all, he answered, crying out, 'Alas, alas, woe is me, I know, I know that I shall not receive mercy this side of the day of judgment, and even then I think it is uncertain, for ever since I have been subjected to these sufferings, my punishment grows worse, dragging me on from bad to worse.' I said to him, 'Why then did you not at the last confess your sins and repent.' He answered, 'Because I had hopes of recovering, the devil beguiling me, I was ashamed to confess such disgraceful crimes, lest I should seem to be unrespected by them to whom I appeared renowned and noble. Some of my slighter offences I did however confess to the priest, and on his asking me, if I was conscious of any other sins, I asked him to leave me then, promising to let him know again if any should occur to my memory. When he had departed, and had gone a little way, I felt myself dying; and when he was fetched back by my servants he found that I was dead. Therefore none of the thousand kinds of torments which I daily endure, tortures me so much as the recollection of my fault, because I am actually compelled to be a slave to the baseness of my former weakness, for besides the greatness of this unspeakable punishment, I am oppressed with intolerable shame, when I appear as one to be execrated for such great offences."

At the moment he was thus speaking to me, I saw him tortured in numberless ways, and in the midst of them to be reduced as it were to nothing, and to be dissolved by the force of the heat like melted lead. I also asked St. Nicholas, who stood by me, if such torments could be alleviated by any kind of remedy; and he answered 'When the day of judgment arrives, then will be accomplished the will of Christ, for he alone knows the hearts of all, and then he will afford to all a just retribution.' Afterwards when I had returned to the body, that priest, to whom the lawyer had confessed only his light offences, came to me, and called God to witness in the presence of many, that what I said was true, since no one but himself knew these things. Of the punishments of many, which I saw, I omit to make mention, fearing lest, if I should speak further of them, I should create a loathing in my readers, but let these few chosen from the many suffice.

Of the vision which the same monk saw of the eternal glory of the blessed.

"Having thus in part described the things which we saw of the punishment and penal places of the wretched, it now remains for us to speak of the consolations of those at rest, and of the eternal glory of the blessed, which we beheld with our own eyes. After we had walked for a long time, amidst the different kinds of punishment which I have mentioned above, and had beheld the various sufferings of the wretched, as we made our way towards the inner regions, the light began by degrees to appear more pleasant; here the fragrance of a sweet odour, there the richness of a plain flourishing with many kinds of flowers afforded us incredible pleasure. In this plain we found endless thousands of men or spirits who, after passing through their punishments, were enjoying the happy rest of the blessed. Those whom we found in the first portion of this plain, had garments white indeed, but not shining, but there did not appear any blackness or stain in them, although they shone in an inferior degree of whiteness. Amongst these I saw several who had been known to me formerly, for I recognized there a certain abbess who had lately come from the places of punishment, who was clothed in garments unstained, though not very bright; I also saw and recognized there a certain prior who after being

freed from all punishment was rejoicing in happy peace with the spirits of the just, in sure hope of the divine vision with which he was about to be rewarded. In that same place too I saw a priest, who having been possessed of the grace of preaching united to the example of a good life, had reclaimed from deadly sin the people not only of the parishes of which he had the pastoral care, but also those who were at a distance from him, and by the Lord's co-operation, an inexpressible glory rested on many by his means as on himself.

Of the second place of rest, and the glory of those dwelling there.

"As we proceeded from thence to the interior of this region of sweetness, the clearness of the light and the sweetness of the odour smiled on us more. But all whom this place contained were enrolled as inhabitants of the Upper Jerusalem, who had passed through all their punishments so easily, since they had been less ensnared by the vices of the world. And what we saw as we went on, the tongue cannot reveal or human weakness worthily describe; for who by words could worthily explain how, in the midst of blessed spirits of whom endless thousands stood round, as if present at the sacred solemnity of our Lord's passion, himself the pious Redeemer of the human race appeared as it were hanging on the cross, with his whole body bloody from scourgings, insulted by spitting, crowned with thorns, with nails driven into him, pierced with the lance, while streams of blood flowed over his hands and feet, and blood and water dropped from his holy side! Near him stood his mother, not anxious and sorrowful now, but rejoicing and looking with a most calm countenance on such an indescribable sight. Can any one indeed imagine with what eagerness all ran together to this spectacle, what devotion there was amongst those who beheld it, what a concourse of worshippers there was, how many were their indications of thanks for such great kindness? As I thought more profoundly of these things I know not whether it was grief or devotion which distracted my unhappy mind, but astonishment and admiration deprived me of sense. But what devotion is it, that the devil should be conquered by this contumely, and hell be defeated and robbed of its weapons and spoils, the lost man be recovered, and the prey of devils

be snatched from their infernal prison-house and placed in heaven amongst the choir of angels? Many things, which I saw and heard here, I fear to relate, lest they should appear unusual and incredible to many. At length, after a length of time spent in looking at this blessed vision, the vision itself suddenly disappeared; and in the hallowed place, where the glory of such a mystery had existed, they all returned with delight, each to his appointed place, and I followed my guide, full of admiration, to the inner regions into the abodes of the blessed; here was the brightness of those assembled, here the fragrance of sweet smell, here the harmony of those singing praises to God.

Of the third place of happiness and the visions of God.

"After proceeding for some distance, and as the pleasantness of the places before us increased, I saw what appeared a wall of crystal, which was so high that no one could look over it, and to the extent of which there was no end, and on our approaching it, I saw it glittered with a most shining brightness from within, I also saw the entrance to it open, but marked with the protecting sign of the cross; thither approached crowds of those who being near were very anxious to enter, and the cross in the middle of the gate now raising itself on high, opened an entrance to those who approached; afterwards, falling again, it denied admittance to those who wished to enter. How joyfully those who were admitted went in, or how reverently those who remained shut out waited for the next raising of the cross, I cannot describe. Here my guide stopped with me some time, but as we at length went forward the cross was raised and the entrance was opened for us to enter; my companion entered without hindrance, and I was following, when on a sudden the cross descended upon our hands and was about to prevent me from following my guide; on seeing which I was in great alarm, but heard these words proceed from him, 'Fear not,' said he, 'only put your trust in the Lord and enter in safety;' on this my confidence returned, and when the cross granted an entrance I went in. But how glittering was the inconceivable brightness, or how strong was the light which filled all those places, let no one ask of me, for this I am not able to express in words, nor even to recollect

in my mind. That soft and glittering splendour so dazzled my eyes, that I could think of nothing to be compared to it which I had ever seen before; for that brightness, inconceivable as it was, did not blind the eye-sight, but rather sharpened it; and as I looked on it, nothing else met my sight than the light and the wall of crystal before mentioned. Moreover from the bottom to the top of it steps of a wonderful beauty were arranged, by means of which the crowds of rejoicing spirits ascended as soon as they were let in at the door; there was no toil to those who went up, no difficulty, and no delay in the ascent, for the step above was always ascended more easily than the one below had been. And when I directed my eyes above, I beheld, sitting on a throne of glory, our Lord and Saviour in human form, and, as it seemed to me, the spirits of five or seven hundred blessed beings, who had lately ascended by the before-mentioned road to the place of the throne, coming round him in a circle, and with signs of thanksgiving worshipping him. But it was most evident to me, that the place which I saw was not the heaven of heavens, where the Lord of lords will appear in Sion, as if he were in his majesty; but that from thence, after all difficulty and delay is removed, spirits ascend to that heaven which is blessed by the presence of the eternal Deity. In this vision, however, I conceived in my mind so much delight and joy, so much happiness and exultation, that whatever can be explained by human ingenuity would fail to express the delight of my heart which I there felt.

How the said monk was restored to his body.

"After I had seen and heard these and numberless other things, St. Nicholas briefly spoke to me, 'Lo! my son,' said he, 'thou hast now as thou wishedst, as far as was possible for thee, in part beheld the condition of the life to come, the dangers of sinners, the punishment of the wicked, the rest of the purified, the joys of those who at length reach the court of heaven, and the mysteries of our Lord's suffering. You must now return to your mortal struggles; but you will receive, if you persevere in the fear of God, the things which you have with your own eyes beheld, and much greater than these, if you endeavour with an immaculate body and innocent heart to await the day of your last

calling.' Whilst he was thus speaking to me, I suddenly heard a note of wondrous sweetness, as if the bells of all the world, or everything that is musical, were all sounding together. In this sound there was a wonderful sweetness and a various mixture of melody, and I know not whether it was most to be admired for its grandeur or its sweetness. Whilst I was anxiously listening to such an unusual sound, and had lost my recollection, I found myself, as soon as it ceased, deprived of the company of my guide; and the strength of my body returning, and my eyes being restored to the faculty of sight, the pain of my former sickness was destroyed; and being altogether freed from my weakness, I sat amongst you strong and healthy, although anxious and sorrowful. Being therefore restored to myself, as soon as I heard from the brothers that the festival of Easter was approaching, I considered that the music I had heard was a sign, that even amongst the inhabitants of heaven the mystery of the salvation of the human race is observed with joy and festivity by the inhabitants of heaven, even as it was wrought on earth by Him who created the world and the heavens out of nothing, Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honour and glory world without end. Amen."

Of the death of Henry king of Jerusalem.

At this same time Henry of Champagne, who had succeeded Guy as king of Jerusalem, fell from the upper window of a house into the street, and, breaking his neck, was killed; he was a nephew of the kings of France and England, Philip and Richard, being a son of the daughter of Louis king of the French, Philip's father, whom he had by Eleanor, his queen, afterwards married to king Henry, father of king Richard. When therefore the above-named king died, the condition of the Holy Land necessarily required a new one; on which, by the unanimous consent of the priests and people, the election fell on an illustrious Frenchman, John de Brienne, a man well skilled in warfare, who was at once crowned king, and under his rule the affairs of the kingdom prospered.

King Richard sent messengers to Rome to complain of the archbishop of Rouen.

A.D. 1197. King Richard was at Bure, in Normandy,

and was in great trouble because the archbishop of Rouen had placed Normandy under an interdict, for the bodies of the dead were lying unburied in the squares and streets of the cities, which caused a great stench amongst the living. He therefore sent William bishop of Ely, his chancellor, with the bishops of Durham and Lisieux, to the court of Rome, to plead his cause against the said archbishop; but William bishop of Ely died on his way to Rome, at Poictiers, and was buried in the Cistercian convent of Dispin, on the 29th of January. The before-named bishops, however, his companions, proceeded on their journey and arrived at Rome. When the parties were convened in presence of our lord the pope, and had been heard carefully, our lord the pope and his cardinals after long deliberation, considering the damage and trouble which might accrue to the king in Normandy unless that castle was built in Andelys, advised the archbishop to come to an amicable arrangement with their lord the king, and to accept from him an adequate compensation in the estimation of wise men for what he had lost;* for they declared that it was quite lawful for any one who was able to do so, like the king of England, to strengthen the weaker parts of his kingdom that he might not suffer any loss or injury therefrom. With these terms of peace the messengers of both parties returned, and procured a reversion of the sentence of interdict.

Form of the agreement which was made between king Richard and the archbishop of Rouen.

The form of peace and agreement made between the king of England and the archbishop of Rouen was as follows: "Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. Since the holy church is the spouse of the Eternal King, and the only beloved of Him by whom kings do reign and princes hold their authority, we wish to pay it the more reverence and devotion, the more firm we are in our belief that not only the kingly but all power is from the Lord God; wherefore, as the holy church of Rouen, which is

* "For the village of Andelys and some adjoining places, which the king had taken from the archbishop, that he might strengthen the weak points of his territories, he gave the archbishop in exchange all the royal mills at Rouen with their appurtenances, the villages of Dieppe and Buceles with all their liberties."—*Matthew Paris.*

known to be most celebrated amongst all our dominions, deems it meet carefully to consult our interests according to the necessities of time and other circumstances, so we have thought fit to pay a meet compensation for the advantage and increase of the same church, our mother. Since the town of Andelys and some other adjacent places, which belonged to the church of Rouen, were not sufficiently fortified, and there was a way of ingress opened to our enemies into our country of Normandy, through those same places, by means of which they sometimes insultingly assailed the same country with fire and rapine, and other cruelties of warfare. Wherefore, the right worshipful Walter our father, the archbishop and the chapter of Rouen, having due regard to our losses in the before-named country, an exchange has been made between the church of Rouen and archbishop Walter of the one part, and ourselves of the other part, concerning the manor of Andelys, as follows: to wit, that the said archbishop, with the consent and by the wish of our lord the pope, Celestine the third, and with the consent of the chapter of the church of Rouen, hath granted, and for ever quit-claimed to us and our heirs, the aforesaid manor of Andelys, with the new castle of 'the Rock,' the forest, and all other its appurtenances and liberties, except the churches and the necessaries for soldiers, and except the manor of Freisnas, with its appurtenances, all which the said archbishop retains, the church of Rouen, himself and his heirs, with all their liberties and free customs, and in all their entirety for ever. But in exchange for the aforesaid manor of Andelys with its appurtenances, we have granted, and for ever quit-claimed to the church of Rouen, the aforesaid archbishop and his successors, all the mills which we possessed at Rouen when this exchange was made, together with all appurtenances and grinding instruments, without any reserve of the things which appertain to the mill or to grinding, and with all liberties and free customs which they are accustomed or ought to have; and it shall not be lawful for any one to build a mill at that place, to the detriment of the mills aforesaid. We have, moreover, also granted to them the towns of Dieppe and Bucceles, with their appurtenances and liberties, also the manor of Loures, and the forest of Haliermunt, with the wild beasts and all other its appurtenances and liberties.

And the church of Rouen and the aforesaid archbishop, and his successors will hold all these places in exchange for the aforesaid manor of Andeleys for ever, as witness these names. . . . . * This exchange has been effected at Rouen in the year of grace 1197, and in the eighth year of our reign."†

How king Richard carried the body of St. Valery to Normandy, and there burned several ships.

At this time a hint was given to king Richard that ships were in the habit of coming from England to St. Valery to bring provisions to the king of the French and his other enemies; he therefore marched to that place, burned the town, destroyed the monks, and carried away the coffin of St. Valery, with his bones, into Normandy. In the harbour there he found some English ships laden with corn and provisions; whereupon he ordered their crews to be hung, and after burning the ships, bestowed the provisions on his soldiers.

How king Richard secured the alliance of the count of Flanders.

About this same time king Richard, by presents, enticed all who were powerful in the French kingdom, into friendship with him: he gave five thousand marks of silver to Baldwin count of Flanders for his assistance, and that prince gave hostages to the king as a security that he would not make any terms with the king of the French without his consent. The inhabitants of Champagne, with those also of Brittany, left the king of the French and joined the side of king Richard. William Crepin, constable of Auge, being compelled by force, surrendered the same castle to the English king, who immediately garrisoned it; and the French king assembled an army and laid siege to it. Whilst this was going on, the king of the English made a hostile descent

* The names are omitted.

† "In those days there arose in France a famous preacher, by whom God wrought miracles openly; he endeavoured to eradicate usury among the French, who had imbibed that vice from the Italians, and were much contaminated by it. This preacher, whose name was Fulk, sent a certain priest, namely, the abbat de Flai, into England, to put down the horrors of traffic on Sunday, and the abbat, on his arrival, eradicated this unseemly practice in many places. At this time, Robert of Shrewsbury was consecrated bishop of Bangor."—*M. Paris.*

on Auvergne, and took ten of the French king's castles, and a great number of his followers; but before the former could return into Normandy, the French king had taken the castle of Anjou,* but on the receipt of fifty marks of silver, he gave up the soldiers of the garrison, safe in life and limb, and with their horses and arms, but the king retained the castle and strengthened it.

How the French king was close pressed in Flanders.

In the meantime, Baldwin count of Flanders besieged the castle of Arras, and the king of the French hearing of this, came thither with a large army; but on his arrival the count raised the siege and departed for his own dominions, with the king of France in pursuit. But when the latter monarch had advanced a good way amongst the lakes and inlets of the sea, the count of Flanders caused all the bridges to be broken, and the aqueducts to be opened, both in the front and rear of the French king, so that he could neither advance or retreat, nor could any provisions be brought to him. The king, being in this dilemma, sent word to the count that he had come there with the intention of making amicable arrangements with him, or of recalling him from his fealty to the English king; he, moreover, told the count that he was his liege subject, on which account he ought not, nor did it become him, to fight against his crown. The count, however, before he permitted the king of the French to depart, made him swear that he would restore both to himself, the count, and to the king of the English, all the castles and other their rights, which he had taken possession of during the war, and he appointed a day for the performance of this agreement, arranging that he himself as well as the English king should come to a conference on the Wednesday after the exaltation of the holy cross, between Gaillon and Andelys; and then the French king, thus escaping capture by the duke, returned to his own dominions. But after he had got back to Paris he took counsel with his nobles in order to break from his agreement; for he did not consider himself bound to keep an oath which he had made on compulsion.

* Dangu in the original.

Of certain useful laws enacted by king Richard.

In the same year, on the day of St. Edmund the king and martyr, king Richard, at the instance of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury and justiciary of England, made a decree at Westminster, that, throughout England all measures of corn and pulse, both in cities and other places, should be of the same size, and especially the measure of ale, wine, and the weights of merchants. It was also decreed that woollen cloths in all parts of the kingdom should be two ells wide, within the borders, and should be as good in the middle as they were at the sides. It was, moreover, decreed that no trader should hang up before his shop red or black cloths, or anything else by which the sight of purchasers should be deceived in choosing a good cloth. A decree was also passed that no dye, except black, should be anywhere made use of in the kingdom, except in the capital cities or the boroughs; and if any one should be convicted of transgressing any of these laws, that his body should be imprisoned, and his goods confiscated to the revenue. In this same year, Philip, a clerk of the king's, of the country of Poictou, was elected bishop of Durham, and was consecrated at the Lateran by pope Celestine.

Of the coronation of Otho, as king of Germany.

A.D. 1198. In the ninth year of king Richard's reign, on the recommendation of the same monarch, his nephew Otho was crowned king of Alemaine or Germany; he directly married the daughter of the duke of Louvain, and on the day of his coronation sat at table in the church with her, though she was not crowned at that time. In the same year, on the death of pope Celestine, Innocent the Third succeeded him, and on St. Peter's day was consecrated pope and placed in St. Peter's chair; under his auspices there sprang up in Italy a new sect of preachers called 'Jacobites,' because they imitated the life of the apostles. These men went forth amongst cities, streets, and castles, preaching the word of the gospel, eating but little, scantily clothed, and without gold, silver, or any other property. In a short time these people multiplied throughout the world on account of their voluntary poverty, dwelling in the chief cities by sevens and tens, taking no heed for the future, and retaining nothing for their

use on the morrow; they also lived according to the rules of the apostles, and whatever they had abundance of at their tables from charitable gifts, this they immediately bestowed on the poor; they went about shod in the preaching of the gospel, slept in their clothes, used hard beds, and put stones under their heads for pillows.

Of the wonderful penitence of Hugh bishop of Chester.

In the same year Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Coventry or Chester, fell very ill when on his way to Rome; and when, by his illness gaining ground, he knew that his death was approaching, he sent for the religious men of all Normandy, abbats and priors, as many as he could, and in the hearing of all of them, and purely and with a contrite heart, he in tears confessed aloud all the sins, faults, and offences, which occurred to his recollection. So great was his penitence and contrition, that all those who stood by and looked at him were moved to tears; and at length in tears and lamentations he with clasped hands besought all the priests, by God's virtue, to inflict a fitting repentance and atonement on him, a penitence for the great crimes of which he had been guilty. But the religious men who stood by his bed hearing of such a wicked life in a bishop, and at the same time beholding his excessive contrition of heart, looked at one another and were all silent, not knowing what advice to give him, or what answer to make on a sudden. The bishop on seeing this, said to them, "I know, I know, that now you have heard of such great offences, you are doubting amongst yourselves as to what you should inflict on me by way of atonement; but I beseech you, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, by way of penance you adjudge me, for the remission of my sins, to remain, according to the will of God, in the tortures of purgatory till the day of judgment, that, by the mercy of our Redeemer, whose compassion always exceeds his judgment, I may then be saved." This advice pleased them all, except always the divine clemency, which desires all to be preserved, and not one to be lost. Then the bishop, in the hearing of them all, acknowledged with great grief that he had expelled the monks from Coventry, and, to add to all his faults, had introduced irreligious priests in their stead; to atone for which fault, he found no

other kind of correction, unless he died in the habit of those whom, under the influence of the devil, he had, as long as he was able, persecuted, reduced to beggary, and, in his hatred, injured in every possible way. After this confession, he besought the abbat of Bec, who was standing by him amongst the rest, out of charity, and to the shame of the devil, to grant him the habit of a monk, that he might have as protectors in the life to come those whom he had persecuted in this. After this was granted him, he gave all he possessed in gold and silver, jewels, and precious vessels, to religious houses and to the poor, and thus died more happily than was expected amidst the hopes and tears of those who stood round.

Of the restoration of the conventual church at Coventry, and the expulsion of the priests.

There was at this time staying at the court of Rome a certain monk of the convent at Coventry named Thomas, who had been with the rest of his brethren expelled, as has been mentioned above, by the before-named bishop, and who was endeavouring by the authority of the supreme pontiff to place again in their former condition the monks who were dispersed in all directions; some of his brethren had died, some had left the court weary and impoverished, he alone persevering in the matter, although on account of his poverty he was often obliged to beg his bread; but, having heard the wished-for news of the death of the bishop of Coventry, his heart was elated in the Lord, who shows his goodness to those who trust in him and persevere in well-doing. One day when the newly created pope Innocent was sitting in council with his cardinals, the aforesaid monk suddenly burst into the midst of them, and held out to the pope a petition setting forth his business; the latter, after he had read it, replied to the hasty monk, "Brother, has not this petition been often, in my sight and hearing, refused by our predecessors Clement and Celestine; and do you think, if you could not overreach them, to do so with me as if I were foolish?" and added with anger, "Depart, brother, depart, for you certainly wait here to no purpose." But the monk hearing these words, replied with bitter tears, saying, "Holy father, my petition is just, and altogether honourable, and therefore

I do not wait in vain: for I await your death, as I have the deaths of your predecessors; for he who succeeds you will hear my petition with effect." But the pope hearing these words, was inexpressibly astonished, and turning to his cardinals who sat near him, said, "Heard ye what this devil said?—'I await,' says he, 'your death, as I have that of your predecessors.'" Then turning to the monk he said, "Brother, by St. Peter, you shall not wait my death here, for your petition is granted." And immediately before he took any food, he sent commands to Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, that, immediately on the receipt of his letters, he should go in person to the church of Coventry, expel the priests, and reinstate the monks. The said archbishop, therefore, supported by the high pontiff's authority, removed the before-mentioned priests, and on the 18th of January reintroduced the monks in their stead. As the prior of that place had died when the monks were driven into exile, he appointed as prior over them a Norman named Joibert, who, on account of his eminent skill in secular affairs, had received the government of the three priories, of Daventry, Wenlock, and Coventry; he immediately with the advice of the monks set about the election of a bishop, and by common consent the lot fell on Geoffrey de Muschamp. The prior of Bermondsey dying about this time, too, Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, to satisfy the avarice of the aforesaid Joibert, added this fourth priory to his other three.

Of the consecration of certain bishops.

On the fourth Sunday in Lent of the same year, Eustace dean of Salisbury, was consecrated bishop of Ely, by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in the chapel of St. Catherine at Westminster. Afterwards, Geoffrey bishop of Coventry elect, was consecrated by the same archbishop at Canterbury on the 21st of June. In this year, too, on the 15th of May, a shower of blood fell on those who were building the castle at Andelys in Normandy, which was a warning perhaps that the death of king Richard would occur shortly. And at this time, too, Geoffrey archbishop of York, made peace with the king and his brother in Normandy, for the king was displeased with him on account of the removal of his chancellor at the time he was a prisoner of the emperor's.

Of the removal of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury from the office of justiciary.

At that time a difference arose between the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of the Holy Trinity at that place, on account of the new church which the archbishop had built at Lambeth; for the monks were afraid* that he would transfer the cathedral see to the latter place; they therefore set out to Rome to complain to pope Innocent, that the archbishop, contrary to the dignity of his station, was acting as justiciary of England, and judge in matters of life and death, and that he paid attention to secular affairs more than was proper, neglecting the affairs of the church; they also charged him with the fact, that it was by his orders that the church of St. Mary of the Arches,† in London, was profaned, when William with the Beard was dragged forth from it, tied to horses' tails, dragged through the streets of the city, and finally hung on the gallows; and in this way the monks, spending a great deal of money about it, greatly dimmed the archbishop's fame. The pope, on hearing these things, commanded the king of England, immediately on receipt of his letters, under penalty of an interdict, to dismiss the aforesaid archbishop from the office of justiciary, as it was especially forbidden bishops to meddle with secular business. King Richard, therefore, dismissed the archbishop, and appointed Geoffrey Fitz-Peter in his place.

Of a battle between the English and Welsh, in which many were slain.

In the same year, whilst king Richard was staying beyond sea, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, high justiciary of England, assembled a large army and marched into Wales to the assistance of William de Brause, and his followers, who were besieged in the castle of Matilda, by Wenunwen king of Wales; and on his arrival there a battle took place.‡ But the Welsh

* "For the monks feared, and indeed it not only was publicly reported, but also the archbishop had used threats to the same effect, that he would transfer thither the episcopal see, and what was still worse, degrade the monks, and put secular canons in their places. If this should take effect, it would redound to the injury of many, together with the ingratitude of the electors, and of the numerous saints who had been monks in that church."—M. Paris.

† Bow Church.

‡ Matthew Paris adds here, "Almost all the Welshmen in Wales were

not being able to resist the English, were put to flight, and throwing away their arms in order to fly better, gave courage to the English; more than three thousand seven hundred of their soldiers were said to have been slain, besides those who were taken prisoners, and those mortally wounded; but of the English only one man was killed, and he was pierced by an arrow which was carelessly discharged by one of his fellow soldiers.

How king Richard, in a battle with the French king, took twenty knights.

About the same time, Philip king of the French, and the English king Richard, met in battle between Jumieges and Vernon; in this conflict the French king and his followers took to flight, and retreated to Vernon for safety, but before they could get into the castle, king Richard, who was pursuing them at the sword's point, made prisoners of twenty knights, and more than sixty soldiers. On the tenth of September in this year, Richard bishop of London paid the debt of nature.

Of a glorious victory gained by king Richard.

About that time, king Richard assembled all his forces, and, supported by the valour of his English troops, took by assault three of the French king's castles, namely, Sirefontan, Burs, and the fortress of Curcel. The French king, who believed that the castle of Curcel was not yet taken, came from Nantes to render assistance to that place, with four

assembled together, sworn to oppose the unjust invasion of the English as long as they had breath in their bodies. When they were drawn out in battle array against the English army, Peter the justiciary, a brave and prudent knight, came up with his people in battle array against them, and exhorted his men to fight bravely and manfully. One of them, named Walter de Hame, a native of Trumpington, replied, 'God forbid, my lord, that any nobleman should be prodigal of his own life: I am but a poor man, and my life is of no value, nor will the enemy have much cause to triumph in my death.' With these words, he did not wait for a reply, but furiously spurred against one of the foremost of the enemy, leaving him on the ground grievously wounded, charged a second, whom he served in the same manner, and then assailed a third, whom he seized by the helmet, and nearly shook the breath out of his body. Then looking back upon his own army, he exclaimed, 'Hurra! king's men, come on, and charge them, the victory is ours!' Before he had spoken these words, the Welsh army was broken; the right wing of the English came up, and the enemy were routed right and left."

hundred knights and a number of attendants, and all his soldiers; king Richard learning this by means of his scouts, came in an opposite direction to meet them, and fought a pitched battle with them, between Curcel and Gisors. In this conflict the French king, unable to sustain the shock of the battle, fled with his attendants to the castle of Gisors. As the fugitives were retreating over the bridge of that town, it broke down on account of the multitude who impetuously rushed on it, and the king himself with his horse and armour fell into the river Ethe, with innumerable others of the French, and, as he lay there, was rolled over and over in the mud, and with difficulty saved from death. In the meantime, a picked body of the French troops, in order to assist the flight of their sovereign, and to save him from falling into the hands of the pursuing king, faced about against king Richard, and made a fierce attack on him, thus exposing themselves to death for the preservation of their sovereign. Then the battle raged on both sides, swords thundered on helmeted heads, and drew fire by quickly repeated blows, and the stiff lances knocked down enemies in all directions; but I have no time for the relation;—their rage did not cease till the king of the English had captured the whole of the resisting band. In this battle king Richard unhorsed and made prisoners of three chosen knights, Matthew de Montmorenci, Alan de Rusci, and Fulk de Gilernalles; and with them were taken the following men of rank in the French kingdom, Gallis de Porta, Gerard de Chori, Philip de Nanteuil, Peter d'Eschans, Robert de St. Denys, Theobald de Wallengard, Cedunal de Trie, Roger de Meetlent, Aim Triers, Reginald d'Asci, Baldwin de Leisni, Thomas d'Asgent, Ferrius de Paris, Peter de Latonia, Guy de Nevers, Frumentin of Champagne, Theodoric d'Anceis, Anfric de Baalim, Eborard de Montigny, Odo de Munteiun, Funeard de Roche, Walter Rufus, Arnulph de Leini, William de Banceto, Joken de Bray, Peter de Pinci, Denbert d'Augi, Puncard du Chatel, William de Merllon, John de Granges, Theobald de Breun, Roger de Beaumont, Gilbert de Braye, Peter de Maidul, John de Cerni, Alard de Loviers, Ralph de Valencel, Ferri de Brunaye, Thomas de Castele, William de Rochemont, Theobald de Misci; and besides these already mentioned the said king took a hundred

knights and two hundred horses, covered with armour; of soldiers, horse and foot, and arbalesters, he took an immense number. After this, the victorious Richard sent letters to all his friends in England, such as the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, and barons, earnestly and devoutly begging of them to join him in glorifying God for having granted him such a triumph over his enemies.

Of a treaty made between the kings of France and England.

Philip the French king, therefore, seeing that the power of the king of England daily increased whilst his own gradually grew deficient, yielded to necessity, and secretly sent messengers to the supreme pontiff, setting forth by his pleaders that he was willingly to come to an arrangement with the king of England, or by a truce to put off fighting for a time, in order that, after the truce was confirmed by the authority of the pope himself, the monarchs of both kingdoms might, by his co-operation, be able to fulfil the vows of their pilgrimage, and to release the land of promise from the power of the enemies of Christ; and that this might be made secure and binding, the king asked the pope to send some cardinal with plenary powers to the western parts, who could, if necessary, pronounce sentence of interdict against whichever of them should be found averse to peace and amity. With these and many other similar requests, pope Innocent, who was most anxious to forward the cause of the crusade, was induced to comply, more by money than the king's entreaties, and he accordingly sent Peter of Capua, one of his cardinals, to make peace between the two kings. He, on his arrival at the French king's dominions, by advice of that monarch, took with him some bishops of both kingdoms, and, on coming to the king of England, he explained to him what great calamities were happening and would continue to happen to the kingdoms of the two monarchs unless peace was soon made between them. King Richard, however, answered with indignation, saying that he was not bound by law to do anything at the pope's command, especially as he had often asked him to compel the French king by the church's censure to restore to him the territories and castles which the said king, in disregard of his oath, had unjustly seized on when he himself

was, in the land of promise, expelling the enemies of the cross, and endeavouring to restore the Holy Land to a proper state. Wherefore, he had been compelled, by the fault of the pope himself, to spend a very large sum of money in regaining his own inheritance; by which the aforesaid king had not only committed perjury, but had also incurred the sentence of excommunication; and moreover, he did not know whether the French king would agree to the truce. The cardinal then called the English king aside, and told him under a pledge of secresy, that it was at the instance of that very monarch that he had been sent by the pope to make peace between them; and he advised the king also this once to acquiesce in the pope's wish, and to rest assured that the pope would listen to him concerning the king of the French, as well as concerning any other matters. On this king Richard, who beyond measure desired the welfare of his nephew Otho, the lately crowned king of Germany, in order to obtain from the pope easier approach to the imperial consecration, was overcome by the entreaties of all, and acquiesced in the arrangements. The two kings then met together, and swore to keep a truce for five years, with the condition that the subjects and merchants of both kings should be allowed to pass and repass at will, for the purpose of buying or selling, through the territories and markets of either kingdom. After this was done, the king of England sent the abbat of Chertsey and Raymond, a monk of St. Alban's, who had been sent into Normandy to the king, about the affairs of his church to Rome, to carry the above-mentioned treaty into effect; and, to effect all this, the king levied a tax of five shillings on every ploughed hide of land throughout all England by way of aiding him.

How Hubert archbishop of Canterbury destroyed the church at Lambeth.

A.D. 1199. Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, at his own expense, and to the disgrace of himself and many others, at the request of the monks of Canterbury and by the order of the supreme pontiff, destroyed the church of Lambeth, which his predecessor Baldwin had founded and almost finished himself.

Of king Richard's death.

In the same year, after the truce had been arranged

between Philip and Richard, the kings of France and England, the latter king turned his arms against some of the rebel barons of Poictou, and carrying fire and sword into their cities and towns, cut down their vineyards and orchards, and slew some of his enemies without pity. At length he arrived in the duchy of Aquitaine, and laid siege to the castle of Chalus, in the Limosin where, on the 26th of March, he was wounded by one Peter Basilii, with a poisoned weapon, as was said, but of this wound he thought nothing. At length in the twelve days which he survived, he fiercely attacked and took the castle, and committing the knights and their followers to close imprisonment, put his own followers in the castle, at the same time strengthening the fortifications. But the wound which he had received at this place, having been all this time unattended to, began to swell, and a sort of blackness overspreading the place of the wound, mixed with the swelling, and caused him intolerable pain. At length when he perceived that his danger was imminent, the king prepared for his end by contrition of heart, by pure verbal confession and by the communion of the body and blood of our Lord; he forgave the author of his death, namely Peter, who had wounded him, and ordered him to be released from his chains and to depart. He ordered his body to be buried at Font-Evrault near the feet of his father, whose destroyer he confessed himself to be, and bequeathed his invincible heart to the church of Rouen; his entrails he ordered to be buried in the church at the above-named castle, thus giving them as a present to the inhabitants of Poictou. To some of his intimate followers he, under a promise of secresy, revealed his reasons for making such a distribution of his body; for the reason above-assigned he gave his body to his father; he sent his heart as a present to the inhabitants of Rouen on account of the incomparable fidelity which he had always experienced in them; but to the inhabitants of Pioctou, for their known treachery, he left his entrails, not considering them worthy of any other part of him. After he had spoken thus the swelling suddenly reached the parts about his heart, and on Tuesday the 6th of April this warlike man gave up his spirit at the above-mentioned castle, after reigning nine years and a half. He was buried, according to his orders whilst living, at Font-Evrault, and with him, in the

opinion of many, were buried alike the pride and honour of the chivalry of the West; of his death and burial some one has published the following epitaph.

His entrails given to Poictou—Lie buried near to Fort Chalus;
His body lies entombed below—A marble slab at Font-Evraut;
And Neustria thou hast thy part—The unconquerable hero's heart.
And thus through cities three are spread—The ashes of the mighty dead,
But this a funeral cannot be—Instead of one this king has three.

Here begins about king John, and other things that happened at that time.

After the victorious king Richard had, as has been mentioned, gone the way of all flesh, John earl of Mortaigne, his brother, honourably retained all those who had served his brother as well as the mercenary knights, promising them large presents; and forthwith he sent Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal into England, to make his peace there, and to take charge of the kingdom, together with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who was then justiciary, and other nobles of the kingdom. On their arrival there they made the people swear fealty to earl John, and meeting with Geoffrey Fitz-Peter they called together all the nobles of whom they had the most doubts; to them they promised that earl John would restore their rights to them all; on which condition then the earls and barons swore fealty to the said earl, in opposition to all others. But to William king of Scots, they sent word by Eustace de Vesci, that earl John, on his return, would satisfy him for all his rights in England, if in the meantime he would keep faith and peace with the earl; and thus all strife and contention in England was set at rest.

How some of the nobles united themselves to earl John, and others to Arthur.

Whilst these events were passing in England, earl John went to Chinon, where the treasure of the deceased king was deposited, which John de Turnham, who had charge of it, gave up to him with the castles of Saumur and Chinon, and other fortresses, which had been entrusted to his care; but Thomas de Furneis, nephew of the said Robert, delivered the city and castle of Anjou, to Arthur count of Brittany, and joined the said Arthur. The chiefs of Anjou, Maine, and Tours also adhered to the party of Arthur as their liege lord,

saying that it was the opinion and the custom of those countries that Arthur, who was the son of the elder brother, should succeed his uncle in the patrimony and inheritance, which Geoffrey, father of this same Arthur would have had, if he had survived king Richard. Moreover Constance, Arthur's mother, went to Tours, to the French king, and delivered the said Arthur to him; that king at once sent him to Paris under charge of a guard, and received into his care all the cities and castles which belonged to Arthur. But earl John, and his mother queen Eleanor, came attended by a large army to Maine, took the city and castle, destroyed the stone houses in it, because the inhabitants had taken the side of Arthur, and, making prisoners of the citizens, incarcerated them.

How earl John assumed the duchy of Normandy.

After these events earl John spent Easter day at Bamfort in Anjou, and on the day after sent queen Eleanor with Marcadeus, to the city of Anjou, which they attacked and destroyed, making prisoners of the citizens. Earl John, in the meantime, came to Rouen, and on the octaves of Easter day,* was girt with the sword of the duchy of Normandy in the mother church, by Walter archbishop of Rouen, and the same archbishop before the great altar placed on his head the golden circle with rosettes of gold artificially worked in a circle on the top of it; the duke then in the presence of the clergy and people, swore, on the relics of the saints and by the holy gospels, that he would in good faith and without evil practices defend the holy church, and its dignity, and honour the ordained priests of it; he moreover swore to do away with bad laws, if there were any, and to make others in lieu of them. On the 23rd of May in this year, William, of Norman race, and a canon of St. Paul's church at London, was consecrated bishop of London in the chapel of St. Catherine, at Westminster by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury.

Of king John's coronation.

About this time John duke of Normandy came over into England, and landed at Shoreham on the 25th of May; on

* 25th of April.

the day after, which was the eve of our Lord's ascension, he went to London to be crowned there. On his arrival therefore, the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all others, whose duty it was to be present at his coronation, assembled together in the church of the chief of the apostles at Westminster, on the 27th of May, and there Hubert archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown on his head,* and anointed him king; Philip bishop of Durham, made an appeal to prevent this coronation taking place in the absence of Geoffrey archbishop of York, but did not obtain his wish. At this coronation king John bound himself by a triple oath, namely, to love the holy church and its ordained priests, and to preserve it harmless from the attacks of evil designers, and to do away with bad laws, substituting good ones in their stead, and to see justice rightly administered throughout England. He was afterwards adjured by the same archbishop on behalf of God, and strictly forbidden to presume to accept this honour, unless he purposed in his mind, to fulfil in deed, what he had sworn to; in reply to this the king promised that, by God's assistance, he would in all good

* Matthew Paris adds as follows:—"The archbishop, standing in the midst, addressed them thus, 'Hear, all of you, and be it known that no one has an antecedent right to succeed another in the kingdom, unless he shall have been unanimously elected, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, on account of the superior merits of his character, after the example of Saul the first anointed king, whom the Lord set over his people, not as the son of a king, nor as born of royal ancestry. In the same manner, after Saul came David, son of Jesse. Saul was chosen because he was a brave man, and suited for the royal dignity: David, because he was holy and humble. Thus those who excelled in vigour are elevated to kingly dignity. But, if any relations of a deceased king excel others in merit, all should the more readily and zealously consent to his election. We have said this to maintain the cause of earl John, who is here present, brother of our illustrious king Richard, lately deceased without heirs of his body, and as the said earl John is prudent, active, and indubitably noble, we have, under God's Holy Spirit, unanimously elected him for his merits and his royal blood.' Now the archbishop was a man of bold character and a support to the kingdom by his steadiness and incomparable wisdom, no one, therefore, dared to dispute what he said, as knowing that he had good cause for what he did. Earl John and all who were present acquiesced, and they unanimously elected the earl, crying out, 'God save the king!' Archbishop Hubert was afterwards asked why he acted in this manner, to which he replied that he knew John would one day or other bring the kingdom into great confusion, wherefore he determined that he should owe his elevation to election and not to hereditary right."

faith keep the oath which he had made. On the following day, after he had received the homage and fealty of his subjects, he went to St. Alban's, the proto-martyr of England, to pray; and so, making but a very short stay in England, he with the advice of the nobles duly settled everything that required his attention.

How king John crossed over into Normandy and reconciled many of the nobles to himself.

On the day of St. John the Baptist's nativity the king crossed sea to Normandy, and on his arrival at Rouen a number of soldiers, both horse and foot, flocked together to him, and these he gladly retained in his service. Afterwards he had an interview with the king of the French, when a truce was agreed on till the day after the assumption of the blessed Mary, in order that they might in the meantime arrange terms of peace. In the meantime the count of Flanders and many other nobles of the French kingdom came to king John at Rouen, and made a treaty of alliance with him, as they had done with king Richard, against the king of the French; and after mutually giving security, each returned to his own territories.

How the kings met at a conference, but went away at variance with one another.

In this same year, on the day after the assumption of the blessed Mary, the French king conferred the knight's belt on Arthur count of Brittany; and the said Arthur at once did homage to the French king for Anjou, Poictou, Tours, Maine, Brittany, and Normandy; and the king promised Arthur his assistance in gaining possession of all these places. On the day after the two kings held a conference between the castle of Butavant and Gaillon, at which they, apart from the nobles of both kingdoms, conversed face to face for an hour, no one except themselves being within hearing. At this interview the French king required for his own use the whole of the Vexin, that is, the country contained between the forest of Lyons and the Seine on one side, and the rivers Andelys and Ethe on the other side; and said that Geoffrey Plantagenet count of Anjou, John's grandfather, had given it to Louis le Gros for the assistance afforded him by

that monarch in gaining possession of Normandy in opposition to king Stephen. He moreover demanded for Arthur the countries of Poictou, Anjou, Maine, Tours, and Normandy, and many other things, which John would not and ought not to grant; and so, breaking off the interview, they departed mutually at variance. The king of the French being asked by his nobles why he was so inimically disposed towards king John, who had never done him an injury, replied that the latter had seized on Normandy and the above-named other countries without his permission, whereas he ought, at king Richard's death, in the first place to have come to him, and done homage to him for his right. The king of the French thus departed; but William de Rupibus, a nobleman, cunningly took Arthur away from the care of the French king, and made peace between him and the king of England, at the same time giving up to the latter the city of Mans, which the French king had entrusted together with Arthur to the care of the aforesaid William; but on the same day it was told Arthur that the king of the English would take him and consign him to perpetual imprisonment; on which he secretly made his escape and returned to the king of the French again.

How king Otho went to Rome, and obtained the title of emperor there.

At that time the election of Philip duke of Suabia, and many others, was annulled, and Otho king of Germany was elected and admitted emperor of Rome by pope Innocent and all the Roman people. After this election was confirmed by the pope, Philip duke of Suabia, and all his supporters, were threatened with excommunication, unless they desisted from their persecution of Otho; and in the capital, and throughout the whole city of Rome, the cry was raised of 'Life and health to the emperor Otho.' Being thus confirmed in his title by all, he recollected that it was by king Richard's means that he had been advanced to such a great dignity, he therefore sent word to king John to put off coming to terms of friendship with the French king, because he the emperor would, God willing, in a short time provide him with such assistance as became the imperial dignity to give.

The French kingdom is laid under interdict.

About this time, Peter of Capua, a cardinal and legate of the apostolic see, laid the kingdom of France under an interdict, on account of the imprisonment of his brother Peter de Douay, bishop-elect of Cambray; but the king of the French released the said bishop-elect before the sentence was withdrawn. In the same year, too, the same legate came to the king of the English and demanded, under pain of interdict, the release of the bishop of Beauvais, who had now been most cruelly detained in prison for two years, and the king's free permission for that prelate to depart; but since the said bishop had, in disregard of the dignity of his order, been taken in arms like a soldier or routier, he was not allowed to depart before he had satisfied the rapacity of the king by paying six thousand marks of silver sterling weight into his treasury; after which the said bishop swore that he would never again during his life carry arms against the Christians.

Of the decision of the old cause between the churches of Tours and Dol.

In this year a very old cause between the churches of Tours and Dol, was decided at Rome by a definitive decree of pope Innocent; the archbishop of Tours requiring submission from the bishop of Dol, and the bishop of Dol opposing it. The church of Dol was the head of Lesser Brittany, and the high priests of that church, as well as all the other prelates of Lesser Brittany, had in the time of St. Martin, and before and long since that time, been suffragans of the church of Tours, but they afterwards revolted from their allegiance to that church; the reason of which was this. When the English came into the Greater Britain to subdue it, and Uterpendragon, king of the Britons, being taken seriously ill, was confined to his bed at Verulamium, so that he was able neither to help himself nor to defend his kingdom against the rage of the barbarians of the country, the superstition of the English (Saxons) is said to have prevailed to such an extent, that the whole island almost was laid waste from sea to sea, and the holy churches levelled to the ground. On this, the pontiffs and prelates of the churches, seeing the desolation of the country and the subversion of the

holy church, retreated to places of greater safety, agreeing unanimously, that it was wiser to avoid the rage of the barbarians for a time, than to dwell fruitlessly amongst those who rebelled against the Christian faith. Amongst these, St. Sampson, archbishop of York, a man of unparalleled sanctity, fled to his fellow countrymen in Lesser Brittany (for they were of the same extraction and country), and carried with him the pall, which he had received from the Roman pontiff; and on his arrival in that country, he was received with honour by his fellow citizens, and by the common consent of all, was elected to the bishopric of the church of Dol, which had been lately deprived of its pastor, and the king's permission having been obtained, he was enthroned in that office, although much against his will; and in that church he, as long as he lived, and after him, many of his successors always wore that pall, which he had brought from the monastery of York. But afterwards, the kings of that province, when they had had an archbishop in their own kingdom, did not allow their bishops, although they had always been formerly suffragans of the church of Tours, to pay due obedience to the before-mentioned archbishop of Tours; and they determined that the bishops of Lesser Brittany should not again have any other metropolitan than the archbishop of Dol. After the lapse, however, of three hundred years or more from that time, pope Nicholas, at the instance of the archbishop of Tours, endeavoured to revoke this error, and wrote a letter to Salamon king of the Britons, which is contained in the decretals of Gratian, CAUS. 3, QUEST. 6, as follows:—

Letter of pope Nicholas on the same matter.

"This is the decree of your said father, and this is the law of the church your mother, to wit, that you send all the bishops of your kingdom to the archbishop of Tours, and ask his judgment; for he is the metropolitan, and all the bishops of your kingdom are his suffragans, as the writings of my predecessors plainly show; and they strongly rebuked your predecessors for having withdrawn themselves from the jurisdiction of that archbishop, although our own letters also to you on this matter seem not to be deficient." And in another part, "But whereas there is a great contention amongst the

Britons, as to who is the metropolitan bishop, and no man's recollection holds that you ever had any metropolitan church in your own district; however, if it pleases you, you will be able easily to perceive the truth of my words, since Almighty God has made peace between you and our beloved son, the renowned king Charles; but if you intend to proceed contentiously, endeavour to bring the matter before our apostolic see, that, by our judgment, it may be more clearly known which was formerly the archiepiscopal church amongst you, and that, all doubt being thus dispelled, your bishops may know without hesitation what course they ought to pursue." However, notwithstanding that the above-mentioned admonition was given to the said king, he did not desist from his purpose, but ever afterwards both he and his successors persisted in their disobedience, and a continual strife and disagreement existed between the bishops of Tours and Dol, until in the present year, as has been stated above, it was definitively decided by the pope, that, not only the bishop of Dol, but also all the other bishops of Brittany, should be subject to the archbishop of Rouen, and acquiesce in his canonical injunctions for ever. The said pope in pronouncing definitive judgment in this matter, as one who is great in knowledge, and bold, and at the same time skilled in law, rose, and thus spoke:—"Let Dol grieve, and Tours rejoice."

How queen Eleanor was sent for the lady Blanche, to be married to Louis.

A.D. 1200. After the feast of St. Hilary, the French and English kings, Philip and John, held a conference at a place between the castles of Gaillon and Butavant, at which it was agreed between the said kings with the advice of the chief nobles of each kingdom, that Louis, the son and heir of the French king, should espouse the daughter of Alphonso king of Castile, who was also niece of king John, and that the English king should, when this marriage was contracted, give to Louis as a marriage portion with his niece Blanche, the city of Evreux, with the whole of that county, and thirty thousand marks of silver besides. Moreover, the French king asked the English monarch to give him security that he would afford no assistance, either in soldiers or in money, to his nephew Otho, in obtaining the Roman empire. It has been said that Philip duke of Suabia, by the French

king's connivance and assistance, was grievously harassing Otho; indeed he did not cease his persecution, notwithstanding the sentence of excommunication with which he had been bound by the pope. The treaty above-mentioned having been finally confirmed between the kings, they appointed the ensuing feast of St. John the Baptist to carry into effect, without fail, the terms of the above-mentioned agreement; and after the conference was broken up, king John, who hoped by this marriage to enjoy a lengthened peace, sent his mother queen Eleanor to fetch the said lady Blanche, that the latter might return with her in safe conduct at the time pre-agreed on. The king of the English in the mean time sailed to England, and levied a tax of three shillings on each hide of land throughout all England, and, after settling some other business, he again crossed sea into Normandy.

Of the marriage of Louis with the daughter of Alphonso king of Castile.

Soon after these events, queen Eleanor returned with the aforesaid lady who was to be married to Louis, and presented her to the king of the English. Afterwards, on the 21st of June, the kings held a conference at a place between Guletune and Butavant, at which the king of the French gave up to the English king the city of Evreux, together with the whole county, and all the lands in Normandy, and the other dominions of the English king, which he had taken possession of during the war; king John immediately did homage to the French king for them, and then gave them all up to Louis as a marriage portion with his niece, and received the homage of Louis for the same. On the day following the lady Blanche was married to Louis at Portmort in Normandy, by the archbishop of Bourdeaux; for the kingdom of France was at that time under an interdict on account of queen Botilda,* whom the French king had divorced. Immediately after his marriage, Louis brought his wife to Paris, to the great joy and exultation of the clergy and people of both kingdoms.

How king John married queen Isabel.

In the same year a divorce having been effected between

* Before called "Ingelburg," daughter of the king of Denmark.

the king of the English and his wife Hawisa, daughter of the earl of Gloucester, because they were related in the third degree of affinity, the said king, by the advice of the king of the French, espoused Isabel, daughter of the count of Angoulême, formerly wife of Hugh, surnamed "le Brun," earl of March: this marriage was afterwards very injurious to the king as well as the kingdom of England. Not long after this the kings held a conference at Vernon, and there Arthur did homage to the king of England for Brittany and his other possessions; but as he feared treachery on the part of king John, he still remained under the care of the French king.

Command of the Lord, which came from heaven to Jerusalem, concerning the observance of the sabbath.

About that time a letter came from heaven to Jerusalem and was hung up over the altar of St. Simeon, in Golgotha, where Christ was crucified for the redemption of the world; this letter hung for three days and nights, and those who beheld it fell to the earth, asking mercy of God, and beseeching him to show them his will; but on the third day, after the third hour of the day, the patriarch, and the archbishop Zachariah, raised themselves from their prayers, and, opening the fillet over the high-altar, took the sacred letter of God, and after inspecting it, found this inscription on it:—"I am the Lord, who have ordered you to keep holy the day of the sabbath, on which I rested from my labours, that all mortals might on that day rest for ever; and ye have not kept it, nor have ye repented of your sins. As I spake by my gospel,—'The heaven and the earth shall pass away, but my word shall not pass away.' I caused repentance of life to be preached to you, and ye did not believe; I sent upon you pagans, and gentiles, who shed your blood upon the earth, and still ye did not believe; and, because ye did not keep holy the Lord's day, for a few days ye endured famine; but I soon gave you plenty, and ye afterwards did worse: therefore it is my will that, from the ninth hour of the sabbath till sunrise on Monday, no one shall do any work, except that which is good, and whoever shall do so, shall atone for it; and if ye obey not this my command, verily I say unto you, and I swear by my seat and my throne, and by the cherubims which guard my holy seat, that I will not send

you any orders by another letter, but I will open the heavens and, instead of rain, I will shower on you stones, and wood, and hot water, by night, such that no man can avoid, since I will destroy all evil-doers. This I say unto you, ye shall die the death, on account of the holy day of the Lord and the other festivals of my saints which ye have not observed. I will send on you beasts with the heads of lions, the hair of women, and the tails of camels, and they shall be so hungry, that they will devour your flesh, and ye shall desire to fly to the sepulchres of the dead to hide yourselves for fear of these beasts; and I will take away the light of the sun, and send darkness on you, so that not seeing, ye shall slay one another; and I will turn my face from you, and will show you no mercy, for I will burn your bodies, and the hearts of those, who do not keep the Lord's day holy. Hear then my voice, lest ye perish on the earth on account of the sacred day of the Lord; depart from evil and repent of your sins, which if ye do not, ye will perish like Sodom and Gomorrah. Know now, that ye are safe through the prayers of my most holy mother Mary, and of my holy angels who pray daily for you. I gave you corn and wine in abundance, and then ye obeyed me not, for daily do widows and orphans cry unto you, to whom ye show no compassion; pagans have pity, but ye have none. Trees which bring forth fruit will I cause to rot, for your sins; and rivers and fountains shall not give you water. On the mount of Sinai I gave you a law, which ye have not observed; after that, I myself gave you a law, which ye kept not. Wicked men that ye are, ye have not kept holy the Sunday of my resurrection; ye take away the property of others and treat the matter with no consideration: for this will I send on you worse beasts, who will devour the breasts of your women. Them will I curse who act unjustly towards their brethren; them will I curse who evilly judge the poor and the orphan: but ye have deserted me, and are following the prince of this life. Hear my voice, and ye will receive mercy; but ye cease not from your evil deeds, nor from the works of the devil, inasmuch as ye commit perjury and adultery, and so nations will surround you and devour you like wild beasts."

Of the preaching of Eustace abbat of Flaye, on the said mandate.

But when the patriarch and all the clergy of the Holy Land had carefully examined into the tenor of this letter, and beheld the words of it with mixed admiration and fear, it was determined by the common opinion of all, that it should be transmitted for the consideration of the Roman pontiff, that all might be satisfied with whatever he determined ought to be done. The letter having at length been brought under the notice of our lord the pope, he immediately ordained priests, who were sent out into every quarter of the world to preach the purport of the letter, the Lord co-operating with them, and confirming their discourse by miracles resulting therefrom. Amongst these the abbat of Flaye, Eustace by name, a religious and learned man, set out for England, and there shone forth in performing many miracles; he landed near the city of Dover, and commenced the duty of his preaching at a town called Wi. In the neighbourhood of that place he bestowed his blessing on a certain spring, which by his merits was so endowed with the Lord's favour, that, from the taste of it alone, the blind recovered sight, the lame their power of walking, the dumb their speech, and the deaf their hearing; and whatever sick person drank of it in faith, at once enjoyed renewed health. A certain woman who was attacked by devils, and swollen up as it were by dropsy, came to him there, seeking to be restored to health by him; he said to her, "Have confidence, my daughter, go to the spring at Wi, which the Lord hath blessed, drink of it, and there you will recover health." The woman departed, and, according to the advice of the man of God, drank, and she immediately broke out into a fit of vomiting; and, in the sight of all who were at the fountain for the recovery of their health, there came from her two large black toads, which, in order to show that they were devils, were immediately transformed to great black dogs, and after a short time took the forms of asses. The woman stood astonished, but shortly ran after them in a rage, wishing to catch them; but a man who had been appointed to take charge of the spring, sprinkled some of the water between the woman and the monsters, on which they flew up into the air and vanished, leaving behind them traces of their foulness.

How the aforesaid abbat caused a fountain of sweet water to spring forth.

This same man of God came to the town of Rumesnel to preach, at which place there was a deficiency of fresh water, and at the request of the people of the place, he, with his staff, struck a stone in the church there, on which, water in abundance flowed forth, and many who drank of it were cured of various sicknesses.. Afterwards going about from place to place, from province to province, from city to city, he, by his preaching, induced many to relax in usurious habits, admonished them to assume the Lord's cross, and turned the hearts of many to works of piety; he also forbade markets and traffic on Sundays, so that all the business which used to be transacted throughout England on Sundays was now arranged on one of the days of the following week, and thus the people of the faith employed their leisure on Sundays in their duties to God, and refrained altogether from toil on that day; as time, however, went on many returned to their old customs, like dogs to their vomit. He forbade the rectors of the churches and the priests, with the persons subject to them, to keep a light constantly burning before the eucharist, in order that He who enlightens every man that comes into the world, might give the eternal for the temporal light. To all the rich and to the upper ranks, especially to merchants and citizens, he gave the injunction always to have at their table the dish of Christ for the poor, that by taking from their accustomed abundance, they might alleviate the necessities of the indigent. He also commanded the Saturday after three o'clock to be kept holy from all servile work the same as Sunday, and also the whole of Sunday and the night following, which forms one natural day, and represents figuratively the repose of our everlasting rest.

Of a dreadful miracle wrought on a certain woman.

About this same time a certain woman of the county of Norfolk, despite of the warnings of this man of God, went one day to wash clothes after three o'clock of Saturday; and, whilst she was busily at work, a man of venerable appearance, unknown to her, approached her, and reproachingly inquired the reason of her rashness in thus daring, after the prohibition of the man of God, to wash clothes after three

o'clock, and thus by unlawful work to profane the holy Sabbath day; he moreover added, that unless she at once desisted from her work, she would, without doubt, incur the anger of God and the vengeance of Heaven. But she, in answer to her rebuker, pleaded urgent poverty, and said that she had till then dragged on a wretched life by toil of that kind, and if she should desist from her accustomed labour, she doubted her ability to procure the means of subsistence. After a while the man vanished suddenly from her presence, and she renewed her labour of washing the clothes and drying them in the sun with more energy than before. But for all this the vengeance of God was not wanting; for, on the spot, a kind of small pig of a black colour suddenly adhered to the woman's left breast and could not by any effort be torn away, but, by continual sucking, drew blood, and in a short time almost consumed all the bodily strength of the wretched woman; at length being reduced to the greatest necessity, she was compelled for a long time to beg her bread from door to door, until, in the sight of many who wondered at the vengeance of God, she terminated her wretched life by a miserable death.

Of another miracle which was wrought on the cutting of a loaf of bread.

About this same time, a certain labourer in the county of Northumberland ordered his wife to bake some bread on the Saturday for eating on the morrow; the woman obeyed the commands of her husband, and when on the morrow, she had set the bread before her husband, and he began to cut it, there occurred a wonderful and unheard-of event; for warm blood followed the knife as he cut the bread, as if it flowed from an animal just slain. This circumstance, after it came to the knowledge of the people, hindered many from labour on that day.

How Geoffrey archbishop of York, was deprived of all his goods.

About that time, Geoffrey archbishop of York, was, by command of king John, deprived of all the emoluments of his archbishopric; for James sheriff of York, and his attendants, had presumed to attack with violence his manors, and the property of the clerks and other religious men, and to make a division of their goods; on which the said archbishop

excommunicated the aforesaid James by name, and in general all the other authors of this violence, for which the latter had excited the king's anger and indignation against the prelate. But the cause of the king's anger against him was manifold; in the first place, because he did not permit the aforesaid sheriff to collect in his diocese the tax for the king's use, as had been generally permitted throughout England; secondly, because he would not accompany him into Normandy, to perform the marriage ceremony between Louis and his niece, and to make terms with the French king; thirdly, because he had excommunicated the said sheriff, and laid the whole county of York under an interdict.

Of the coronation of king John and queen Isabel at London.

In this year, king John after settling his affairs on the other side of the water crossed over into England bringing his wife with him, and on the 8th of October landed at Dover; thence they came to London, and were both crowned at Westminster by Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the nobles of the kingdom; Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had made his peace with the king, was also present at this ceremony. About this time too, John sent word to William king of Scots to come to him at Lincoln, on the day after St. Edmund's day, to satisfy him for his rights in England.

Of the life of St. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, before his obtaining the bishopric.

At this time Hugh bishop of Lincoln, of reverend memory, came from the continent, and being attacked by the quartan ague at the Old Temple in London, closed his laudable life by a glorious death on the 16th of November; his holy conversation in his life, which was to all men an instruction in morals, and an example of good works, compels us to insert a few things about him in this work. This holy man was born in a remote district of Burgundy, but was more refined in manners than his family, and was much devoted to literary pursuits from his youth, and when he was ten years old he was entrusted to the regular canons to be instructed in divine learning, amongst whom he was regularly instructed both in morals and in learning, and after spending sixteen years in

the cell he obtained the office of prior, and in that station all things went on prosperously with him; then, determining to put a stronger check on the dangerous passions of the flesh, he by the Lord's will went over to the Carthusian order. Amongst them he showed himself so kind and affable to all, yet still preserving his religious seriousness, that after a very short time had elapsed he was appointed manager of all that house. In course of time, when a house of the Carthusian order had been established in England by the illustrious Henry king of England, who burnt with an ardent desire to promote the cause of God, he was prevailed on by the entreaties of the monarch to direct his attention to the government of that house, and, after he was called to the duties of the priorship, he made it his daily study to increase his former sanctity, for which, and by his holy conversation, he gained great favour with the king, who often enjoyed discourse with him. The king had held in his own hands the church of Lincoln, which had been for some years deprived of the care of a bishop; to atone for which offence as well as he could, he procured the appointment by election of the aforesaid man, Hugh, to the government of that church. Afterwards when his election was announced to the man of God, he replied that he would not accept the dignity of the pontifical station, unless it was first made clear to him that he did so by the common consent of the church of Lincoln, as well as with the permission of the Carthusian prior. After he had been perfectly satisfied on these points, the dean of Lincoln with the elders of that church came to the man of God, and he at the first interview so gained on their regard that they wished for him as their pastor and spiritual father with devout and sincere affection; but in order that their consent might be more surely made known to him they elected him there, and then he for the first time agreed to it. Afterwards, when he had been consecrated, on the first night in which he slept in his bishopric, after paying his devotions he heard a voice saying to him, "Thou hast gone forth to the safety of thy people to safety with Christ."

Of the virtues of the holy man in his episcopacy.

This consecrated servant of God, Hugh, so illuminated his church by his merits, so instructed the people committed to his charge by his words and his example, that he showed that

the name of bishop rightly belonged to him, and putting chosen persons into the cathedral church he built a temple to God out of those living stones: he also constantly checked the attacks of the secular power in matters relating to the church, for he seemed to despise the danger to his goods or body, in which course he made such progress that he restored many rights which had been lost, and liberated his church from a most severe servitude. Besides this holy man was accustomed to enter the houses of leprous people, which he passed by, and to kiss all afflicted with leprosy however deformed, and to bestow charity on them with liberality; on this William, of good memory, chancellor of the same church, wishing to try if his mind was affected by pride on account of this, said to him, "Martin, by his kisses, healed the leper, you do not heal the lepers whom you kiss." The bishop immediately said to him in reply, "Martin's kiss healed the leper's flesh, but the leper's kiss heals my spirit." In burying the dead he so diligently fulfilled the duties of humanity, that he never neglected any dead body, to whose burial he thought it his duty to attend. Once, when this holy man was attending to the care of his flock, visiting some parishes, and amongst others had arrived at a town called Alcmundeberi, the parents of a certain child came to him, bringing their almost lifeless little one with them, and with tears besought his assistance. On the bishop asking what they wanted, the child's mother replied, "This our little boy took in his hand a piece of iron more than an inch in length and thickness, and, as a child does, put it into his mouth and swallowed it, but it stuck fast in his throat and is killing the child: wherefore, holy father, the Lord has sent you to restore to us our child, who is now panting at the point of death. The bishop looking on the child touched his tongue, and pronouncing a blessing, breathed on it, and after marking it with the sign of the cross, gave him back to his parents; and on their taking him from the bishop the iron leaped forth all bloody, and the boy was cured from that hour. On another occasion too, when the holy man was passing through a town called Cestrehunte, the relatives of a certain madman, who had been for three weeks obliged to be restrained by bonds, begged of him to visit and bless him; on hearing which the holy man dismounted from his horse and went to the mad-

man, who had his head bound to a post, and his hands and feet on each side made fast to stakes. The bishop blessed some water which was brought him, and when the insane man put out his tongue as if deriding him, he sprinkled some of the water on it; he then read over the madman the part of the Gospel, "In the beginning was the word," and after giving him his blessing departed. When he was gone, the diseased man began to sleep, and when he awoke he was restored to his former state of health. About this time this pious priest happened to be at Lincoln, assisting in the work of the mother church there, which he had nobly built from its foundations; and whilst he was carrying stones and mortar in a hod on his shoulders, as was often his custom, a certain man, lame in both legs, came leaning on two sticks, and most earnestly begged to carry the same hod, hoping to recover his soundness of limb by the merits of this blessed man; at length he obtained permission from the master of the work for the hod to be given to him, and, leaning on his sticks, he began to carry stones and mortar in it. But after a few days had elapsed, he gave up one stick, and soon afterwards the other, and after a little while, becoming strong and upright, he carried the same hod in working at the church without the support of any stick; and after he was well he so loved that hod, that he declared that it should never be taken away from him. At another time in the same city it happened that a certain citizen fell into such a state of insanity that eight men were appointed to take charge of him, and he was confined by bonds, for he was excited by such frenzy, that he threatened to tear his wife and his own children to pieces with his teeth; at length he was brought tied in a cart to the man of God, who, on seeing him, immediately sprinkled holy water on him, and adjured the evil spirit to come out of him and not to trouble him any more. The insane man suddenly fell to the ground like one dying, and the holy man then poured the blessed water on him in large quantities. Immediately afterwards the madman got up, and, raising his tied hands towards heaven, gave thanks to God, and to the blessed priest, on which the bonds were taken off him and he went away a sound man. Also a certain woman of Lincoln had two sons, one of whom whilst he was yet a boy had a large swelling in his side; his mother,

despairing of his health, went to this holy bishop and obtained his promise to bless her son. The bishop accordingly laid his hands on the diseased part, blessed him, and sent him away; after which the tumour was so suddenly assuaged, that from that hour it neither troubled the boy, nor did the mother see anything further of it. At another time it happened that this same woman's other son was hopelessly suffering from jaundice; but she, remembering her former refuge, brought him also before the holy bishop to be blessed by him, and this one too, after receiving his blessing, was restored to his former state of health within three days' time.

How Saint Hugh departed this life.

At the end of the fourteenth year of his episcopacy, the holy bishop Hugh, on his return to England from the principal house of the Carthusian order, where he had been to visit the prior and brothers of that house, at their long-expressed desire, was taken seriously ill of the quartan ague, at the old Temple, in the city of London. There king John came to see him; but before he left him he confirmed his will, at the exhortation of the man of God, and promised in the Lord that he would for the future ratify the reasonable testaments of prelates. Although his sickness daily gained ground, he would not at any one's recommendation lay aside, even for a short time, the hair-cloth garment which he always wore; but being the more determined as his death approached to abide by the rigorous rules of the Carthusian order, he, at the call of God, departed happily from this life to him. When this holy man's body was being carried by the citizens of London to be buried at Lincoln, a wonderful circumstance occurred; for the tapers which had been lighted before the body on leaving London, burnt continually during four days' journey, so that they were not at any time without the light of one of the tapers, although the weather was often unusually bad, on account of the wind and rain; from this circumstance there is no doubt but that the Lord had prepared eternal light for his soul, since, out of regard for his body, he did not permit the temporal light to be extinguished. This servant of God, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, died in the year of the incarnate Word 1200, on the 17th of November.

How the body of St. Hugh was carried to Lincoln to be buried.

On the 21st of November, John king of the English and William king of Scots met in conference together with all the nobility, both clergy and laity of both kingdoms. In opposition to the advice of many, king John entered the city (Lincoln) boldly, which none of his predecessors had dared to attempt, and, on arriving at the cathedral church, he offered a golden cup on the altar of St. John the Baptist, which was in the new building erected from the foundation by the before-mentioned St. Hugh. On the same day, he and the king of Scots met on a hill outside the city, and there, in sight of all the people, William king of Scots did homage to king John for all his right, and afterwards, in the presence of all the nobles of the kingdom, swore fealty to him, on the cross of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, for life, for limb, and earthly honour, against all men. On this same day the body of the most holy bishop Hugh was brought there to be buried; and the said two kings went out to meet it, accompanied by three archbishops, namely, Hubert of Canterbury, Geoffrey of York, and Bernard of Ragua,* thirteen bishops, earls, barons, and priests without end, and received his most sacred body; and the kings themselves, with the earls and other nobles, carried it on their shoulders to the hall of the cathedral church. But at the door of the church, the above-named archbishops and bishops received it, and by these priests it was carried into the choir, where it was honourably laid out for the night. This bishop was accustomed in his life-time so diligently to perform the duties of humanity in burying the dead, that he never neglected any dead body whose burial he thought it his duty to attend to; for which reason the Lord, who knows how to reward the merits of the just by a fitting recompence, allowed him such a distinguished burial, that he might seem to be recompensing him by the honour of it for his above-mentioned merit. Before the burial, however, of this man of God, whilst the funeral ceremonies for him were being performed, and he himself was, as was the custom with high priests, lying with his face uncovered, wearing the mitre on his head, gloves on his hands, and a ring on his finger, with other pontifical orna-

* It is not known who is here meant.

ments, a certain soldier, well known to the canons of the church, whose arm was eaten away by a cancer till the bone appeared deprived of flesh, placed his arm over the body of the bishop, and frequently wetted his face with his tears to heal his diseased limb, and immediately the flesh and skin of his arm were compassionately restored by the Lord, through the merits of his saint; for which the soldier returned thanks to God and to the holy prelate, and often showed himself to the deacon of the church, and other credible persons. At the same time a certain woman, who had been for seven years blind of one eye, in the sight and to the wonder of all, recovered her sight. At the same time, a certain cut-purse, in the press and crowd of people which was assembled around this servant of God, cut away a woman's purse; but, by the merits of the blessed bishop, who showed that he was not dead but alive, both hands of the wicked thief were so contracted, and his fingers became so firmly fixed to the palms of his hands, that not being able to hold the property he had stolen, he threw it down on the pavement of the church, and, looking like a madman, he became an object of derision to the people; and so, after he had been disturbed by an evil spirit for a length of time, he came to himself, and stood motionless: at length he began to weep bitterly, and in the hearing of all, he then confessed his most base crime to all who would listen to him. At length, when he had no other means of escape, he turned to a priest, saying, "Pity me, pity me, ye friends of God; for I renounce Satan and his works, to whom I have till now been a slave; and pray to the Lord for me, that he may not confound me in my penitence, but may rather deal compassionately with me." And immediately, after a prayer had been uttered on his behalf to God, the chains of Satan, by which his hands had been bound, were loosed, and, becoming sound, he returned thanks to God and the blessed bishop.

Of the burial of St. Hugh.

When the vigils over the body of the bishop had been duly observed, at day-light on the following day, the archbishops with the above-mentioned bishops, after performing mass in the new church which he himself had built in honour of Mary, the mother of God, duly consigned his holy body

to the tomb near the altar of St. John the Baptist; and they performed this duty with such distinction, that it might seem ordained by God for them to assemble for this especial purpose. He was buried on the 24th of November, and miracles continue to be wrought at his tomb, for those who sought after them with faith. For after his glorious death, a certain boy in some part of Lincoln, who had been ill for fifteen days, was, by the increasing power of his disease, brought to death's door, and his body suddenly became stiff, as though he had been dead for several days; on seeing which, a woman who was by him closed his eyes and laid out his limbs, as is the custom with the dead. After he had lain in this manner from the time of cock-crowing till day-break, his mother, whose faith even amidst her tears had not died with her son, approached the body with confidence, and, taking a thread used for making candle-wicks, measured the boy's body all over, after which, she said with confidence, even amidst her tears, "Even though my son had been buried, the Lord could restore him through the merits of St. Hugh. As day drew on, they prayed and gave alms on behalf of the child's soul, and sent for a priest to bury him, although his mother constantly cried against it; but before the priest who was sent for had arrived, the mother, anxious for the preservation of her child, discovered life in him, whereupon she glorified God and the blessed bishop, to whose merits she ascribed this miracle. Let these few circumstances concerning the life of this man of God, suffice out of many which tend to other matters.*

Of the appearance of five moons.

In this same month, a little before Christmas, about the first watch of the night, five moons appeared in the heavens; the first appeared in the north, the second in the south, the third in the west, and the fourth in the east, the fifth appeared in the middle of the first four, with several stars round it; and this last one, with its accompanying stars,

* Matthew Paris adds: "Gilo de Brause was consecrated bishop of Hereford on the 24th of September, at Westminster. Mauger also was made bishop of Worcester, and John de Grim of Norwich."

made the circuit of the other four moons five times or more. This phenomenon lasted for about an hour, to the wonder of many who beheld it.

How the king and queen of the English were crowned at Canterbury.

A.D. 1201. King John kept Christmas at Guilford, and there he distributed a number of festive garments amongst his knights; and Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, striving to make himself on a level with the king, did the same at Canterbury, by which he roused the indignation of the king in no slight degree. Afterwards the king set out to Northumberland, and exacted a very large sum of money from the inhabitants of that county. He then returned to Canterbury in company with his queen, and on the following Easter-day they were both crowned at that place; and at the ceremony the archbishop of Canterbury was at great, not to say superfluous, expense, in entertaining them. On the following Ascension-day at Tewkesbury the king issued a proclamation, that the earls and barons, and all who owed military service to him, should be ready with horses and arms at Portsmouth, to set out with him for his transmarine provinces at the ensuing Whitsuntide; but when the appointed day came, many of them obtained permission to remain behind, paying to the king two marks of silver for each scutcheon.*

* Matthew Paris adds:—"In these days a schoolmaster of Paris, by birth a Frenchman, named Simon Churnay, a man of extensive talent and great memory, after having successfully conducted schools ten years in the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* which make up the seven liberal arts, turned his attention to theology, in which he, after a few years, made such progress, that he was thought worthy of the professorial chair: whereupon he gave lectures, and held subtle disputations, wherein he ably solved and elucidated the most difficult questions; and he was attended by so many hearers that the most ample palace could scarcely contain them. One day when he had publicly disputed, using the most subtle arguments about the Trinity, and the settlement of the disputation was put off till the next day, all the theological students in the city, forewarned to hear so many solutions of difficult questions, flocked together in numbers and filled the school. The professor then resolved all the aforesaid questions, inexplicable though they appeared to the audience, so plainly and elegantly, and in so catholic a sense, that all were struck with astonishment. Some of his more familiar scholars who were the most eager to learn, came to him when the lecture was over and requested him to dictate to them, that they might make notes of his solutions, which they said were too valuable to be lost to posterity. Elated at

How king John and his queen crossed the sea to Normandy.

After keeping the festival of Whitsuntide at Portsmouth, the king with his queen embarked on the following day, and, after much trouble, arrived in Normandy. Shortly afterwards the English and French kings held a conference near the isle of Andelys, where terms of peace were agreed on; and three days after king John, at the invitation of the French king, went to Paris, and was entertained in the palace of that monarch there, who himself took up his residence elsewhere. After being entertained there honourably and as became a king, he left and went to Chinon. At the same time, in order that the peace between the kings might be more firmly secured, it was determined and confirmed by writings, that, if the French king should in any way violate the terms of the before-mentioned peace, the barons of the French kingdom, whom he had found as sureties for him, should be absolved of all fealty to him, and should join the king of the English in attacking the French king, and compelling him to keep the said peace. The same agreement was made on the part of the king of England. In this year dreadful storms of thunder, lightning, and hail, with deluges of rain, alarmed men's minds and did great injury in many parts. About this time too, at the instance of pope Innocent, the fortieth portion of the incomes of all churches was given in aid of the land of promise; and the nobles and commoners alike, who had laid aside the symbol of the cross, were with apostolic severity compelled to resume it.

this, the professor swelled with pride, and, with eyes uplifted, laughed aloud. 'O my little Jesus, my little Jesus, how have I exalted and confirmed your law in this disputation! Truly, if I wished to act the malignant and attack your doctrines, I could find still more powerful arguments to weaken and impugn them.' He had no sooner said these words than he became dumb, and not only dumb, but ridiculously idiotic, and never read or disputed afterwards, and so he became a laughing-stock to his former auditors. Within two years afterwards he learned to distinguish the letters, and his punishment was a little mitigated, so that he could with difficulty learn to repeat the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and not forget them. This miracle checked the arrogance of many of the scholars. Nicholas de Fuley, afterwards bishop of Durham, witnessed this fact, and communicated it to me. From his high authority I have set it down in writing, that the memory of so great a miracle might not be lost to posterity. It is a story altogether worthy to be received."

Of a disagreement which arose between the French and English kings.

A.D. 1202. King John kept the festival of Christmas at Argentan in Normandy; and in the following Lent, a conference was held between the French and English kings near the castle of Guletune. At this interview the French king, urged by deadly hatred against the king of England, indignantly ordered him immediately to give up to Arthur count of Brittany, all the possessions which he held on that side of the sea, namely, Normandy, Tours, Anjou, and Poictou, and required many otehr things from him, which the English king refused to comply with. The French king, not succeeding in his purpose at the interview, on the following day made a sudden attack on the castle of Butavant, and levelled it with the ground; and marching on from thence he by force took possession of the town of Augi, with the castle of Liuns, and several other fortresses; he also besieged the castle of Radepunt for eight days, but, on the king of the English coming upon him, he retired from that place in confusion. But after a few days he turned off to Gournaye, and by breaking through the lake, caused such a rush of water, that a great part of the walls which surrounded the city were knocked down; on this all the garrison fled, and the king of the French entered and subdued the city without any one to oppose him. He then returned to Paris, and placed Arthur in charge of safe persons, giving him two hundred French soldiers to accompany him into Poictou, that by warlike incursions they might subdue those districts for Arthur. But as this troop was marching forth with a pompous noise, word was brought them that queen Eleanor was staying in the castle of Mirabeau, attended by a small garrison; they therefore by common consent directed the fury of their attacks against that castle, and laid siege to it; as there was not strength in the garrison to resist them, the castle was surrendered to them except a tower into which queen Eleanor had thrown herself with a few soldiers, and this they could not gain possession of. They therefore directed their attacks against the tower; and at this place there came to the assistance of Arthur all the nobles and soldiers of rank in Poictou, and one in particular was Hugh, surnamed Le Brun, earl of March, who was a declared enemy of the English king, on

account of queen Isabel, whom the said earl had engaged as his wife by word of mouth before she was married to king John; and thus they formed a large force there, and continued the most fierce assaults on the castle in order to gain possession of it as soon as possible.

Of a glorious victory gained by king John at Mirabeau.

The queen being placed in this predicament, sent messengers with orders to use all speed, to the king, who was then in Normandy, earnestly beseeching him by his filial affection to come to her assistance; on receipt of this intelligence, the king hastily set out with a strong force, and travelling night and day, he accomplished the long distance quicker than is to be believed, and arrived at Mirabeau. When the French and the people of Poictou learned that the king was on his way, they went out with a pompous array to meet him, and give him battle; but when they met each other in battle order, and had engaged, the king bravely withstood their turbulent attacks, and at length put them to flight, pursuing them so quickly with his cavalry, that he entered the castle at the same time as the fugitives. Then a most severe conflict took place inside the walls of the castle, but was soon determined by the laudable valour of the English; in the conflict there two hundred French knights were taken prisoners, and all the nobles in Poictou and Anjou, together with Arthur himself, so that not one out of the whole number escaped who could return and tell the misfortune to the rest of their countrymen. Having therefore, secured his prisoners in fetters and shackles, and placed them in cars, a new and unusual mode of conveyance, the king sent some of them to Normandy, and some to England, to be imprisoned in strong castles, whence there would be no fear of their escape; but Arthur was kept at Falaise under close custody.

How the French king retired in confusion from the siege of the castle of Arques.

Whilst these events were passing at the castle of Mirabeau, the French king with a large army marched against the castle of Arques, and laid siege to it. So arranging his engines all round it, he for fifteen days endeavoured, by

means of petrariæ, and balistæ, to break through the walls; the garrison, on the other hand, resisting bravely, endeavoured by a continued discharge of stones and arrows to drive the enemy to a greater distance; but as soon as the report of the capture of Arthur and his own followers reached the ears of the French king, he retired from the siege in vexation. In his retreat he destroyed and burned every place he came to, and even reduced the monasteries of the religious men to ashes: at length he reached Paris, and remained inactive there for the rest of that year.

Of the death of Arthur, count of Brittany.

After some lapse of time, king John came to the castle of Falaise, and ordered his nephew Arthur to be brought into his presence; when he appeared, the king addressed him kindly, and promised him many honours, asking him to separate himself from the French king, and to adhere to the side of himself, as his lord and uncle. But Arthur ill-advisedly replied to him with indignation and threats, and demanded of the king that he should give up to him the kingdom of England, with all the territories, which king Richard possessed at the time of his death; and, since all those possessions belonged to him by hereditary right, he affirmed with an oath, that unless king John quickly restored the aforesaid territories to him, he should never enjoy peace for any length of time. The king was much troubled at hearing his words, and gave orders that Arthur should be sent to Rouen, to be imprisoned in the new tower there, and kept closely guarded; but shortly afterwards the said Arthur suddenly disappeared.* In this same year, king John came to England, and was crowned at Canterbury by Hubert archbishop of that place, on the 14th of April, and after this he again sailed for Normandy. On his arrival

* "The same year pope Innocent proposed to exact a large sum of money from the Cistertian order, for the use of the crusade, as he professed, but in reality to gratify his own avarice. He was, however, admonished by the holy Virgin, and in alarm, ceased from his intention. He had also ordered the fortieth part of all rents to be collected throughout all England, for the use of the crusaders. About this time died the nobleman, William de Stuteville."—*M. Paris.*

there an opinion about the death of Arthur gained ground throughout the French kingdom and the continent in general, by which it seemed that John was suspected by all of having slain him with his own hand; for which reason many turned their affections from the king from that time forward wherever they dared, and entertained the deepest enmity against him.*

How the nobles of England deserted king John in Normandy.

A.D. 1203. King John spent Christmas at Caen in Normandy, where, laying aside all thoughts of war, he feasted sumptuously with his queen daily, and prolonged his sleep in the morning till breakfast time. But after the solemnities of Easter had been observed, the French king, having collected a large army, took several castles belonging to the king of England, some of which he levelled to the

* "The same year, the king caused proclamation to be made that the legal assize of bread should be observed, under severe penalty. The assize was proved by the baker of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of England, and the baker of R. de Thurnam; so that the bakers might make a profit of threepence on the sale of every quarter, besides the bran, and two loaves for the oven, four oboli for four servants, a farthing for two boys, an obolus for salt, an obolus for yeast, a farthing for the candle, three pence for the wood (fuel), and an obolus for the refuse. When corn is sold for six shillings, then the bread from the quartern, white and well-baked, shall weigh sixteen shillings of twenty (*lora*); and the bread from the whole corn shall be good and well-baked, so that nothing shall be deducted, and it shall weigh twenty-four shillings. When corn is sold for five shillings and sixpence, the white bread shall weigh twenty shillings, and from all the corn twenty-eight shillings. When corn is sold for five shillings, the white bread shall weigh twenty-four shillings, and the bread from the whole corn, thirty-two shillings. When corn is sold for four shillings and sixpence, the white bread shall be at thirty-two shillings, and from all the corn, forty-two shillings. When corn is sold at four shillings, the white bread shall weigh thirty-six shillings, and from all the corn, forty-six shillings. When corn is sold at three shillings and sixpence, the white bread shall weigh forty-two shillings, and from all the corn, forty-four shillings. When corn is sold for three shillings, the white loaf shall weigh forty-eight shillings, and from the whole corn sixty-four shillings. When corn is sold for two shillings and sixpence, the white bread shall weigh fifty-four shillings, and from all the corn, seventy-two shillings. When corn is sold for two shillings, the white bread shall be at sixty shillings, and from all the corn at four pounds. When corn is sold at eighteen pence, the white loaf shall weigh seventy-seven shillings, and from all the corn at four pounds eight shillings. This proclamation was made throughout the whole kingdom."—*M. Paris.*

ground, but the stronger ones he kept entire. At length messengers came to king John with the news, saying, the king of the French has entered your territories as an enemy, has taken such and such castles, carries off the governors of them ignominiously bound to their horses' tails, and disposes of your property at will, without any one gainsaying him. In reply to this news, king John said, "Let him do so; whatever he now seizes on I will one day recover:" and neither these messengers, nor others who brought him the like news, could obtain any other answer. But the earls and barons, and other nobles of the kingdom of England, who had till that time firmly adhered to him, when they heard his words and saw his incorrigible idleness, obtained his permission and returned home, pretending that they would come back to him, and so left the king with only a few soldiers in Normandy. Hugh de Gournaye, to whom king John had in all honour entrusted the castle of Montfort, delivered it up to the king of the French, and admitted his soldiers into it by night, and in this manner, renouncing himself his fealty to his liege lord, fled to the king of France. In the meantime, the king of the English was staying inactive at Rouen with his queen, so that it was said that he was infatuated by sorcery or witchcraft; for, in the midst of all his losses and disgrace, he showed a cheerful countenance to all, as though he had lost nothing. The French king, in the meantime, with an immense army, came to the town of Ruyl, where there was a noble castle, which he at once surrounded with his engines of war; but after he had arranged them in order, even before he had made one assault, Robert Fitz-Walter and Sayer de Quincy, the noblemen to whom the charge of the castle had been entrusted, delivered it up uninjured to the French king, and as the least stone of that castle was not damaged, so not one hair of the heads of the garrison was hurt; but the king of the French, who was much enraged against them, ordered them to be chained, and kept in close confinement at Compiegne, where they were retained in disgrace till a heavy ransom was paid for their release. All opposition to him in Normandy and the other transmarine territories having ceased, the French king marched through the provinces at will and without hindrance, and regained possession of several castles; he also at this

time laid siege to the fine castle of the Rock of Andelys, which Richard had built, but by the prowess and incomparable fidelity of Roger de Lacy, to whose care that fortress had been entrusted, he gained nothing by the siege, except that by refusing egress to the besieged, he prevented them from obtaining supplies. Whilst these events were passing, some of the Normans seceded altogether from the king of the English, and others only feigned adherence to him.

How king John came to England and exacted large sums of money from the nobles.

King John at length seeing his fault, and that he was destitute of all military supplies, took ship in all haste and on St. Nicholas's day landed at Portsmouth. Then urging against the earls and barons as an excuse, that they had left him in the midst of his enemies on the continent, by which he had lost his castles and territories through their defection, he took from them the seventh part of all their moveable goods; and in this act he did not refrain from laying violent hands on the property of conventual or parochial churches, inasmuch as he employed Hubert archbishop of Canterbury as the agent of this robbery in regard to the church property, and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of England, for the goods of the laity, and these two spared no one in the execution of their orders. The French king, when he learnt that the king of England had left his transmarine territories, went in great strength to each of the towns and castles of the district, explaining to the citizens and governors of castles that they were deserted by their lord. He also said that he was the principal lord of those provinces, and that if the English king should ignominiously abandon them, he had no intention of losing the superior authority which belonged to him; wherefore he begged of them as a friend to receive him as their lord since they had no other; but he declared with an oath, that if they did not do this willingly, and dared to contend against him, he would subdue them as enemies and hang them all on the gibbet or flay them alive. At length, after much disputing on both sides, they unanimously agreed to give hostages to the king of the French, for their keeping a truce for one year; after which time, if they did not receive assistance from the king of the English, they would thence-

forward acknowledge him as their ruler, and give the cities and castles up to him; having effected this the French king returned to his own territories.

The promotion of William bishop of Lincoln.

In the same year Master William, precentor and canon of the church of Lincoln, was consecrated bishop of the same church at Westminster, on St. Bartholomew the apostle's day, by William bishop of London. Gilbert bishop of Rochester appealed in favour of his own claim, but did not succeed; for Hubert archbishop of Canterbury was lying very ill at the time.

How subsidies for war were generally granted to the king.

A.D. 1204. King John kept Christmas at Canterbury, Hubert, archbishop of that place, supplying all necessaries for the festivity to the king. After which, on the day after the circumcision, the king and the nobles of England met at Oxford at a conference, when supplies for war were granted to the king, two marks and a half from each scutcheon; nor did the bishops and abbats depart without giving a promise to the same effect.

How the oil of the image of the mother of God wonderfully became flesh.

In the same year, on the third day before Easter, there happened a most wonderful miracle concerning the oil of the image of the mother of God at Sardenai, which was as follows: it happened in the prison of the Christian soldiers, in the castle of Damascus, that a certain soldier took from his box a phial, in which he had put some of the oil which drops from the image of the mother of God at Sardenai; but as he looked carefully at the bottle, in which the oil had been put as clear and transparent as water, the oil in it appeared to become fleshy, but divided into two parts, for one portion adhered to the lower part of the phial, and the other portion to the upper part. The soldier then took his knife and endeavoured to join the upper part to the lower, but as soon as the edge of the knife touched the incarnate oil, drops of blood flowed from it to the astonishment of the chaplains, knights, and all the other prisoners who were looking on at it; and since many are ignorant of the truth concerning this

image of the mother of God, it is most proper that we should relate the origin of it, to those who do not know it, to the praise of the said mother of God.

Of the origin of the said image, and some of its miracles.

There lived at Damascus, the capital city of Syria, a certain venerable matron, who took the habit of a nun and made it her business to serve God most devoutly; and, that she might be more at liberty to perform her religious duties, and to avoid the noise of the city, she retired to a place called Sardenai, six miles from the above-named city, and there building for herself a house and oratory in honour of the holy mother of God, she performed the duties of hospitality to pilgrims and the poor. Now it happened that a certain monk, from the city of Constantinople, came to Jerusalem for the sake of devotion and of seeing the holy places, and he was charitably received as a guest by the aforesaid nun; the latter, on learning that he was going to the holy city, humbly and earnestly besought him to bring with him on his return from Jerusalem some image, that is some painted picture, for her to put in her oratory, which would show her, when she prayed, the likeness of the mother of God, and he faithfully promised that he would bring her one. After he had reached Jerusalem, he fulfilled his devotional duties, and when they were finished he prepared to return, forgetting his promise to the nun; and after he had got out of the city on his way back, a voice came from heaven saying to him, "Why dost thou return thus empty-handed? Where is the image thou didst promise to take to the nun?" Being thus reminded of the thing, the monk returned into the city, and going to a place where images were sold he bought one which pleased him, and carried it with him on his return. On his reaching a place called Gith, a fierce lion, which lay concealed in a den there devouring human beings, came to meet the monk on his way and began to lick his feet, and thus under the protection of the divine grace he escaped unhurt. Afterwards he fell into the snares of robbers, and when they were about to lay violent hands on him, they were so frightened by the voice of some angel which rebuked them, that they could not speak or move at all. Then the monk, looking at the image which he held, knew that some divine virtue lay con-

cealed in it; and then he vainly troubled himself in deliberating how he could cheat the nun, and carry the image away with him to his own country. On his arrival at the city of Acre, he went on board a ship, wishing, if possible, to return home; but after they had run with full sails for some days, a sudden storm arose, and they were in such peril, that every one threw the goods which belonged to him into the sea. But when the monk amongst the rest was about to commit his satchel to the waves, the angel of the Lord said to him, "Do not do thus, but lift the image up in your hands towards the Lord;" and when he, in obedience to the commands of the angel, lifted the image on high, the storm immediately ceased; but as the crew did not know where they were going they returned to the city of Acre. Then the monk learning God's will from the image and desiring to fulfil his promise, returned to the nun and again enjoyed her hospitality; she, on account of her frequent guests, did not know him, and consequently did not ask him for the image, on seeing which the monk again thought of taking the image with him on his return home. But early in the morning when he had obtained leave to depart, he went into the oratory to pray, and when, after having performed his devotions, he wanted to go out, he could not find the door; he therefore put the image which he held on the altar of the oratory, on which he beheld the door open; but when he again took up the image and endeavoured to go out, he again could not find the door. At length when he saw that the divine virtue surrounded the image, he put it on the altar of the oratory, and going back to the nun, he related in order all the wonderful circumstances connected with the image as has been related above; he therefore said that it was the will of God for the image to remain there, and be worshipped with all due honour. The nun therefore took it, and blessed God and his mother, for all that the monk had related to her, the monk too determined to pass the rest of his life at that same place, on account of the miracles which he knew the Lord had effected by means of the image of his mother. The image then began to be greatly revered by all, and all admired the great and wonderful works of God in it.

How the image of the mother of God emitted oil.

After these events the nun built a place, that seemed to her more honourable in which to put the image, and asked a priest, as being more worthy than herself and one remarkable for his sanctity, as she believed, to put on his sacred robes, and transport the image to the before-mentioned place. He, however, was afraid to touch it, because when it had been placed on the altar it had begun to drip, and from that time it had never ceased to give forth a very clear liquor like oil; the nun had at first wiped this moisture away with a fine linen cloth, but afterwards she procured a small brass vessel and caught the oil, which she administered to the sick, and whenever this was done in the name of the Lord and his mother, they were then cured of their diseases and remain in health to this time. But when the above-mentioned priest approached the image carelessly to take it away, as soon as he touched the liquor which flowed from it his hands became withered, and after three days he departed to the Lord. After this no one presumed to touch the image or to remove it from its place, except that nun alone. At length the religious woman placed a glass vessel under the image, that the oil flowing from it might be caught in that vessel, and kept to supply the wants of the sick.

How the same image gave forth teats of flesh.

In course of time a wonderful and hitherto unheard-of circumstance happened, for the aforesaid image, in the sight of all, produced by degrees breasts of flesh, and began to be clothed with flesh in a wonderful way; so that from the breasts downwards it seemed entirely covered with flesh, and from this flesh the liquid dropped incessantly. The brothers of the temple, during the truce with Saladin, took some of this oil to their own houses to distribute it to the pilgrims who came there to pray, that they might with reverence exalt the honour of the mother of God in the various quarters of the world. There are indeed monks in some parts of the monastery who perform religious duties, but the dignity and authority of the nuns is out of respect to the aforesaid woman who first inhabited that place, and built an oratory there in honour of the holy Mary, mother of God.

How a certain sultan recovered his sight by the agency of this image.

It happened at that time that the sultan of Damascus, who had been blind of one eye, was attacked by a disease in the eye with which he could see, and became totally blind; and he, hearing of the aforesaid image by which God wrought so many miracles, went to the place and entered the oratory; and although he was a pagan, he had faith in the Lord, that, through the image of his mother, his own health might be restored, and falling to the earth, he remained prostrate in prayer; and when he arose from his devotions, he saw the light burning in the lamp which hung before the image of Mary the mother of God, and found to his joy that he had recovered his sight. He therefore, and all who were with him and saw this, gave glory to God; and because he had first seen the light burning in the lamp, he made a vow to the Lord, that he would from that time give annually sixty measures of oil for the lamps of that oratory, in which he, through the merits of the blessed Mary, mother of God, had recovered his sight.

How Normandy with other transmarine possessions yielded to the rule of the French king.

About that time the French king's army which for almost a year had been besieging the castle of the Rock of Andelys, had undermined and knocked down a great part of the walls. But the noble and warlike Roger, constable of Chester, still defended the entrance against the French; but at length his provisions failing him, and being reduced to such want, that no one had a single allowance of food, he preferred to die in battle to being starved: on which he and his soldiers armed themselves, flew to horse, and sallied from the castle: but after they had slain numbers opposed to them, they were at length taken prisoners, although with much difficulty. Thus the castle of the Rock of Andelys fell into the hands of the French king on the 6th of March, and Roger de Lacy with all his followers were taken to France, where, on account of the bravery which he had shown in defence of his castle, he was detained prisoner on parole. On this all the holders of castles in the transmarine territories, with the citizens and other subjects of the king of England, sent messengers to England to tell him in what a precarious situation they were placed, and

that the time, according to the terms of the treaty, was near, when they must either give up the cities and castles to the king of the French, or consign to destruction the hostages which they had given him. To which message king John answered; and intimated by the same messengers to all of them, that they were to expect no assistance from him, but that they each were to do what seemed best to him. And thus, all kind of defence failing in those provinces, the whole of Normandy, Tours, Anjou, and Poictou, with the cities, castles, and other possessions, except the castles of Rochelle, Thouars, and Niorz, fell to the dominion of the king of the French. When this was told to the English king, he was enjoying all the pleasures of life with his queen, in whose company he believed that he possessed everything he wanted; moreover, he felt confidence in the immensity of the wealth he had collected, as if by that he could regain the territory he had lost.

Of the death of Godfrey bishop of Winchester, and the succession of Peter de Rupibus.

On the 1st of April in this same year, in the first watch of the night, there appeared in the northern and eastern quarters of the heavens such a redness, that it was believed by all to be real fire; and what was to be wondered at most, was that in the thickest part of this redness there appeared some glittering stars; this phenomenon lasted till midnight. In the same year Godfrey bishop of Winchester died, and was succeeded by Peter de Rupibus, a man of knightly rank, and skilled in warfare; he was appointed to the bishopric by the interest of king John, and set out to Rome; and, after bestowing his presents there with great liberality, he hastened to the church at Winchester to be consecrated bishop. In this year too the last day of Easter fell on the day of the evangelist St. Mark.

Of certain remarkable events.

A.D. 1205. King John kept Christmas at Tewkesbury, but scarcely stayed there one day; and in the same month of January the land was frozen to such a degree that all agricultural labour was suspended from the 14th of January till the 22nd of March, on account of which, in the following

summer a load of corn was sold for fourteen shillings. About Whitsuntide in this same year king John assembled a large army, as if he was about to cross the sea, and, although the archbishop of Canterbury and many others dissuaded him from it, he ordered a large fleet to be collected at Portsmouth; he afterwards embarked with only a small company on the 15th of July, and put to sea with all sails spread; but, changing his purpose, he on the third day landed at Studland near Warham. On his return he took an immense sum of money from the earls, barons, knights, and religious men, accusing them of refusing to accompany him to the continent to recover his lost inheritance. In this year, on the eve of St. John the Baptist's day, the castle of Chinon was given up to the French king.

Of the death of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, and the election of the sub-prior of the church at Canterbury.

On the 13th of July in this same year Hubert archbishop of Canterbury died at Tenham, to the great delight of the king, by whom he was suspected of being too familiar with the king of the French. After the death then of the archbishop, even before his body was consigned to the tomb, some of the juniors of the conventual church at Canterbury, without asking the king's consent, elected Reginald the sub-prior, to be their archbishop, and in the middle of the night, after electing him, they chanted the "Te Deum," and placed him first upon the great altar, and afterwards in the archiepiscopal chair; for they were afraid that if this election without the king's consent should reach his ears, he would endeavour to prevent their proceeding with it. Therefore in that same night the said sub-prior having made oath that he would not consider himself elected without the permission and special letters of the convent, nor show to any one the letters which he held, took some monks of the convent with him, and went to the court of Rome. But all this was done that that election might be concealed from the king till they found out whether they could at the court of Rome carry the election they had commenced into effect. But the aforesaid archbishop-elect, as soon as he landed in Flanders, disregarding the oath he had taken, openly declared that he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, and was going

to the court of Rome to confirm his election; he moreover showed every one the letters of the convent which he held; believing that by this he should in no small degree forward the merits of his cause. Arriving at length at Rome, he forthwith made known his election to our lord the pope and his cardinals, and openly showing his letters to all, he boldly required the pope to confirm his election by the apostolic benediction: but the pope answering in haste, said that he would take time to consider of it, in order that he might be more assured of the truth of the before-named circumstances.*

* "About the same time pope Innocent wrote the following letter to the suffragans of Canterbury, in defence of the monks of that church:—

"'*Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his venerable brothers the suffragans generally of the church of Canterbury, health and apostolical benediction.*—Whereas, in the time of the Jewish law, which, as we read, never brought any man to that which is perfect, parents after the flesh were held in such honour by their children after the flesh, that whoever cursed them was sentenced by the law of God to death, much more does it become those who are placed under the law of grace, and for whom the doors of Paradise have been opened through the most precious blood of Christ, to take heed lest by transgression they incur the sentence of damnation, seeing that detriment to the soul is more to be feared than any danger that can happen to the body. If therefore worldly parents are to be held in so much honour, what shall we say of spiritual parents? Shall they not be held superior in honour to earthly parents, in the same proportion as the soul surpasses the body? We have premised thus much, my brethren, inasmuch as, in our care for your salvation, we fear lest the present tribulation, which has been raised, it is said, by your means, should be productive of danger to the soul, concerning the church of Canterbury, which you are bound to reverence as your mother; and that the detriment to the said church be such that it may not be remedied for a great length of time. We therefore exhort your brotherhood in the Lord, by these our apostolical letters, that you diligently keep in view what concerns your honour and the salvation of your souls, and not molest the church of Canterbury your mother, whose privileges you are bound to defend, lest she have cause to complain of you, and to say she has nourished sons, who have not only not known her, but have persecuted her most severely. In saying these things we have no wish to detract from your rights, but in pious solicitude to prevent you from injuring others on pretence of asserting your own claims. May God enlighten your hearts, my brethren, and enable you without contention to pay all obedience to your mother-church, and do nothing in defiance of divine or human law, which you would not wish others to do towards yourselves.—Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, Dec. 8, in the 8th year of our pontificate.'"

Of the election of John bishop of Norwich, at the request of the English king.

The monks of Canterbury in the meantime, as soon as they heard that their sub-prior had violated his oath, and had, as soon as he arrived in Flanders, declared that he was elected, thus revealing their secret, were much enraged against him, and immediately sent some of the monks from the convent to the king to ask his permission to choose a pastor who was suited to them; the king immediately and without any hesitation kindly granted their request, and speaking confidentially to them, hinted that the bishop of Norwich was a great friend of his, and that he alone of all the English prelates was aware of his secrets; on which account, he asserted, that it would be to the advantage of himself and the kingdom, if they could transfer the said prelate to the archbishopric. He therefore requested of the monks, that they, together with his clerks whom he would send to the convent, would set forth this his request to them, and promised to confer many honours on the convent if they should determine to listen to him. The monks on their return home related the commands of the king to the other inmates of the convent, and they assembled thereupon in the chapter-house, and in order to conciliate the king, whom they had offended, they there unanimously elected John bishop of Norwich, and at once sent some monks of the convent to the archbishop elect, who was at York managing the king's business, to tell him to come with all haste to Canterbury. The messengers hastened on the prescribed journey, and found the said bishop at Nottingham; and he at once settled the king's business and hurried to the southern provinces, where he met with the king, and they set out together for Canterbury. On the following day, a great multitude assembled in the metropolitan church, and the prior of Canterbury, in the king's presence, openly announced to all the election of John de Grai bishop of Norwich; then the monks taking him up carried him to the great altar chanting the "Te Deum," and finally placed him in the archiepiscopal chair. After all this ceremony the king put the archbishop elect into possession of all property belonging to the archbishopric, and all returned to their homes; and thus in this election a new kind of error was made, worse than the former one, as the result plainly shows.

Of the controversy between the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury and the monks of the same place, about the choice of an archbishop.

A.D. 1206. King John kept Christmas at Oxford; and about the same time sent some monks of the church of Canterbury, amongst whom, in particular, was Master Elias de Brantfield, to the court of Rome, and supplied them with large presents from the treasury in order to obtain from our lord the pope the confirmation of the election of John bishop of Norwich. At the same time, too, the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury sent agents to Rome to lay a serious complaint before our lord the pope, namely, that the monks of Canterbury had audaciously presumed to make election of an archbishop without them, although they ought, by common right and ancient custom, to have been present at the election as well as the monks; the said agents also set forth decrees and examples on the foregoing matters, bringing some witnesses, and producing testimonials, whereby they endeavoured to show that they, the said suffragans, had chosen three metropolitans conjointly with the monks. The monks, on the contrary, asserted, that, by a special privilege of the Roman pontiffs, and by a proved and old custom, they had been accustomed to make elections without the bishops, and promised to prove this by fitting witnesses. After the allegations on both sides had been heard, and the witnesses admitted and carefully examined, the 21st of December was fixed on by our lord the pope for declaring judgment between the parties, and that they were then to come and hear what the law appointed.

How king John crossed over to Poictou and took forcible possession of the castle of Montauban.

At Whitsuntide of this same year king John assembled a large army at Portsmouth, and taking ship on the 25th of June, he landed on the 9th of July at Rochelle; on hearing which the inhabitants of those provinces were delighted, and, instantly flying to the king, gave him sure promises of money and assistance. After this then he marched forward with more confidence, and subdued a great portion of that territory. At length he arrived at the noble castle of Montauban, in which all the warlike nobles of that district, and especially his own enemies were shut up, and immediately disposed his

engines of war around it. And when, after fifteen days, they had destroyed a great part of the castle by the incessant assaults of their petrariæ, and the missiles from their balistas and slings, the English soldiers, who were greatly renowned in that kind of warfare, scaled the walls and exchanged mortal blows with their enemies. After some time the English prevailed, and the garrison failing, the well-fortified castle of Montauban was taken, a castle which at one time Charlemagne could not subdue after a seven years' siege; and the names of the nobles and illustrious men who were taken in the castle with their horses, arms, and spoils innumerable, the English king afterwards mentioned by letter to the justiciaries, bishops, and other nobles of England. This castle was taken on the day of St. Peter's "ad vincula." (August 1.)

Of the legateship of John of Ferentino, to England.

In the same year John of Ferentino, legate of the apostolic see, came into England, and travelling through it collected large sums of money, and at length, on the day after St. Luke the evangelist, he held a council at Reading; after which the hasty traveller packed up his baggage and started for the sea coast, where he bade farewell to England. About this time, too, some religious men of foreign parts anxiously interfered to make peace between the kings, and on All Saints' day they obtained from them a promise to keep a truce for two years. King John therefore returned to England, and landed at Portsmouth on the 12th of December. On the eve of Ascension day in this same year William bishop of Lincoln departed this life; and in this year Jocelyn of Wells, who had been elected bishop of Bath by the agency of William bishop of London, received the blessing of consecration.

The definitive sentence of pope Innocent with regard to the monks of the church of Canterbury.

About that time pope Innocent sent his definitive sentence to the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, to this effect: "The authority of the church and an approved custom hands it down to us that the greater questions in church matters are to be referred to the apostolic see. Since therefore a controversy has arisen between you and our beloved

sons, the prior and monks of the church of Canterbury, as to the right of choosing the archbishop; you setting forth that, not only by common right but also by old custom, you ought to make the election of the archbishop conjointly with them; and they, on the contrary, answering that, by a common right and special privilege, as also by an old and approved custom, they ought to elect the archbishop of Canterbury without you; on the cause of dispute being lawfully argued by proper agents before us, we have carefully heard what both parties have set forth in our presence. Your party has set forth both decrees and examples, bringing forward also some witnesses, and showing testimonials by which you attempted to prove that you had chosen three metropolitans conjointly with them; whilst it was proved by letters and evidence that you in another place and at another time had not made elections of this kind without them. But the witnesses brought forward on the part of the monks have legitimately proved that the prior and convent of the church of Canterbury have, from times long past up to this time, made elections of bishops in their chapter-house without you, and have obtained confirmation of those elections from the apostolic see. By us and our predecessors it is laid down in the book of our privileges, that, at the decease of an archbishop of Canterbury, no one should be appointed to his place by any fraud or violence, but one whom the majority of the monks of sound judgment shall in the Lord according to the provisions of the holy canons determine to elect. Therefore, having heard, and clearly understanding all that has been alleged to us, since it plainly appears by your own assertions, that you ought not to make an election without them, and when the monks are excluded from it your election is not valid; and also that an election of the monks made without you, inasmuch as it was worthy of being confirmed by the apostolic see, was valid, and since in either case it must of necessity be confirmed, we, by the common advice of our brethren, for ever impose silence on you as to the right of choosing an archbishop, and by this our definitive decree absolve the monks of Canterbury from all attack and annoyance on the part of you and your successors; and also by our apostolic authority, decree that the monks of the church of Canterbury and their successors shall in future elect an arch-

bishop without you. Given at St. Peter's, at Rome, this 21st day of December, in the ninth year of our pontificate."

Of a vision of purgatory, the punishment of the wicked, and the glory of the blessed.

In this year, a certain man of simple habits, and hospitable as far as his humble means would allow, who lived in a town called Tunsted,* in the bishopric of London, was employed, after the hour of evening prayer, on the eve of the day of the apostles St. Simon and St. Jude, in draining his field, which he had sown that day, when, raising his eyes, he saw a man hastening to him from a distance; after looking at him, he began the Lord's prayer, when the stranger stepping up to him, asked him to finish his prayer and speak to him: and, accordingly, as soon as his prayer was ended, they exchanged mutual greetings. After this, the man who had come to him asked him where, amongst the neighbours, he could meet with a suitable lodging for that night; but when the questioned person extolled the great hospitality of his neighbours, the inquirer found fault with the hospitality of some who were named. The labourer then understanding that the stranger was acquainted with his neighbours, eagerly asked him to accept of a lodging with him, on which the stranger said to him, "Your wife has already received two poor women to lodge with her, and I too will turn to your house for to-night, in order that I may lead you to your lord, namely saint James, to whom thou hast even now devoutly prayed; for I am Julian the entertainer, and have been sent on your behalf, to disclose to you by divine means certain things which are hidden from men in the flesh; therefore, proceed to your house, and endeavour to prepare yourself for a journey." After these words, the man who was conversing with him, disappeared from the spot. But Turchill, for that was the labourer's name, hurried home, washed his head and feet, and found the two women entertained there, as St. Julian had foretold. Afterwards he threw himself on a bed which he had prepared in his house, apart from his wife, for the sake of continence, and slept outside the room; and as soon as all the members of the household were asleep, St. Julian woke the man, and said,

* Perhaps "Twinsted" in Essex.

"Here I am, as I promised; it is time for us to be going. Let your body rest on the bed, it is only your spirit which is to go with me; and, that your body may not appear to be dead, I will inspire into you the breath of life." In this way they both left the house, St. Julian leading the way, and Turchill following.

How the man being released from the body was taken to a certain church, where there was an assemblage of spirits.

After they had travelled to the middle of the world, as the man's guide said it was, towards the east, they entered a church of wonderful structure, the roof of which was supported only by three pillars. The church itself was large and spacious, but without partitions, arched all round like a monk's cloister; but on the northern side there was a wall not more than six feet high, which was joined to the church which rested on the three pillars. In the middle of the church there was a large baptistery, from which there arose a large flame, not burning, yet unceasingly illuminating the whole of the church and the places around, like a meridian sun; this brightness proceeded, as he was told by St. Julian, from the decimation of the just. When they entered the hall, St. James met them, wearing a priest's mitre, and seeing the pilgrim for whom he had sent, ordered St. Julian and St. Domninus, who were the guardians of the place, to show to his pilgrim the penal places of the wicked as well as the mansions of the just, and after speaking thus, he passed on. Then St. Julian informed his companion that this church was the place which received the souls of all those who had lately died, that there might be assigned to them the abodes and places, as well of condemnation as of salvation by the atonements of purgatory, which were destined by God for them. That place, through the intercession of the glorious virgin Mary, was mercifully designed that all spirits which were born again in Christ, might, as soon as they left the body, be there assembled free from the attacks of devils, and receive judgment according to their works. In this church, then, which was called the "Congregation of spirits," I saw many spirits of the just, white all over, and with the faces of youth. After being taken beyond the northern wall, I saw a great number of spirits, standing near

the wall marked with black and white spots, some of whom had a greater show of white than black, and others the reverse; but those who were of a whiter colour remained nearer to the wall, and those who were farthest off had no appearance of whiteness about them, and appeared deformed in every part.

Of the unjust decimators.

Near the wall was the entrance to the pit of hell, which incessantly exhaled a smoke of a most foul stench, through the surrounding caverns, in the faces of those who stood by, and this smoke came forth from the tithes unjustly detained, and the crops unjustly tithed; and the stink inflicted incomparable agony on those who were guilty of this crime. The man, therefore, after twice smelling this same stink, was so oppressed by it that he was compelled to cough twice, and, as those who stood round his body declared, his body at the same time coughed twice. St. Julian then said to him, "It appears that you have not duly tithed your crop, and therefore have smelled this stench." On his pleading his poverty as an excuse, the saint told him that his field would produce a more abundant crop if he paid his tithes justly; and the holy man also told him to confess this crime in the church openly to all, and to seek absolution from the priest.

Of the fire, lake, and bridge of purgatory, and of a church situated on the mount of joy.

On the eastern side of this said church was a very large purgatorial fire, placed between two walls; one of these walls rose on the north side, and the other on the south, and they were separated by a large space, which extended a long way in width on the eastern side, to a very large lake, in which were immersed the souls of those who were passing through the purgatorial fire; and the water of the lake was incomparably salt and cold, as was afterwards proved to the man. Over this lake was placed a large bridge, planted all over with thorns and stakes, over which every one was obliged to pass before he could arrive at the mount of joy; and on this mountain was built a large church, of wonderful structure, which was large enough, as it appeared to the man, to contain all the inhabitants of the world. Then the

blessed Julian conducted him altogether unhurt through the aforesaid fire, to the above-mentioned lake, and the two then walked together on the road which led from the church through the midst of the flames; no wood material supplied fuel to this said fire, but a sort of flame rising, like what is seen in a fiercely-heated oven, was diffused over the whole of that space, and consumed the black and spotted spirits for a shorter or a longer period, according to the degrees of their crimes. And the spirits which had got out of the fire descended into that cold salt lake at the command of the blessed Nicholas, who presided over that purgatory; and some of these were immersed over head, some up to the neck, some to the chest and arms, others up to the navel, some up to the knees, and others scarcely up to the hollow of their feet. After the lake, there remained the passing of the bridge, which is on the western side of the church, in front of the same; some of the spirits passed over this bridge very tediously and slowly, others more easily and quicker, and some passed over at will and fast, experiencing no delay or trouble in crossing; for some went through the lake so slowly that they stayed in it many years; and those who were not assisted by any special masses, or who had not in their life-time endeavoured to redeem their sins by works of charity towards the poor, those I say, on reaching the before-mentioned bridge, and desiring to cross over to their destined place of rest, walked painfully with naked feet amidst the sharp stakes and thorns which were set on the bridge; and when they were no longer able to endure the extreme agony of the pain, they placed their hands on the stakes to support themselves from falling, and their hands being directly pierced through, they, in the violence of their pain and suffering, rolled on their belly and all parts of their bodies upon the stakes, until by degrees they grovelled along to the further end of the bridge, dreadfully bloody, and pierced all over; but when they reached the hall of the aforesaid church, they there obtained a happy entrance, and recollected little of their vehement tortures.

How St. Michael and the apostles Peter and Paul apportioned the spirits to the places ordained for them by God.

After then, having beheld all these things, St. Julian and

the man returned through the midst of the flame to the church of St. Mary, and there stopped with the white spirits which had lately arrived; and these spirits were sprinkled with holy water by St. James and St. Domninus, in order that they might become whiter. Here at the very first daylight of the sabbath, came St. Michael the archangel and the apostles Peter and Paul, to allot to the spirits assembled inside and outside the church the places ordained for them by God according to their deserts; for St. Michael gave to all the white spirits a safe passage through the midst of the flames of purgatory, and through the other places of punishment to the entrance of the large church which was built on the mount of joy, with a door on the western side always open; but the spirits stained with black and white spots, which were lying outside the hall on the northern side, were, without any discussion as to their works, brought by St. Peter through a door on the eastern side into the purgatorial fire, that they might be cleansed by that raging flame of the stains of their sins.

Of the weighing of good and evil.

The blessed Paul, too, sat inside the church at the end of the northern wall: and outside the wall, opposite to the apostle, sat the devil with his satellites; and a flame-vomiting aperture, which was the mouth of the pit of hell, burst out close to the feet of the devil. On the wall between the apostle and the devil was fixed a scale hanging on an equal balance, the middle part of which hung without in front of the devil; and the apostle had two weights, a greater and a lesser one, shining like gold, and the devil also had two, sooty and dark. Then the black spirits approached from all directions with great fear and trembling, one after the other, each to try in the scale the weight of their deeds, good or evil; for the aforesaid weights estimated the deeds of each of the spirits according to the good or evil they had done. When, therefore, the balance inclined itself towards the apostle, he took that spirit and brought it through the eastern door which was joined to the church, into the purifying fire, there to expiate its offences; but when the balance inclined and preponderated towards the devil, he and his satellites at once hurried away that spirit, wailing and cursing the

father and mother for having begot it, to eternal torment, and, amidst great grinning, cast it into the deep and fiery furnace, which was at the feet of the devil who was weighing. Of the weighing of good and evil in this way, mention is often made in the writings of the holy fathers.

Of a certain spirit which the devil had changed into the form of a horse.

On the sabbath day near the hour of evening, whilst St. Domninus and St. Julian were in the aforesaid church, there came from the northern part a certain devil riding with headlong speed a black horse, and urging him through the many turnings of the place amidst much noise and laughter; and many of the evil spirits went forth to meet it, dancing about and grinning at one another over the prey which was brought to them. St. Domninus then commanded the devil, who was riding, to come directly to him and tell him whose spirit it was that he had brought; but the devil dissembling for a long time, for the great delight which he experienced over the wretched spirit, the saint immediately snatched up a whip and severely lashed the devil, on which he followed the saint to the northern wall, where stood the scale of the spirits. The saint then asked the devil whose spirit it was that he was tormenting so by riding; to which the latter replied that "it was one of the nobles of the kingdom of England, who had died on the preceding night without confession and without partaking of the body of the Lord; and, amongst the other faults which he had committed, his principal crime was his cruelty towards his own men, many of whom he had brought to extreme want, which he had chiefly done at the instigation of his wife, who always incited him to deeds of cruelty. I have transformed him into a horse, since we are allowed to turn the spirits of the condemned into whatever form we please; and I should have already descended with him into hell, and should be consigning him to eternal punishment, if it were not that Sunday night is at hand, when it is our duty to desist from our theatrical sports, and to inflict more severe tortures on wretched spirits." After he had spoken these words, he directed his look on the man, and said to the saint, "Who is that rustic standing with you?" To which the saint answered, "Do you not know him?" The demon then said, "I have seen him at the church of Tidstude in Essex,

on the feast of its dedication." The saint then asked, "In what dress did you enter the church?" He replied, "In the dress of a woman; but when I had advanced to the font, meaning to enter the chancel, the deacon met me with the sprinkler of holy water, and sprinkling me with it, he put me to flight so precipitately, that I uttered a cry, and leaped from the church as far as a field two furlongs distant." The man and several others also of the parishioners bore witness to this same circumstance, declaring that they had heard that cry, and were entirely ignorant of the cause of it.

Of the theatrical sports of the devils.

After this, St. Domninus said to the devil, "We wish to go with you to see your sports." The devil answered, "If you wish to go with me, do not bring this labourer with you, for he would on his return amongst his fellow mortals disclose our acts and secret kinds of punishment to the living, and would reclaim many from serving us." The saint said to him, "Make haste and go forward, I and St. Julian will follow you." The demon therefore went on in advance and the saints followed him, bringing the man with them by stealth. They then proceeded to a northern region, as if they were going up a mountain; and behold, after descending the mountain, there was a very large and dark-looking house surrounded by old walls, and in it there were a great many lanes (*plateæ*) as it were, filled all around with innumerable heated iron seats. These seats were constructed with iron hoops glowing white with heat, and with nails driven in them in every part, above and below, right and left, and in them there sat beings of divers conditions and sexes; these were pierced by the glowing nails all over their bodies, and were bound on all sides with fiery hoops. There was such a number of those seats, and such a multitude of people sitting in them, that no tongue would be able to reckon them. All around these courts were black iron walls, and near these walls were other seats, in which the devils sat in a circle, as if at a pleasant spectacle, grinning at each other over the tortures of the wretched beings, and recapitulating to them their former crimes. Near the entrance of this detestable scene, on the descent of the mountains, as we have said, there was a wall five feet high, from which could plainly be seen what-

ever was done in that place of punishment. Near this wall, then, the before-mentioned saints stood outside looking on at what the wretched beings inside were enduring, and the man lying concealed between them plainly saw all that was going on inside.

Of a proud man, and his tortures.

When the servants of hell were all seated at this shameful scene, the chief of that wicked troop said to his satellites, "Let the proud man be violently dragged from his seat, and let him sport before us." After he had been dragged from his seat and clothed in a black garment, he, in the presence of the devils who applauded him in turn imitated all the gestures of a man proud beyond measure; he stretched his neck, elevated his face, cast up his eyes, with the brows arched, imperiously thundered forth lofty words, shrugged his shoulders, and scarcely could he bear his arms for pride: his eyes glowed, he assumed a threatening look, rising on tiptoe, he stood with crossed legs, expanded his chest, stretched his neck, glowed in his face, showed signs of anger in his fiery eyes, and striking his nose with his finger, gave expression of great threats; and thus swelling with inward pride, he afforded ready subject of laughter to the inhuman spirits. And whilst he was boasting about his dress, and was fastening gloves by sewing, his garments on a sudden were turned to fire, which consumed the entire body of the wretched being; lastly, the devils, glowing with anger, tore the wretch limb from limb with prongs and fiery iron hooks. But one of them put fat with pitch and other greasy substances in a glowing pan, and fried each limb as it was torn away with that boiling grease; and each time the devil sprinkled them with the grease, the limbs sent forth a hissing, like what is caused by pouring cold water on boiling blood; and after his limbs had been thus fried, they were joined together again, and that proud man returned to his former shape. Next, there approached to the wretched man the hammerers of hell, with hammers and three red hot iron bars nailed together in triple order, and they then applied two bars at the back part of his body, to the right and the left, and cruelly drove the hot nails into him with their hammers; these two bars, beginning at his feet, were brought up his legs and thighs to his shoulders, and were then bent

around his neck; the third bar, beginning at his middle, passed up his belly, and reached to the top of his head. After this wretch had been tortured for a length of time in the manner above described, he was mercilessly thrust back into his former seat, and when placed there, he was tormented in all parts by the burning nails, and by having his five fingers stretched; and after he had been thus taken from this place of punishment, he was placed in the abode which he had made for himself when living, to await further tortures.

Of a certain priest.

A priest was next dragged forth with violence from his fiery seat to the sport, and placed before these inhuman goblins by the servants of sin, who forthwith, after cutting his throat in the middle, pulled out his tongue, and cut it off at the root. This priest had not, when he could, repaid the people entrusted to his care for their temporal goods which he had taken from them, by holy exhortation, nor by an example of good works, and had not given them the support of prayers or of masses. Afterwards, as we have related of the proud man, they tore him limb from limb, and again restoring him entire, they placed him in a chair of torture.

Of a certain soldier.

After him was brought forward a certain soldier, who had spent his life in slaying harmless people, in tournaments, and robberies. He sat, accoutred with all his weapons of war, on a black horse, which, when urged on by the spur, breathed forth a pitchy flame, with stench and smoke, to the torture of its rider. The saddle of the horse was pierced all over with long fiery nails; the armour and helmet, the shield and boots covered with flame, severely burdened the rider by their weight, and at the same time consumed him to the very marrow with no less torture. After he had, in imitation of his former custom in war, urged his horse to headlong speed, and shaken his spear against the devils who met him and derided him, he was by them dismounted and torn piecemeal, and his limbs were fried in the execrable liquid above-mentioned; and after having been fried, they were again joined together in the same way as with those who had

come before, and were fastened by three bars, and when thus restored he was violently thrust back into his own seat.

Of a certain pleader.

After the soldier, a man well-skilled in worldly law was dragged forth into the midst with great torture, which he had brought on himself by a long course of evil living, and by accepting presents for perverting judgment. This man was well known throughout the English territories amongst the higher ranks, but had closed his life miserably in the year in which this vision was seen; for, dying suddenly without executing any will, all the wealth that he had amassed by his rapacious greediness, was entirely alienated from him, and spent by strangers to him. He had been accustomed to sit in the king's exchequer, where he had oftentimes received presents from both of the litigating parties. He, too, being dragged forth to the sport, in the presence of the wicked spirits, was compelled by the insulting goblins to imitate the actions of his former life; for, turning himself at one time to the right, at another to the left, he was teaching one party in setting forth a cause, and another in replying to it; and whilst doing this, he did not refrain from accepting presents, but received money at one time from one party, at another from the other, and after counting it, put it in his pockets. After the demons had for a length of time looked on at the gestures of the wretched man, the money suddenly becoming hot, burned the wretch in a pitiable manner, and he was forced to put in his mouth the pieces of money, burning as they were, and afterwards to swallow them: after swallowing them, two demons came to him with an iron cart-wheel, studded all round with spikes and nails, and, placing it on the back of the sinner, they whirled it round, tearing away his whole back in its quick and burning revolutions; and compelled him to vomit forth the moneys which he had swallowed with great agony, in still greater torture; and after he had vomited them up, the demon ordered him to collect them again, that he might in the same way again be fed with them; afterwards, the servants of hell becoming enraged, exhausted on him all the tortures which have been mentioned above. The wife of this man was sitting in one of the fiery spiked seats, because

she had been excommunicated in several churches about a ring, which she had unknowingly put in her casket, and declared to have been stolen; from which decree she had never been absolved, having been prevented by sudden death.

Of an adulterer and adulteress.

There was now brought into the sight of the furious demons an adulterer, together with an adulteress, united together in foul contact, and they repeated in the presence of all, their disgraceful venereal motions and immodest gestures, to the confusion of themselves and amid the cursing of the demons: then, as if smitten with frenzy, they began to tear one another, changing the outward love, which they before seemed to entertain towards one another, into cruelty and hatred: their limbs were then torn in pieces by the furious crowd around them, and they suffered the same punishment as those who had preceded them. All the fornicators, also, who were present, were tormented in like manner, and the intensity of their sufferings was so great that the pen of the writer is inadequate to pourtray them.

Of slanderers.

Amongst the other wretched beings, two from a company of slanderers were brought into the midst, who, with continual distortions, gaped their mouths open to their ears, and turning their faces on each other, they gazed at each other with grim eyes; in the mouths of both of them were put the ends of a kind of burning spear, eating and gnawing which with distorted months, they quickly reached the middle of the spear, drawing close to each other, and in this manner they tore each other, and stained their whole faces with blood.

Of thieves and incendiaries.

Amongst others there were brought forth thieves, incendiaries, and violators of religious places, and these were by the servants of hell placed on wheels of red hot iron, set with spikes and nails, which from their excessive heat sent forth a constant shower of sparks of fire; on these the wretches were whirled round, and endured horrific tortures.

Of the tradesmen.

Then there came to the spot a tradesman with false scales

and weights, and also those who stretch the new cloths in their shops to such a degree in length and breadth, that the threads are broken, and a hole is made, and afterwards, cunningly stitching up the holes, sell these same cloths in dark places; these were cruelly torn from their seats, and compelled to repeat the motions of their former sins, to their disgrace, and as an increase of their punishments; and afterwards they were tortured by devils, in the way we have related of those before them. Besides this the man saw, near the entrance of the lower hell, four courts, as it were; the first of which contained innumerable furnaces and large wide caldrons filled to the brim with burning pitch and other melted substances; and in each of these the spirits were heaped together boiling fiercely, and their heads, like those of black fishes, were, from the violence of the boiling, at one time forced upwards out of the liquid, and at another times fell downwards. The second court in like manner contained caldrons, but filled with snow and cold ice, in which the spirits were tortured by the dreadful cold in intolerable agony. The caldrons in the third court were filled with boiling sulphureous water and other things, which emitted a stench mixed with a foul smoke, in which the spirits who died in the foulness of their lusts were particularly tormented. The fourth court contained caldrons full of a very black salt water, the bitter saltness of which would immediately take the bark off any kind of wood thrown into it. In these caldrons a multitude of sinners, murderers, thieves, robbers, sorceresses, and rich men, who by unjust exactions oppressed their fellow men, were incessantly boiling; and the servants of iniquity, standing all round them, pressed them together inside that they might not escape the heat of the molten liquid. Those who had been boiling for seven days in this burning grease, were on the eighth day plunged into the dreadful cold which was in the second court, whilst those on the other hand who had been tortured in the cold, were put into the boiling liquor; in the same way those, who had been boiling in the salt water were afterwards tortured in the stench; and they always observed these changes every eight days.

Of the church situated on the mount of joy, and of the intercession made for the spirits.

After having seen these things, when the morn of the Lord's day was just beginning to appear, the aforesaid saints, with the man whom they were conducting, proceeded to the mount of joy through the purifying fire, and the lake, and over the spiked bridge, until they arrived at a hall on the western side of the before-mentioned temple, which was situated on the mount; and there was a handsome and large gate always open, through which the spirits, which had been made entirely white, were brought by St. Michael; and in this hall were assembled all the purified spirits praying with all the eagerness of expectation for a happy admission into the place. In the southern quarter outside the temple the man beheld an infinite number of spirits, all of which, with their faces turned to the church, were praying for the assistance of their friends who were alive, by which means they might deserve to gain admission into that church, and the more especial assistance they received, the nearer they approached to the church. In this place he recognised many of his acquaintances, and also all those of whom he had the least knowledge in life. And St. Michael informed the man about all these spirits, for how many masses each spirit could be set free and be permitted to enter the temple. The spirits too which were waiting for admission there suffered no punishment, unless they were waiting for any special assistance from their friends; nevertheless, all the spirits which stood there daily approach the entrance to that church by the general assistance of the whole church.

Of the various stages of the said church.

This man, being brought into the temple by St. Michael, there saw many whom he had seen in life of both sexes in white apparel, who were climbing up to the temple and enjoying great felicity; and the further the spirits climbed up the steps of the temple, the more white and shining they became. In that great church were to be seen many most beautiful mansions, in which dwelt the spirits of the just, whiter than snow, and whose faces and crowns glittered like golden light. At certain hours of each day they hear songs from heaven, as if all kinds of music were sounding in har-

monious melody, and this so soothes and refreshes all the inhabitants of the temple by its agreeable softness, as if they were regaled with all kinds of dainty meats; but the spirits which stood in the halls outside did not hear anything of this heavenly song. In this place too several of the saints had abodes of their own, where they receive with joy those who especially serve themselves next to the Lord in any thing, that they might afterwards present them in the sight of God.

Of Paradise, and Adam our first parent.

After this they turned aside to the eastern part of the aforesaid temple, and came to a most pleasant place, beautiful in the variety of its herbs and flowers, and filled with the sweet smell of herbs and trees; there the man beheld a very clear spring, which sent forth four streams of different coloured water; over this fountain there was a beautiful tree of wonderful size and immense height, which abounded in all kinds of fruits and in the sweet smell of spices. Under this tree near the fountain there reposed a man of comely form and gigantic body, who was clothed from his feet to his breast in a garment of various colours and of wondrously beautiful texture; this man seemed to be smiling in one eye, and weeping from the other. "This," said St. Michael, "is the first parent of the human race, Adam, and by the eye which is smiling, he indicates the joy which he feels in the glorification of his children who are to be saved, and by the other eye which is weeping, he expresses the sorrow he feels for the punishment and just judgment of God on his children who are to be condemned. The garment with which he is covered, though not entirely, is the robe of immortality and the garment of glory, of which he was deprived on his first transgression; for from the time of Abel, his just son, he began to regain this garment, and continues to do so throughout the whole succession of his righteous children, and as the chosen ones shine forth in their different virtues, so this garment is dyed with its various colours; and when the number of his elect children shall be completed, then Adam will be entirely clothed in the robe of immortality and glory, and in this way the world will come to an end."

How the man returned to his body.

After proceeding a little way from this place they came to a most beautiful gate adorned with jewels and precious stones; and the wall round it shone as if it were of gold. As soon as they had entered the gate, there appeared a kind of golden temple, much more magnificent than the former in all its beauty, in its pleasant sweetness, and in the splendour of its glittering light, so that the places which they had seen before appeared not at all pleasant in comparison with that place; and after they had gone into this temple, he beheld on one side a kind of chapel, refulgent with wonderful ornaments, in which there sat three virgins shining in indescribable beauty; these, as the archangel informed him, were St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and St. Osith. Whilst he was thus admiringly contemplating their beauty, St. Michael said to St. Julian, "Restore this man directly to his body, for unless he is quickly taken back to it, the cold water which the bystanders are throwing in his face will altogether suffocate him;" and directly after these words had been spoken, the man, not knowing how, was brought back to his body and sat up in his bed. He had been lying on his bed, as it were senseless, for two days and nights, that is, from the hour of evening of the sixth day of the week, till the evening of the Sunday following, oppressed as if with a heavy sleep. As soon as morning came he hastened to the church, and, after the performance of mass, the priest, with others of the parishioners, who had seen him as it were lifeless a short time before, besought him to inform them of what had been revealed to him; he however in his great simplicity, hesitated to relate his vision, until on the following night St. Julian appeared to him giving him orders to reveal all that he had seen, because, he said, that he had been taken from his body for the purpose of making public all he had heard. In obedience to the commands of the saint, he, on All Saints' day, and at times afterwards, related his vision plainly and openly in the English tongue, and all who heard him wondered at the unusual gift of speech of a man who had formerly, from his great simplicity, appeared clownish and unable to speak; and by his continual narration of the vision he had seen, he moved many to tears and bitter lamentations.

How Geoffrey archbishop of York went into exile.

A. D. 1207. King John kept Christmas at Winchester in the company of the nobles of the kingdom. Afterwards, at the purification of the blessed Mary, he levied a tax throughout England of the thirteenth part of all moveable and other goods, on the laity as well as the ecclesiastics and prelates, which caused great murmuring amongst all, though they dared not gainsay it. Geoffrey archbishop of York was the only one who did not consent to it; he openly spoke against it, and departed from England privily; and at his departure he anathematized especially all those who were the agents of this robbery in the archbishopric of York, and in general against all the invaders of the church or the church property. In this same year, on the 27th of February, about midnight, a sudden and violent storm of wind arose, which destroyed buildings, tore down trees, and, being attended by immense falls of snow, caused destruction to flocks and herds of sheep and cattle. In this same year the emperor Otho came to England and had an interview with his uncle, after which, and receiving five thousand marks of silver from the latter, he returned to his own kingdom.

About this time there sprang up, under the auspices of pope Innocent, a sect of preachers called Minorites, who filled the earth, dwelling in cities and towns by tens and sevens, possessing no property at all, living according to the gospel, making a show of the greatest poverty, walking with naked feet, and setting a great example of humility to all classes. On Sundays and feast days they went forth from their habitations preaching the word of the gospel in the parish churches, eating and drinking whatever they found amongst them to whom they preached; and they were the more remarkable for their regard to the business of heaven, the more they proved themselves unconnected with the matters of this life, and with the pleasures of the flesh. No sort of food in their possession was kept for the morrow's use, that their poverty of spirit which reigned in their minds, might show itself to all in their dress and actions.

The elections of the bishop of Norwich, and the sub-prior of Canterbury annulled.

About this time the monks of the church of Canterbury

appeared before our lord the pope, to plead a disgraceful dispute which had arisen between themselves; for a certain part of them, by authenticated letters of the convent, presented Reginald, sub-prior of Canterbury, as they had often done, to be archbishop-elect, and earnestly required the confirmation of his election; the other portion of the same monks had, by letters alike authentic, presented John bishop of Norwich, showing by many arguments that the election of the sub-prior was null, not only because it had been made by night, and without the usual ceremonies, and without the consent of the king, but also because it had not been made by the older and wiser part of the convent; and thus setting forth these reasons, they asked that that election should be confirmed, which was made before fitting witnesses in open day and by consent, and in presence of the king. When this side of the question had been heard and plainly understood, the pleader on the part of the sub-prior set forth that the second election was null and void, inasmuch as, whatever might have been the nature of the first election, whether just or unjust, that said first election ought to have been annulled before the second was made; wherefore he firmly demanded that the first election should be deemed valid. At length, after long arguments on both sides, our lord the pope, seeing that the parties could not agree in fixing on the same person, and that both elections had been made irregularly, and not according to the decrees of the holy canons, by the advice of his cardinals, annulled both elections, laying the apostolic interdict on the parties, and by definitive judgment ordering, that neither of them should again aspire to the honours of the archbishopric.*

* M. Paris adds :—"In fine, this was the cause and fertile source of error. The king had given his word by the mouth of twelve monks of Canterbury that he would accept whomsoever they should elect. Now it had been agreed between the king and them, on oath, that they would elect no other person than John bishop of Norwich; and to the same effect they also had letters from the king. But the monks themselves, when they knew that the election of the aforesaid John was displeasing to the pope, were induced by the pope and cardinals to affirm that they could elect any one they pleased, and to elect secretly, provided that they made choice of an active man, and one who was a genuine Englishman, wherefore they chose, with the pope's advice, master Stephen Langton, cardinal, and equal, if not superior, to any in the court for probity and learning. From that time, therefore, the pope would not desert him in his manifold tribulations."

Of the promotion and consecration of master Stephen Langton.

The aforesaid elections being thus annulled, our lord the pope, being unwilling to permit the Lord's flock to be any longer without the care of a pastor, persuaded the monks of Canterbury, who had appeared before him as pleaders in the matter of the church of Canterbury, to elect master Stephen Langton, a cardinal priest, a man, as we have said, skilled in literary science, and discreet and accomplished in his manners; and he asserted that the promotion of that person would be of very great advantage, as well to the king himself, as to the whole English church. The monks, however, in answer to this, declared that they were not allowed, except by the king's consent and the choice of the canons, to consent to any person's election, or to make any election without them; but the pope, as if taking the words out of their mouths, said, "You may think that you have plenary powers in the church of Canterbury, but it is not the custom that the consent of princes is to be waited for concerning elections made at the apostolic see; therefore, by virtue of your obedience, and under penalty of our anathema, we command you, who are so many and such, that you fully suffice for making the election, to elect as archbishop the man whom we give you as a father and as pastor of your souls." The monks, dreading the sentence of excommunication, although reluctantly and with murmuring, gave their consent; the only one out of all of them who would not consent being master Elias de Brantfield, who had come on the part of the king and the bishop of Norwich, the rest of them chanted the "Te Deum," and carried the said archbishop-elect to the altar. He afterwards received consecration from the pope aforesaid at the city of Viterbo, on the 17th of June.*

* M. Paris adds:—"About this time pope Innocent, desiring to gain John over to favour his plans, and knowing that he was covetous and a diligent seeker after costly jewels, sent the following letter to him with such presents as may be seen in the same. 'Pope Innocent the Third, to John king of the English, greeting, &c.—Amongst the riches of the earth, which the eye of man desires and longs for as more precious than others, we believe that pure gold and precious stones hold the first place. Although perhaps your royal highness may abound in these and other riches, however, as a sign of regard and favour, we send to your highness four gold rings with divers jewels. We wish you particularly to remark in these, the

How pope Innocent sent letters to the king of England asking him to receive Stephen Langton, already consecrated, as archbishop.

After this matter was settled, pope Innocent sent letters to the king of England humbly and earnestly asking him to receive with kindness master Stephen Langton, a cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus, who was canonically elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and who tracing his origin from his kingdom, had not only gained the title of master in secular learning, but also that of doctor in theology; and especially since his life and morals surpassed the greatness of his learning, his character would be of no small advantage to the king's soul as well as his temporal affairs. Having by many arguments of this kind, alike gentle and persuasive, done his best to induce the king to consent; he, by letters ordered the prior and monks of Canterbury, by virtue of their obedience, to receive the above-named archbishop as their pastor, and humbly to obey him in temporal as well as

shape, number, material, and colour, that you may pay regard to the signification of them rather than to the gift. The rotundity signifies eternity, which has neither beginning nor end. Therefore your royal discretion may be led by the form of them, to pray for a passage from earthly to heavenly, from temporal to eternal things. The number of four, which is a square number, denotes the firmness of mind which is neither depressed in adversity, nor elated in prosperity; which will then be fulfilled when it is based on the four principal virtues, namely,—justice, fortitude, prudence, and temperance. In the first place, understand justice, which is to be shown in judgment; in the second, the fortitude which is to be shown in adversity; in the third, prudence, which is to be observed in doubtful circumstances; and in the fourth, moderation, which is not to be lost in prosperity. By the gold, is denoted wisdom: for as gold excels all metals, so wisdom excels all gifts, as the prophet bears witness, 'The spirit of wisdom shall rest upon him,' &c. There is nothing which it is more necessary for a king to possess. Wherefore the peaceful king Solomon asked wisdom only of the Lord, that by those means he might know how to govern the people entrusted to him. Moreover the greenness of the emerald denotes faith; the clearness of the sapphire hope; the redness of the pomegranate denotes charity; and the purity of the topaz good works, concerning which the Lord says, 'Let your light shine,' &c. In the emerald, then, you have what to believe; in the sapphire, what to hope for; in the pomegranate, what to love; and in the topaz, what to practise; that you ascend from one virtue to another till you see the Lord in Zion.' When these gifts were brought into the king's presence, he at first was much pleased with them; but not many days afterwards the pure gold was turned to dross and derision, the jewels into groans, and love into hatred, as the following narrative will show."

spiritual affairs. When at length the letters of our lord the pope came to the notice of the English king, he was exceedingly enraged, as much at the promotion of Stephen Langton as at the annulling of the election of the bishop of Norwich, and accused the monks of Canterbury of treachery; for he said that they had, to the prejudice of his rights, elected their sub-prior without his permission, and afterwards, to palliate their fault by giving satisfaction to him, they chose the bishop of Norwich; that they had also received money from the treasury for their expenses in obtaining the confirmation of the said bishop's election from the apostolic see; and to complete their iniquity, they had there elected Stephen Langton, his open enemy, and had obtained his consecration to the archbishopric. On this account the said king, in the fury of his anger and indignation, sent Fulk de Cantelu and Henry de Cornhill, two most cruel and inhuman knights, with armed attendants, to expel the monks of Canterbury, as if they were guilty of a crime against his injured majesty from England, or else to consign them to capital punishment. These knights were not slow to obey the commands of their lord, but set out for Canterbury, and, entering the monastery with drawn swords, in the king's name fiercely ordered the prior and monks to depart immediately from the kingdom of England as traitors to the king's majesty; and they affirmed with an oath that, if they (the monks) refused to do this, they would themselves set fire to the monastery, and the other offices adjoining it, and would burn all the monks themselves with their buildings. The monks, acting unadvisedly, departed without violence or laying hands on any one; all of them, except thirteen sick men who were lying in the infirmary unable to walk, they forthwith crossed into Flanders, and were honourably received at the abbey of St. Bertinus and other monasteries on the continent. Afterwards, by the orders of the king, some monks of the order of St. Augustine were placed in the church of Canterbury in their stead to perform the duties there; the before-mentioned Fulk managing, and even distributing and confiscating, all the property of the same monks, whilst their lands and those of the archbishop remained uncultivated. The aforesaid monks were driven from their monastery into exile on the fourteenth of July.

How the king of England sent threatening letters to the pope.

After having thus banished the monks of Canterbury, king John sent messengers with letters to the pope, in which he expressly and as it were threateningly accused him of having disgracefully annulled the election of the bishop of Norwich, and of having consecrated, as archbishop of Canterbury, Stephen Langton, a man altogether unknown to him, and who had been for a long time familiar with his declared enemies in the French kingdom; and what redounded more to the prejudice and subversion of the liberties which belonged to his crown, his consent was not duly asked by the monks who ought to have done so, and he, the pope, audaciously presumed to promote the same Stephen; and he asserted that he could not sufficiently wonder that he, the pope, as well as the whole court of Rome, did not recollect of how much consequence the regard of the English king had been to the Roman see till now, inasmuch as more abundant profits accrued to them from his kingdom of England than from all other countries on this side of the Alps. He added, moreover, that he would stand up for the rights of his crown, if necessary, even to death, and declared immutably that he could not be deterred from the election and promotion of the bishop of Norwich, which he knew would be advantageous to himself. Finally, he summed up the business by saying, that if he were not attended to in the foregoing matters, he would stop the track by sea against all who were going to Rome, that his territories might not be emptied of their wealth, and he himself be thus rendered less able to drive his enemies away from them; and, as there were plenty of archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the church, as well in England as in his other territories, who were well stored in all kinds of learning if he wanted them, he would not beg for justice or judgment from strangers out of his own dominions. When all this had been brought to the notice of the pope by the king's messengers, that pontiff wrote in reply as follows:

Answer of our lord the pope to the English king.

"Innocent bishop, servant of the servants of God, to his well beloved son in Christ, the illustrious John, king of the English, health, and the apostolic blessing. When we wrote

to you on the matter of the church of Canterbury, humbly and carefully, and with gentle exhortations and requests, you, if I may so speak, with all deference to your highness, wrote in reply to us contumaciously and waywardly, with threats and reproaches; and whereas we defer to you more than we ought, you show us less consideration than you ought; for if your devotion is very necessary to us, still our regard is no less advantageous to you. And, although in such a case we have never paid such honour to any prince as we have to you, you are endeavouring to lessen our dignity in a way that no prince has, in a like case, presumed to do; you set forth some frivolous excuses by which you assert that you cannot give your consent to the election of our beloved son, master Stephen, entitled a cardinal priest of St. Chrysogonus, because forsooth he has been intimate with your enemies, and is not personally known to you. Moreover, as the proverb of Solomon says, 'The net is cast in vain before the eyes of birds,' since we know that it is not to be imputed as a fault, but rather to be reckoned as a glory to him, that, when he was for a time at Paris studying the liberal arts, he made such advance in them that he was rewarded with the title of teacher, not only in civil acquirements, but also in theological learning; and so, whereas his life agrees with his doctrines, he was rewarded with the prebendal stall in the church of Paris; wherefore, we think it a wonder, if a man of such renown, and who derived his origin from your kingdom, could, as far as report goes, be unknown to you, especially when you wrote to him three times after he was promoted to the rank of cardinal by us, that, however you were disposed to summon him to your service, you nevertheless were glad that he was raised to a higher office. But it ought rather to take your attention, that he was born in your kingdom of parents who were faithful and devoted to you, and that he had been made a prebend in the church at York, which was a far greater and higher situation than that of Paris; whence, not only by reason of flesh and blood, but also by his holding ecclesiastical benefits and office, he was proved to have a sincere affection for you and your kingdom. But your messengers gave to us another reason for your not giving your consent to his election, which was forsooth, because you had never been asked for it by

those who ought to have asked your consent to it; and they declared that the letters in which we ordered you to send fitting agents to us on this matter had not reached you, and that the monks of Canterbury, although they had appeared before you on other business, had not sent letters or messengers to ask your consent to this. Wherefore, the same messengers asked with much earnestness, that, as far as it pleased us we would reserve to you the honour that the monks of Canterbury should ask the consent of their king, since it had not been done, and that we would grant a fitting delay for it to be done, that nothing derogatory to your rights might happen: putting forth something at last against the person of the archbishop elect, which, being done openly, ought to have restrained their tongues; especially as, even if true, it could no longer impede his election. Although it is not the custom, when elections are made at the apostolic see, to wait for the consent of any prince. However, two monks were sent to you for the special purpose of asking your consent, but they were detained at Dover, so that they were not able to fulfil their instructions; and the before-mentioned letters about the agents were in our presence delivered to your messengers that they might faithfully deliver them to you. We, too, who hold full authority over this same church of Canterbury, have condescended to ask a favour of a king; and our courier, who delivered the apostolic letters to you, also delivered the letters of the prior and monks, who, by command of the whole chapter of the church of Canterbury, had made the aforesaid election, which were written to ask your consent, and therefore we did not deem it our business again, after all these circumstances, to ask the royal consent; but we endeavoured, without inclining to the right or to the left, to do that which the canonical ordinances of the holy fathers order to be done, so that there may be no delay or difficulty in making proper arrangements that the Lord's flock may not be longer without the care of a pastor. Wherefore, let no one suggest it to your royal discretion or prudence, that we can in any way be diverted from the consummation of this business; since, when a canonical election is made according to rule without fraud or cunning of a fitting person, we could not, without loss of our good name or danger to our conscience, delay the completion of it. Therefore, well beloved son, to whose dignity

we have yielded deference more than we ought, endeavour to pay proper deference to our dignity, that you may be rewarded more abundantly with the grace of God and our favour; but perhaps, should you act otherwise, you may bring yourself into difficulties from which you will not easily be extricated; for it must be that He is supreme to whom every knee is bent, of those in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, and whose functions on earth we, although undeserving, are appointed to perform. Do not therefore acquiesce in the plans of those who are always longing to disquiet you, that they may fish better in the troubled water, but commit yourself to our good pleasure, which will surely tend to your praise, glory, and honour; because it would not be safe for you in this matter to show resistance to God and the church, for which the blessed martyr and glorious high priest Thomas recently shed his blood; especially, too, since your father and your brother of illustrious memory, at the time they were kings of England, abjured this wicked custom before the legates of the apostolic see. And we, if you with proper humility acquiesce in our wishes, will take care that no injury shall happen to you in this matter. Given at the Lateran in the tenth year of our pontificate."* In this same year, on the feast of St. Remigius, Isabel, queen of the English, bore to king John her first-born son, and he was named Henry, after his grandfather.

An eclipse of the moon.

A. D. 1208. King John kept Christmas at Windsor, where he distributed festive dresses amongst his knights; and on the day after the purification of St. Mary, an eclipse of the moon took place, which first appeared of a blood red and afterwards of a dingy colour. About the same time Philip bishop of Durham, and Geoffrey bishop of Chester, paid the debt of nature. In this year, too, queen Isabel bore a legitimate son to king John, which she named Richard.

* "About that time died Simon, bishop of Chichester. All the property of the monks of Canterbury was confiscated on the day of the translation of St. Swithun; but Geoffrey, archbishop of York, secretly fled across the sea, not choosing to agree to the exaction of the thirteenth part. An eclipse of the sun took place, which lasted from the sixth to the ninth hour, and one of the moon too on the same day."—*M. Paris.*

The king of England admonished by our lord the pope.

In the same year pope Innocent, on learning that king John's heart was so hardened, that he would not either by persuasion or threats be induced to acquiesce in receiving Stephen as archbishop of Canterbury, was touched to the heart with grief, and, by advice of his cardinals, sent orders to William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Mauger bishop of Winchester, to go to the said king, about the matter of the church of Canterbury, and to give him wholesome counsel to yield to God in this matter, and so secure the Lord's favour; but if they found him contumacious and rebellious as he had hitherto been, he ordered them to lay an interdict on the whole kingdom of England, and to denounce to the said king that, if he did not check his boldness by that means, he, the pope, would lay his hand on him still more heavily; since it was necessary for him to conquer, who for the safety of the holy church had made war on the devil and his angels, and despoiled the cloisters of hell. He also, by letters of the apostolic see, gave orders to the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury, and to the other prelates of that diocese, that, by virtue of their obedience, they were to receive the aforesaid archbishop as their father and pastor, and were to obey him with all due affection.

How England was laid under general interdict.

The bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester, in execution of the legateship entrusted to them, went to king John, and after duly setting forth the apostolic commands, entreated of him humbly and with tears, that he, having God in his sight, would recall the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury to their church, and honour and love them with perfect affection; and they informed him that thus he would avoid the shame of an interdict, and the Disposer of rewards would, if he did so, multiply his temporal honours on him, and after his death would bestow lasting glory on him. When the said bishops wished, out of regard to the king, to prolong the discourse, the king became nearly mad with rage, and broke forth in words of blasphemy against the pope and his cardinals, swearing by God's teeth, that, if they or any other priests soever presumptuously dared to lay his domi-

nions under an interdict, he would immediately send all the prelates of England, clerks as well as ordained persons, to the pope, and confiscate all their property; he added moreover, that all the clerks of Rome or of the pope himself who could be found in England or in his other territories, he would send to Rome with their eyes plucked out, and their noses slit, that by these marks they might be known there from other people; in addition to this he plainly ordered the bishops to take themselves quickly from his sight, if they wished to keep their bodies free from harm. The bishops then, not finding any repentance in the king, departed, and in the Lent following, fearlessly fulfilled the duty required of them by the pope, and accordingly on the morning of Monday in Passion week, which that year fell on the 23rd of March, they laid a general interdict on the whole of England; which, since it was expressed to be by authority of our lord the pope, was inviolably observed by all without regard of person or privileges. Therefore all church services ceased to be performed in England, with the exception only of confession, and the viaticum in cases of extremity, and the baptism of children; the bodies of the dead too were carried out of cities and towns, and buried in roads and ditches without prayers or the attendance of priests. What need I say more? The bishops, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Mauger of Winchester, Jocelyn of Bath, and Giles of Hereford, left England privily, thinking it better to avoid the anger of the enraged king for a time, than to dwell without any good effects in a country which lay under interdict.

How king John, on account of the interdict, confiscated all the property of the clergy.

The king of England being greatly enraged on account of the interdict, sent his sheriffs, and other ministers of iniquity, to all quarters of England, giving orders with dreadful threats to all priests as well as to those subject to them, to depart the kingdom immediately, and to demand justice to be afforded him by the pope for this injury; he also gave all the bishoprics, abbacies, and priories, into the charge of laymen, and ordered all ecclesiastical revenues to be confiscated; but the generality of the prelates of England had cautiously turned their attention to this, and refused to quit their

monasteries unless expelled by violence; and when the agents of the king found this out, they would not use violence towards them, because they had not a warrant from the king to that effect; but they converted all their property to the king's use, giving them only a scanty allowance of food and clothing out of their own property. The corn of the clergy was every where locked up, and distrained for the benefit of the revenue; the concubines of the priests and clerks were taken by the king's servants and compelled to ransom themselves at a great expense; religious men and other persons ordained of any kind, when found travelling on the road, were dragged from their horses, robbed, and basely ill-treated by the satellites of the king, and no one would do them justice. About that time the servants of a certain sheriff on the confines of Wales came to the king bringing in their custody a robber with his hands tied behind him, who had robbed and murdered a priest on the road; and on their asking the king what it was his pleasure should be done to the robber in such a case, the king immediately answered, "He has slain an enemy of mine, release him and let him go." The relations, too, of the archbishop and bishops, who had laid England under an interdict, wherever they could be found, were by the king's orders taken, robbed of all their property, and thrown into prison. Whilst they were enduring all these evils, these aforesaid prelates were sojourning on the continent, living on all kinds of delicacies instead of placing themselves as a wall for the house of God, as the saying of the Redeemer has it, "When they saw the wolf coming, they quitted the sheep and fled."

How king John received the homage of the nobles of England.

In the midst of these and similar impious proceedings, king John, on reflection, was afraid that, after the interdict, our lord the pope would lay his hands on him more heavily by excommunicating him by name, or by absolving the nobles of England from allegiance to him; he, therefore, that he might not lose his rights of sovereignty, sent an armed force to all the men of rank in the kingdom especially those of whom he was suspicious, and demanded hostages of them, by which he could, if in course of time they were released from their fealty, recall them to their due obedience; many

acquiesced in the king's demands, some delivering to his messengers their sons, and others their nephews and other relations in the flesh. When they at length came to William de Brause, a man of noble blood, and demanded hostages from him, as they had done from others, Matilda, wife of the said William, with the sauciness of a woman, took the reply out of his mouth, and said to the messengers in reply, "I will not deliver up my sons to your lord, king John, because he basely murdered his nephew, Arthur, whom he ought to have taken care of honourably." Her husband on hearing her speech rebuked her, and said, "Thou hast spoken like a foolish woman against our lord the king; for if I have offended him in anything, I am and shall be ready to give satisfaction to my lord and that without hostages, according to the decision of his court and of my fellow barons, if he will fix on a time and place for my so doing." The messengers, on their return to the king, told him what they had heard, at which he was seriously enraged, and privily sent some knights and their followers to seize this William and his family; but he, being forewarned by his friends, fled with his wife, children, and relatives, into Ireland. In this same year the white monks, who at the commencement of the interdict had ceased their functions, afterwards, at the command of the chief abbat of their order, presumed to perform sacred duties; but this piece of presumption coming to the notice of the supreme pontiff they were again suspended to their greater confusion.

How the king of the English sent a great sum of money to his nephew Otho.

A.D. 1209. King John was at Bristol at Christmas, and there he forbade the taking of birds throughout all England. After this Henry duke of Suabia came from Otho king of Germany to England to see king John, and after receiving a large sum of money for the said Otho's use he returned home again. In this year too, by the intercession of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, the indulgence of performing divine duties once in the week was granted to the conventual churches in England; but the white monks were debarred from this indulgence, because, although they had at the commencement of the interdict abstained therefrom, they had

afterwards, at the bidding of their principal abbat, presumed to perform them without consulting the pope. About this same time, Louis, son of Philip king of France, and his first born and legitimate heir, was by his father made a belted knight at Compiegne, and a hundred other nobles with him.

How the king of the English entered into a treaty of alliance with the king of Scots.

About that time king John collected a large force, and turned his arms against Scotland. When he came to the county of Northumberland, to a castle called Norham, he there drew up his army in order of battle against the king of Scots; but when the latter monarch was told of this, he was afraid to engage with him, since he knew the English king's proneness to all kinds of cruelty, but he came to meet that monarch to treat for peace. But the king of England, being enraged, bitterly reproached him with having received in his kingdom his fugitive subjects and open enemies, and with having afforded assistance and shown kindness to them, to the prejudice of him the English king. However when John had set forth all these matters to the said king of Scots, they entered into an agreement, by which the latter was to give to the English monarch twelve thousand marks of silver as a security for peace, and should moreover, for the better security of it, give him his two daughters as hostages, that, by this arrangement the peace might be more confirmed between them. The latter king then departed from the above-mentioned castle on the 28th of June, and gave orders for all the hedges to be burnt and the ditches to be levelled throughout the forests of all England, and for the pasturage to be laid open for the consumption of cattle. Afterwards he received homage from all his free tenants, and even from boys of twelve years old throughout the whole kingdom, and after they had given their fealty he received them with a kiss of peace and dismissed them. And, what had never been heard of in times past, the Welsh came to the king at Woodstock and there did homage to him, although it was burdensome to rich as well as poor. In this same year Otho son of the duke of Saxony, and nephew of the king of England, was consecrated emperor of Rome by pope Innocent on the 4th of October. About this same time a certain clerk,

who was studying the liberal arts at Oxford, accidentally slew a woman, and when he found that she was dead he consulted his own safety by flight. But the mayor of the city and several other persons coming up, and finding the dead woman, began to search for the murderer in his house, which he had rented, together with three others his fellow clerks, and not finding the murderer, they made prisoners of his three fellow clerks, who were altogether ignorant of the murder, and thrust them into prison; and a few days afterwards they were, by order of the king, in contempt of the rights of the church, taken outside the city and hung. On this the clerks to the number of three thousand, masters as well as pupils, retired from Oxford, so that not one remained out of the whole university; some of these went to Cambridge, and others to Reading to pursue their studies, leaving the city of Oxford empty. In the same year Hugh archdeacon of Wells, and chancellor of the king, was, by the management of the said king, elected to the bishopric of Lincoln, and immediately after the election was made, he received from the king free jurisdiction over the whole bishopric.

How king John was excommunicated by name.

King John had now for nearly two years, as has been said before, unceasingly continued throughout England, on account of the interdict, a most severe persecution against the clergy as well as some of the laity, and had entirely destroyed all kind of hope in every one of any improvement or satisfaction, and pope Innocent could no longer put off the punishment of his rebellion; wherefore, by the advice of his cardinals, he, in order to cut up by the root such an insult to the church, gave orders to the bishops of London, Ely, and Winchester, to declare the said king excommunicated by name, and solemnly to publish this sentence every Sunday and feast day in all the conventual churches throughout England, that thus the king might be more strictly shunned by every one. But after the aforesaid bishops had, by the apostolic authority, entrusted the publication of this sentence to their fellow bishops who had remained in England, and to the other prelates of the church, they all, through fear of or regard for the king, became like dumb dogs not daring to bark, wherefore they put off fulfilling the duty enjoined on

them by the apostolic mandate, and failed to proceed according to the usual course of justice. Nevertheless in a short time the decree became known to all in the roads and streets, and even in the places of assembly of the people it afforded a subject of secret conversation to all; amongst others, as Geoffrey archdeacon of Norwich was one day sitting in the Exchequer at Westminster, attending to the king's business, he began to talk privately with his companions who sat with him, of the decree which was sent forth against the king, and said that it was not safe for beneficed persons to remain any longer in their allegiance to an excommunicated king; after saying which, he went to his own house without asking the king's permission. This event coming soon after to the knowledge of the king, he was not a little annoyed, and sent William Talbot a knight, with some soldiers, to seize the archdeacon, and they, after he was taken, bound him in chains and threw him into prison; after he had been there a few days, by command of the said king a cap of lead was put on him, and at length, being overcome by want of food as well as by the weight of the leaden cap, he departed to the Lord.

Of the evil counsel of the wicked Alexander.

During the time of the interdict a pseudo-theologist, one Master Alexander, surnamed the Mason, insinuated himself into the king's favour, and by his iniquitous preachings he in a great measure incited the king to acts of cruelty; for he said that this universal scourge was not brought on England by any fault of the king's, but by the wickedness of his subjects; he also declared that he, the king, was the rod of God, and had been made a prince in order to rule his people and others subject to him with a rod of iron, and to break them all "like a potter's vessel," to bind those in power with shackles, and his nobles with manacles of iron. By some specious arguments he proved that it was not the pope's business to meddle with the lay estates of kings or of any potentates whatever, or with the government of their subjects; especially as nothing, except the power only over the church and church property, had been conferred by the Lord on St. Peter. By these and the like fallacies, he so gained favour with the king, that he obtained several benefices

which had been taken from religious men by the said king's violence; but as soon as the perversity of this man came to the ears of the supreme pontiff, he was, by the pope's own management, deprived of all his goods and benefices, and at length reduced to such wretchedness, that he was compelled by necessity in the poorest clothing to beg his bread from door to door; and the multitude looked on him with derision saying, "Behold the man who did not make God his helper, but put his trust in the multitude of his riches, and strengthened himself in his vanity; let him therefore be always before the Lord, that the recollection of him may perish from the earth, because he did not call it to his mind to show compassion; therefore the Lord will destroy him to the end, and his speech shall be against him as a sin, so that his habitation may be blotted out from the land of the living."

Of the consecration of Hugh bishop of Lincoln.

In this same year Hugh bishop elect of Lincoln, obtained leave from the king to cross over to France, that he might receive consecration from the archbishop of Rouen, but as soon as he had landed in Normandy, he went to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and after making his canonical submission to that prelate, he was by him consecrated on the 20th of December. When this was discovered by the king, he immediately took possession of all the said bishopric, and converted all the emoluments of it to his own uses: he also gave up his seal to Walter de Gray and appointed him his chancellor, and he made the king's pleasure his business in managing all the affairs of the kingdom.

How the Jews were compelled to pay a heavy ransom.

A.D. 1210. King John was at Windsor at Christmas, and all the nobles of England were present and conversing with him, notwithstanding the sentence under which he was bound, a rumour of which, although it had not been published, had spread through all parts of England, and come to the ears of every body; for the king endeavoured to work evil to all who absented themselves from him. Afterwards, by the king's order, all the Jews throughout England, of both sexes, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured severely, in order to do the king's will with their money; some of them then after

being tortured gave up all they had and promised more, that they might thus escape; one of this sect at Bristol, even after being dreadfully tortured, still refused to ransom himself or to put an end to his sufferings, on which the king ordered his agents to knock out one of his cheek-teeth daily, until he paid ten thousand marks of silver to him; after they had for seven days knocked out a tooth each day with great agony to the Jew, and had begun the same operation on the eighth day, the said Jew, reluctant as he was to provide the money required, gave the said sum to save his eighth tooth, although he had already lost seven.

Of the excommunication of the emperor Otho.

About that time, Otho the Roman emperor, remembering the oath which he had made on his elevation to the empire by the pope, namely, that he would preserve the dignity of the empire and, as far as lay in his power, would recall its scattered rights, caused an inquiry to be made, on the oaths of legal men, concerning the castles of his domain, and other rights appertaining to the imperial dignity, and whatever was found to belong to the throne he endeavoured to convert to his own use. On this there arose a serious dispute between the pope and the emperor, because when the throne of the empire was vacant, the said pope had taken possession of several castles with other things which pertained to the empire; wherefore the emperor, because he endeavoured to recover what was his own, aroused the hatred of the pope without deserving it. The same emperor also seriously annoyed Frederic king of Sicily, who had, in the same way, when the imperial throne was unoccupied, taken possession of some fortified places; whereupon the said pope by messengers and letters frequently warned the said emperor to desist from this persecution of the church of Rome, as well as from disinheriting the king of Sicily, and the guardianship entrusted to the apostolic see. In reply to these messengers of the pope the emperor is said to have made this answer; "If," said he, "the supreme pontiff desires unjustly to possess the rights of the empire, let him release me from the oath which he compelled me to take on my consecration to the imperial dignity, namely, that I would recover the alienated rights of the empire, and maintain those which I

had." At length as the pope refused to absolve the emperor from the oath which all emperors at their consecration are bound to take on the holy gospel, the emperor on the other hand refused to give up the rights of the empire, which he had, for the most part, recovered by force; the said pope, therefore, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the emperor, and absolved all the nobles of Germany, as well as of the Roman empire, from allegiance to him.

How the king of England led an army into Ireland.

In this same year king John assembled a large army at Pembroke in Wales, and set out for Ireland, where he arrived on the sixth of June. On his arrival at the city of Dublin, more than twenty of the chiefs of that district met him in the greatest alarm, and did homage, and swore fealty to him; some few of them however would not do this, scorning to come to the king because they dwelt in impregnable places. He there made and ordained English laws and customs, appointing sheriffs and other agents to govern the people of that kingdom according to English laws; he appointed John, bishop of Norwich, justiciary there, who caused a penny to be coined for that country the same weight as the English penny, and he also ordered a halfpenny and a round farthing to be coined. The king also ordered that that money should be used in common by all, as well in England as in Ireland, and that the penny of both kingdoms should be placed alike in his treasury. Of the roundness of this money the prophet Merlin prophesied—"The form of commerce shall be divided, and the half will be round." After this the king proceeded in great force, and took several of the fortresses of his enemies, and Walter de Lacy, a man of noble race, fled before him, together with several others, who were afraid of falling into his hands. When he came to the county of Meath, he besieged the wife of William de Brause, and William her son, with his wife in a fortress there, and making prisoners of them he sent them loaded with chains into England, and ordered them to be closely confined in Windsor Castle. At length king John, after arranging matters at his pleasure throughout the greatest part of all Ireland, embarked triumphantly, and landed in England on the twenty-ninth of August; he then hurried off to London and ordered all the

prelates of England to meet in his presence. To this general assembly there came abbats, priests, abbesses, templars, hospitallers, the governors of vills, of the order of Cluny, and of other foreign districts, men of every rank and order, and they were all compelled to pay such heavy ransoms, and to make so great an expenditure of the church property, that the amount of the money extorted is said to have exceeded a hundred thousand pounds sterling; the white monks, too, of the kingdom of England, exclusive of the rest, after being deprived of their privileges, were compelled to pay forty thousand pounds of silver to the king in this taxation. In this year, too, the noblewoman Matilda, wife of William de Brause, and her son and heir William, with his wife, who had been imprisoned at Windsor by order of the English king, died of starvation at that place.

How the king of England subdued the Welsh princes.

A. D. 1211. At Christmas, king John was at York in company with the earls and barons of his kingdom; and in this year, too, the said king collected a large army at Whitchurch, and marched into Wales on the eighth of July, and penetrated in great force into the interior of that country as far as Snowdon, destroying all the places he came to; he subdued all the princes and nobles without opposition, and received twenty-eight hostages for their submission for the future. After these successes he returned, on the day of St. Mary's Assumption, to Whitchurch, from which place he went to Northampton, and there he met two messengers with letters from our lord the pope, namely Pandulph, a subdeacon and a cardinal of the apostolic see, and Durand, a brother of the knights of the Temple, who had come for the purpose of restoring peace between the king and the priesthood. The king, after advising with the messengers, willingly granted permission for the archbishop of Canterbury and the monks, as well as all the proscribed bishops, to return to their homes in peace; but as he refused to make good to the archbishop and bishops the losses they had sustained, or to satisfy them for their property which had been confiscated, the messengers returned to France without concluding the business. King John, after this, levied a tax on the knights who had not been with the army in Wales, of two marks of

silver for each scutcheon. In this year a man of noble blood, the renowned knight Roger, constable of Chester, closed his life.

How the French king banished Reginald count of Boulogne.

About this time Reginald count of Boulogne, a bold and warlike man, was unjustly expelled from his county by the French king, and deprived of all his property; and, after his expulsion, the said king gave his own son Philip, the same county, together with the daughter and legitimate heiress of the said count, to be held by him as his right for ever. But count Reginald came to England and was honourably received by king John, from whose generosity he received three hundred pounds of landed revenue, on which he did homage and swore fealty to the said king.

Of the death of William de Brause.

About the same time William de Brause the elder, who had fled into France from king John, closed his life at Corbeil, and was buried with honours at the convent of St. Victor at Paris. In this year, too, pope Innocent, being astonished beyond measure at king John's contumaciousness in rejecting the wholesome advice of the messengers he had sent to treat with him, absolved from all fealty and allegiance to the English king, the princes, and all others, low as well as high, who owed duty to the English crown, plainly and under penalty of excommunication, ordering them strictly to avoid associating with him at the table, in council, or converse. At the time of this interdict the king had most evil counsellors, the names of whom, in part, I will not omit to mention here; William brother of the king, and earl of Salisbury, Alberic de Vere earl of Oxford, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter justiciary, three courtier bishops, Philip of Durham, Peter of Winchester, and John of Norwich, Richard Marshall chancellor, Hugh de Neville master of the forests, William de Wrotham warden of the sea-ports, Robert de Vipont and Ivo his brother, Brian de Lisle and Geoffrey de Luci, Hugh de Baliol and Bernard his brother, William de Cantelu and William his son, Fulk de Cantelu, and Henry de Cornhill sheriff of Kent, Robert de Braybrook and Henry his son, Philip d'Ulecote and John de Bassingbourne, Philip Marcy,

castellan of Nottingham, Peter de Maulei and Robert de Gaugi, Gerard de Atie and Engelard his nephew, Fulk and William Briuere, Peter Fitz-Herebert and Thomas Bassett, with many others, to mention whom would be tedious; and all these, in their desire to please the king, gave their advice, not according to reason, but as the king's pleasure dictated.

How the king of England knighted Alexander son of the king of Scots.

A.D. 1212. King John was at Windsor at Christmas; and on Easter Sunday in the Lent following, the said king held a feast at London, at St. Bridget's, in the hospital of Clerkenwell, where, at table, he knighted Alexander, son and heir of the king of Scotland. In the same year died at Pontigny, Mauger bishop of Winchester, who was an exile and proscribed man for his protection of the rights of the church, and his maintenance of justice.

How the king of England was forewarned of treachery against himself.

About this time the Welsh burst fiercely forth from their hiding-places, and took some of the English king's castles, decapitating all they found in them, knights and soldiers alike; they also burnt several towns, and at length, after collecting great quantities of booty, they again betook themselves to their retreats without any loss to themselves. When these events became known to the English king, he was very indignant, and collected a numerous army of horse and foot soldiers, determining to ravage the Welsh territories, and to exterminate the inhabitants. On his arriving with his army at Nottingham, before he either ate or drank, he ordered twenty-eight youths, whom he had received the year before as hostages from the Welsh, to be hung on the gibbet, in revenge for the above-mentioned transgressions of their countrymen. Whilst he was, after this, sitting at table eating and drinking, there came a messenger from the king of Scotland, who delivered letters, warning him of premeditated treachery against him; soon after which there came another messenger from the daughter of the same king, the wife of Leolin king of Wales; this second messenger brought letters unlike the former ones, and told the king that the contents were a secret. After his meal the king took him aside and ordered him to explain the meaning of the letters; these, although they came

from different countries, were to one and the same effect, which was that, if the king persisted in the war which he had begun, he would either be slain by his own nobles, or delivered to his enemies for destruction. The king was greatly alarmed on learning this; and, as he knew that the English nobles were absolved from their allegiance to him, he put more faith in the truth of the letters; therefore, wisely changing his intention, he ordered his army to return home, he himself going to the city of London, where, on his arrival, he sent messengers to all the nobles, of whose fidelity to himself he had suspicions, and demanded hostages from them that he might thus find out who were willing, and who unwilling, to obey him. The nobles, not daring to disobey the king's commands, sent their sons, nieces, and other relatives at the pleasure of the king, and thus his anger was in some small degree assuaged; however, Eustace de Vesci, and Robert Fitz-Walter, who had been accused of the above-mentioned treachery, and were strongly suspected by the king, left England, Eustace retiring to Scotland, and Robert to France.

Of Peter the hermit and his prophecy.

About this time there dwelled in the county of York a certain hermit named Peter, who was considered a wise man, on account of his having foretold to a number of people many circumstances which were about to happen; amongst other things, which, in his spirit of prophecy, he had seen concerning John the English king, he openly and before all declared, that he would not be a king on the next approaching Ascension-day, nor afterwards; for he foretold that on that day the crown of England would be transferred to another. This assertion coming to the knowledge of the king, the hermit was, by his orders, brought before him, and the king asked him if he should die on that day, or how he would be deprived of the throne of the kingdom: the hermit replied, "Rest assured that on the aforesaid day you will not be a king; and if I am proved to have told a lie, do what you will with me." The king then said to him, "Be it as you say;" and he then delivered the hermit into the custody of William d'Harcourt, who loaded him with chains, and kept him imprisoned at Corfe to await the event of his pro-

phecy. This declaration of the hermit was soon spread abroad even to the most remote provinces, so that almost all who heard it put faith in his words as though his prediction had been declared from heaven. There were at this time in the kingdom of England many nobles, whose wives and daughters the king had violated to the indignation of their husbands and fathers; others whom he had by unjust exactions reduced to the extreme of poverty; some whose parents and kindred he had exiled, converting their inheritances to his own uses; thus the said king's enemies were as numerous as his nobles. Therefore at this crisis, on learning that they were absolved from their allegiance to John, they were much pleased, and, if report is to be credited, they sent a paper, sealed with the seals of each of the said nobles, to the king of the French, telling him that he might safely come to England, take possession of the kingdom, and be crowned with all honour and dignity.

How sentence of deposition was passed upon king John.

About this time Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops William of London, and Eustace of Ely, went to Rome and informed the pope of the divers rebellions and enormities perpetrated by the king of England from the time of the interdict up to the present time, by unceasingly laying the hands of rage and cruelty on the holy church in opposition to the Lord; and they therefore humbly supplicated the pope in his pious compassion to assist the church of England, now labouring as it were in its last extremities. The pope then being deeply grieved for the desolation of the kingdom of England, by the advice of his cardinals, bishops, and other wise men, definitively decreed that John king of England should be deposed from the throne of that kingdom, and that another, more worthy than he, to be chosen by the pope, should succeed him. In pursuance of this his decree, our lord the pope wrote to the most potent Philip, king of the French, ordering him, in remission of all his faults, to undertake this business, and declaring that, after he had expelled the English king from the throne of that kingdom, he and his successors should hold possession of the kingdom of England for ever. Besides this, he wrote to all the nobles knights, and other warlike men throughout the differ-

ent countries, ordering them to assume the sign of the cross, and to follow the king of the French as their leader, to dethrone the English king, and thus to revenge the insult which had been cast on the universal church: he also ordered that all those who afforded money or personal assistance in overthrowing that contumacious king, should, like those who went to visit the Lord's sepulchre, remain secure under the protection of the church, as regarded their property, persons, and spiritual interests. After this the pope, on his part, sent Pandulph, a sub-deacon, with the archbishop and bishops above-named, into the French provinces, that in his own presence all his commands above related might be fulfilled; Pandulph, however, on leaving the pope when all others were away from him, secretly inquired of his holiness what it was his pleasure should be done, if by chance he should find any of the fruits of repentance in John, so that he would give satisfaction to the Lord and the church of Rome for all matters in regard of this business. The pope then dictated a simple form of peace, and said that if John determined to agree to it, he might find favour with the apostolic see. A description of the terms of this is hereafter contained.*

* "About the same time the king ordered Geoffrey of Norwich, a faithful clerk of his, a prudent and skilful man, to be seized and imprisoned in the castle of Nottingham, where he was put to death with the most exquisite tortures. On learning this, master William Neccot, a companion of the said Geoffrey, and a man of great courage, fled into France, and secreted himself at Corbeil, that he might not be put to death without cause like Geoffrey. About the same time too, king John sent for Faulkes, whom he had appointed to take charge of some place in the marshes of Wales, that he might join him in venting his rage on the barons, knowing that he did not fear to commit any crime. This wicked freebooter was a Norman by birth, and illegitimate. He even acted much more cruelly against the barons than he had been ordered to, as will be related hereafter; and on that account the king, becoming favourable to him, gave him in marriage a noble lady named Margaret de Riparia, with all the lands belonging to her. In this same year, on the night of the translation of St. Benedict, the church of St. Mary at Southwark, in London, was burned, and also the bridge of London between three pillars, as well as a chapel on the bridge, besides a great portion of the city, and part of the town of Southwark, the fire making its way across the bridge. By this calamity about a thousand people were killed, including many women and children."—*M. Paris.*

The return of the archbishop of Canterbury and of the said bishops, from the apostolic see, and the death of Geoffrey archbishop of York.

A.D. 1213. King John held his court at Christmas as Westminster with only a very small company of knights in his train; and about that time died Geoffrey archbishop of York, who had been an exile for seven years owing to his defence of the rights of the church and his maintenance of justice. In the month of January, in this same year, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and William and Eustace the bishops of London and Ely, returned from the court of Rome, and held a council on the continent, at which they with due solemnity made known the decree which had been sent forth against the English king for his contumacy, to the king of the French, to the French bishops and clergy, and to people in general; afterwards, in the name of our lord the pope, they enjoined on the king of the French as well as all others, that, as a remission of their sins, they should all unitedly invade England, depose John from the throne of that kingdom, and appoint another, under the apostolic authority, who should be worthy to fill it. The king of the French, seeing what he had long desired come to pass, made his preparations for war, and ordered all his subjects alike, dukes, counts, barons, knights, and attendants, equipped with horses and arms, to assemble in force at Rouen in the octaves of Easter, under penalty of being branded with cowardice, and of incurring the charge of treason. He likewise ordered all his own ships, and as many others as he could collect, to be well supplied with corn, wine, meat, and other stores, that there might be abundance of all necessaries for so large an army.

King John's preparations to resist his coming enemies.

King John, learning, by means of his spies, what was going forward in the transmarine provinces, prepared to make the best defence he could against the plans prepared against him; he therefore ordered a list to be made of all the ships in each of the ports of England, by a warrant which he sent to each of the bailiffs of the ports to the following effect: "*John, king of England, &c.*—We command you that, immediately on receipt of these our letters, you go in person, together with the bailiffs of the ports to each of the harbours

in your bailiwick, and make a careful list of all the ships there found capable of carrying six horses or more; and that, in our name, you order the masters as well as the owners of those ships, as they regard themselves, their ships, and all their property, to have them at Portsmouth at Midlent, well equipped with stores, tried seamen, and good soldiers, to enter into our service for our deliverance; and that you then and there make a true and distinct list of how many ships you find in each port, whose they are, and how many horses each ship can carry; and you then inform us how many and what ships are not in their harbours on the Sunday after Ash-Wednesday, as we had ordered; and this shall be your warrant for the same. Witness, myself, at the New Temple, this third day of March." Having thus arranged about the ships, the king sent other letters to all the sheriffs of his kingdom to the following effect: "*John, king of England, &c.* — Give warning by good agents to the earls, barons, knights, and all free and serving men, whoever they be, or by whatever tenure they hold, who ought to have, or may procure, arms, who have made homage and sworn allegiance to us, that, as they regard us, as well as themselves and all their own property, they be at Dover at the end of the coming Lent, equipped with horses and arms, and with all they can provide, to defend our person and their persons, and the land of England, and let no one who can carry arms remain behind under penalty of being branded with cowardice, and of being condemned to perpetual slavery; and let each man follow his lord; and let those who possess no land, and who can carry arms, come to take service with us as mercenaries. And send, moreover, all victualling conveyances, and all the markets of your bailiwick to follow our army, so that no market may be held elsewhere in your bailiwick, and do you yourself attend at that place with your agents aforesaid. And be sure that we wish to know in what manner all come from your bailiwick, and who come, and who do not; and see that you come properly supplied with horses and arms, so that we may not be obliged to deal with you in person. And see that you have a roll, so as to inform us of those who remain." On these letters being spread abroad throughout England, there assembled at the sea-ports in different parts which most attracted the king's

attention, such as Dover, Feversham, and Ipswich, men of divers conditions and ages, who dreaded nothing more than the name of coward; but after a few days, on account of their vast numbers, provisions failed them, therefore the commanders of the army sent home a large number of the inexperienced men, retaining only at the coast the soldiers, attendants, and free-men, with the cross-bow men, and archers. Moreover, John bishop of Norwich came to the king from Ireland with five hundred knights, and a body of horse soldiers, and was graciously received by him. When the whole of the forces were assembled at Barham Down, the army was computed to consist of sixty thousand strong, including chosen knights and their followers, all well armed; and had they been of one heart and one disposition towards the king of England, and in defence of their country, there was not a prince under heaven against whom they could not have defended the kingdom of England. The king determined to engage his enemies at sea, to drown them before they landed, for he had a more powerful fleet than the French king, and in that he placed his chief means of defence.

Pandulph comes to the king.

Whilst the English king was with his army waiting the approach of the king of the French near the sea-coast, two of the brothers of the Temple arrived at Dover, and coming to the king in a friendly manner said to him, "We have been sent to you, most potent king, for the benefit of yourself and your kingdom, by Pandulph the subdeacon and familiar of our lord the pope, who desires to have an interview with you; and he will propose to you a form of peace, by which you can be reconciled to God and to the church, although you have by the court of Rome been deposed from your right to the sovereignty of England, and been condemned by decree of that court." The king then, on hearing the speech of the templars, ordered them immediately to cross the sea and fetch Pandulph to him. Pandulph therefore, on this invitation of the king came to him at Dover, and spoke to him in these words, "Behold, the most potent king of the French is at the mouth of the Seine with a countless fleet, and a large army of horse and foot, waiting till he is strengthened with a larger force, to come upon you and your

kingdom, and to expel you from it by force, as an enemy to the Lord and the supreme pontiff, and afterwards, by authority of the apostolic see to take possession of the kingdom of England for ever. There are also coming with him all the bishops who have for a long while been banished from England, with the exiled clergy and laity, by his assistance, to recover by force their episcopal sees and other property, and to fulfil to him for the future the obedience formerly shown to you and your ancestors. The said king moreover says that he holds papers of fealty and subjection from almost all the nobles of England, on which account he feels secure of bringing the business he has undertaken to a most successful termination. Consult therefore your own advantage, and become penitent as if you were in your last moments, and delay not to appease that God whom you have provoked to a heavy vengeance. If you are willing to give sufficient security that you will submit to the judgment of the church, and to humble yourself before Him who humbled himself for you, you may, through the compassion of the apostolic see, recover the sovereignty, from which you have been abjudicated at Rome on account of your contumacy. Now therefore reflect, lest your enemies shall have cause to rejoice over you, and bring not yourself into difficulties, from which, however you may wish to do so, you will not be able to extricate yourself."

How king John was aroused to repentance.

King John, hearing and seeing the truth of all this, was much annoyed and alarmed, seeing how imminent the danger was on every side. There were four principal reasons, which urged him to repentance and atonement; the first was that he had been now for five years lying under excommunication, and had so offended God and the holy church, that he gave up all hopes of saving his soul; the second was, that he dreaded the arrival of the French king, who was waiting near the sea-coast with a countless army, and planning his downfall; the third was, he feared, should he give battle to his approaching enemies, lest he should be abandoned to himself in the field by the nobles of England and his own people, or be given up to his enemies for destruction; but his fourth reason alarmed him more than all the rest,

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for the day of our Lord's ascension was drawing near, when he feared that, according to the prophecy of Peter the hermit mentioned above, he should with his life lose the temporal as well as the eternal kingdom. Being therefore driven to despair by these and the like reasons he yielded to the persuasions of Pandulph, and, although not without pain, he granted the underwritten form of peace; he also swore by the holy gospels in the presence of Pandulph, that he would be obedient to the church's sentence, and sixteen of the most powerful nobles of the kingdom swore on the soul of the king himself, that, should he repent of his promise, they would, to the utmost of their power, compel him to fulfil it.

Charter of king John for giving satisfaction to the archbishop and monks of Canterbury, and other prelates of England, and for the restitution of their confiscated property.

On the 13th day of May, which was the Monday next preceding Ascension day, the king and Pandulph with the earls, barons, and a large concourse of people, met at Dover and there they unanimously agreed to the underwritten form of peace:—

"*John king of England, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.*—By these our letters patent, sealed with our seal, we wish it known, that, in our presence and by our commands, these our four barons, namely, William earl of Salisbury, our brother, Reginald count of Boulogne, William earl Warenne, and William count of Ferrars, have sworn, on our soul, that we will in all good faith keep the subscribed peace in all things. We therefore in the first place solemnly and absolutely swear, in the presence of the legate, to abide by the commands of our lord the pope, in all the matters for which we have been excommunicated by him, and that we will observe strict peace and afford full security to those venerable men, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, William bishop of London, Eustace bishop of Ely, Giles of Hereford, Jocelyn of Bath, and Hubert of Lincoln, the prior and monks of Canterbury, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Eustace de Vesci, and also to the rest of the clergy and laity connected with this matter; we, at the same time, in the presence of the same legate or delegate, publicly make oath that we will not injure them in property, or cause or permit them to be

injured in person or property, and we will dismiss all our anger against them, and will receive them into our favour, and observe this in all good faith; also that we will not hinder the aforesaid archbishop and bishops, or cause or permit, them to be hindered from performing their duties in all freedom, and enjoying the full authority of their jurisdiction, as they ought to do. And for this we will grant our letters patent as well to our lord the pope as to the said archbishop and to each of the bishops, causing our bishops, earls, and barons, as many of them as the aforesaid archbishop and bishops shall select, to set forth by their oath and by letters patent that they themselves will use their endeavours to see this peace and arrangement firmly kept; and if by any chance, which may God avert, we should, either by ourselves or by others, contravene this, they will then abide by the apostolic commands on behalf of the church against the violators of this peace and arrangement, and may we for ever lose the wardship of the vacant churches. And if by chance we cannot induce them to agree to the last part of this oath, namely, that, if we contravene it either by ourselves or others, they will abide by the apostolic commands on behalf of the church against the violators of this peace and arrangement, we have, for this, by our letters patent, pledged with our lord the pope and the church of Rome, all the right of patronage which we possess in the English churches. And we will transmit all these our letters patent, which are granted for the security of the aforesaid prelates, to the archbishop and bishops before they come to England. But, should we require it, the aforesaid archbishop and bishops shall, saving the honour of God and the churches, give security on oath and in writing, that they will not, either personally or by others, make any attempt against our person or crown, as long as we afford them the security above-mentioned, and keep the peace unbroken. We will also make full restitution of the confiscated property, and satisfy for their losses the clergy as well as laity who are concerned in this business not only as regards their property, but also their rights, and we will protect their restored rights; the archbishop and the bishop of Lincoln we will indemnify from the time of their consecration, the rest from the commencement of this discord agreement. And no agreement, promise, or grant shall be

an impediment to these indemnifications for loss, or the restoration of the confiscated property of the dead as well as the living. Nor will we retain anything under pretence of service due to us, but afterwards a proper recompence shall be given for service done to us. And we will forthwith release, dismiss, and restore to their rights all the clergy whom we are holding under restraint, as well as any of the laity, who are detained in custody on account of this business. And immediately on the arrival of a fit person to absolve us, we will, in part restoration of the confiscated property, deliver to messengers deputed by the said archbishop, bishops, and monks of Canterbury, the sum of eight thousand pounds lawful sterling money, for discharging what is due, and for necessary expenses to be carried to them without let or hindrance on our part, that they may be honourably recalled and returned to England as soon as possible, namely, to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury two thousand five hundred pounds, to William bishop of London seven hundred and fifty pounds, to Eustace of Ely seven hundred and fifty pounds, to Jocelyn of Bath, seven hundred and fifty pounds, to Hubert of Lincoln seven hundred and fifty pounds, and to the prior and monks of Canterbury a thousand pounds; and as soon as we know that this peace is confirmed, we will assign without delay to the archbishop and bishops, to the clergy and to each and all of the churches, by the hands of their messengers or agents, all the moveable property with free management of the same, and dismiss them peaceably. And we will also publicly revoke the sentence of outlawry which we have pronounced against the ecclesiastics, declaring by these our letters patent, to be delivered to the archbishop, that it in no wise pertains to us, and that we will never again pronounce that sentence against the ecclesiastics; we moreover revoke the sentence of outlawry pronounced against the laity concerned in this matter, and restore all that we have received from ecclesiastics since the interdict, except the custom of the kingdom and the liberty of the church. But if any question shall arise about the losses and confiscations, or the amount of computation of them, it shall be determined by the legate or delegate of our lord the pope, after hearing evidence on the matter; and after all this is duly arranged the sentence of interdict shall be withdrawn.

As to the other points, if any doubts, worthy of being entertained, arise, if they are not set at rest by the legate or delegate of our lord the pope, they shall be referred to the pope himself, and whatever he determines shall be abided by. Witness myself, at Dover, this 13th day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reign.*

How king John resigned his crown and the kingdom of England into the hands of pope Innocent.

Matters having been thus arranged on the fifteenth of May, which was the eve of Ascension-day, the English king and Pandulph, with the nobles of the kingdom, met at the house of the knights templars near Dover, and there the said king, according to a decree pronounced at Rome, resigned his crown with the kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of our lord the pope, whose functions the said Pandulph was then performing. After having resigned them then he gave the aforesaid kingdoms to the pope and his successors, and confirmed them to the latter by the underwritten charter;—

"*John, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. to all the faithful servants of Christ who shall behold this charter, health in the Lord.*—We wish it, by this our charter signed with our seal, to be known to you, that we, having in many things offended God and our mother the holy church, and being in great need of the divine mercy for our sins, and not having wherewithal to make a worthy offering as an atonement to God, and to pay the just demands of the church, unless we humiliate ourselves before Him who humiliated himself for us even to death; we, impelled by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and not by force or from fear of the interdict, but of

* "About the same time king John accused Robert Fitz-Walter of treachery and rebellion, and on the day after the feast of St. Hilary, which was a Monday, he ordered Baynard's castle at London to be pulled down by the Londoners. On the Thursday following, Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, came to England as legate, and went first to Westminster; there he stayed eighteen days, and entered into a careful discussion with the conventual assembly of that church on the reformation of spiritual and temporal matters. On the feast of St. Edmund he went to Evesham, and for evident reasons deposed Roger the abbat of that church, appointing Ralph prior of Worcester in his stead. In the same year, too, died Geoffrey Fitz-Peter justiciary of England."—*M. Paris.*

our own free will and consent, and by the general advice of our barons, assign and grant to God, and his holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to the holy church of Rome our mother, and to our lord pope Innocent and his catholic successors, the whole kingdom of England and the whole kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, in remission of the sins of us and our whole race, as well for those living as for the dead; and henceforth we retain and hold those countries from him and the church of Rome as vicegerent, and this we declare in the presence of this learned man Pandulph, subdeacon and familiar of our lord the pope. And we have made our homage and sworn allegiance to our lord the pope and his catholic successors, and the church of Rome in manner hereunder written; and we will make our homage and allegiance for the same in presence of our lord the pope himself, if we are able to go before him; and we bind our successors and heirs by our wife for ever, in like manner, to do homage and render allegiance, without opposition, to the supreme pontiff for the time being, and the church of Rome. And in token of this lasting bond and grant, we will and determine that, from our own income and from our special revenues arising from the aforesaid kingdoms, the church of Rome shall, for all service and custom which we owe to them, saving always the St. Peter's pence, receive annually a thousand marks sterling money; that is to say, five hundred marks at Michaelmas, and five hundred at Easter; that is, seven hundred for the kingdom of England, and three hundred for Ireland; saving to us and our heirs all our rights, privileges, and royal customs. And as we wish to ratify and confirm all that has been above written, we bind ourselves and our successors not to contravene it; and if we, or any one of our successors, shall dare to oppose this, let him, whoever he be, be deprived of his right in the kingdom. And let this charter of our bond and grant remain confirmed for ever. Witness myself at the house of the knights of the Temple near Dover, in the presence of Henry archbishop of Dublin, John bishop of Norwich, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Pembroke, Reginald count of Boulogne, William earl Warenne, Sayer earl Winton, William earl of Arundel, William earl of Ferrars, William Briuere, Peter Fitz-Herebert, and Warin Fitz-

Gerald, this fifteenth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reign.

Of king John's homage to the pope and church of Rome.

This charter of the king's, as above-mentioned, having been reduced to writing, he delivered it to Pandulph to be taken to pope Innocent, and immediately afterwards in the sight of all, he made the underwritten homage: "I, John, by the grace of God, king of England and lord of Ireland, will, from this time as formerly, be faithful to God, St. Peter, the church of Rome, and to my liege lord pope Innocent and his catholic successors; I will not act, speak, consent to, or advise, anything by which they may lose life or limb, or be exposed to caption by treachery; I will prevent damage to them if I am aware of it; and, if in my power, will repair it; or else I will inform them as soon as in my power so to do, or will tell it to such a person as I believe will be sure to inform them of it; any purpose which they may entrust to me themselves, or by their messengers or letters, I will keep secret, and, if I know of it, will not disclose it to any one to their injury; I will assist in holding and defending the inheritance of St. Peter, and particularly the kingdoms of England and Ireland, against all men, to the utmost of my power. So may God and the holy gospel help me. Amen."—This happened, as we said before, on the eve of Ascension-day, in the presence of the bishops, earls, and other nobles. The day of our Lord's Ascension on the morrow was looked for with mistrust, not only by the king, but by all others, as well absent as present, on account of the assertions of Peter the hermit, who, as was stated before, had prophesied to John that he would not be a king on Ascension-day or afterwards. But after he had passed the prefixed day, and continued safe and in health, the king ordered the aforesaid Peter, who was detained a prisoner in Corfe Castle, to be tied to the horse's tail at the town of Wareham, dragged through the streets of the town, and afterwards hung on a gibbet, together with his son. To many it did not seem that he deserved to be punished by such a cruel death for declaring the truth; for if the circumstances, stated above to have happened, be thoroughly considered, it will be proved that he did not tell a falsehood.

How Pandulph returned to France with a portion of the confiscated property restored.

After this, Pandulph crossed the sea into France, taking with him these aforesaid charters, and also eight thousand pounds sterling money, that he might in part make restitution for their losses to the archbishop, bishops, and monks, of Canterbury, and others who were living in exile on account of the interdict. As the purport of the charters and the form of the aforesaid peace gave satisfaction to all of them, Pandulph strongly advised the aforesaid bishops to return peaceably to England, to receive there the rest of the indemnity-money. After this, he earnestly advised the French king, who had made preparations to invade England by force, to desist from his purpose and to return home in peace; for he could not, without offending the supreme pontiff, attack England or the king himself, since that monarch was ready to give satisfaction to God, the holy church, and its ordained ministers, as well as to obey the catholic commands of our lord the pope. The French king was much enraged when he heard this, and said that he had already spent sixty thousand pounds in the equipment of his ships, and in providing food and arms, and that he had undertaken the said duty by command of our lord the pope, and for the remission of his sins; and to speak the truth, the said king would not have yielded to the suggestions of Pandulph, only that Philip count of Flanders refused to follow him, for that prince had made a treaty with the king of the English, and would not act contrary to his agreement. Moreover the count said that the war, which he had undertaken to subdue the English king, was unjust, since none of his ancestors till then had claimed any right in the kingdom of England; he added moreover, that the French king had unjustly seized on his the count's lands and castles, and was then detaining his inheritance against the laws of justice; and these were his reasons for refusing to go with him to England.

How the king of the French made an attack on the count of Flanders.

The French king was greatly enraged at these words of the count of Flanders, and, having no confidence in him, ordered him to leave his court at once; and after his de-

parture he invaded the count's territories, destroying every place he came to by fire, and putting the inhabitants to the sword. He also gave orders to the sailors and commanders of his fleet, who, as we said before, had been waiting at the mouth of the river Seine, equipped with stores and arms, to set sail without delay towards Swine, a port of Flanders, and to make all haste to come to him there, which they did. The count of Flanders, who was much alarmed at this attack of the French king, sent word of it in all haste to John, earnestly imploring him to send some troops to help him. At this news the English king sent to the assistance of the count, his brother William earl of Salisbury, William duke of Houtland, and Reginald count of Boulogne, able soldiers, with five hundred ships and seven hundred knights, with a large number of soldiers horse and foot; and these nobles, setting sail with a fair wind, soon arrived at the port of Swine. On their arrival there they were astonished to behold such a concourse of shipping, and by means of scouts they learned that this was the French king's fleet, which had lately arrived, and they also found out that there were scarcely any in charge of it except a few sailors; for the soldiers, to whose charge it had been entrusted, were gone out to collect booty, and were ravaging the count's territory. When the chiefs of the English army learned this, they flew to arms, fiercely attacked the fleet, and, soon defeating the crews, they cut the cables of three hundred of their ships loaded with corn, wine, flour, meat, arms, and other stores, and sent them to sea to make for England: besides these they set fire to and burned a hundred or more which were aground, after taking all the stores from them. By this misfortune the French king and almost all the transmarine nobility lost all their most valuable possessions. Afterwards, some of the English nobles, incited by animosity beyond bounds, burst forth from their ships, mounted and armed, and set off in hot pursuit of those of the French who had fled from the slaughter; but the French king, who was not far off from the conflict, sent some of his most trusty soldiers to keep the enemy in check, and to find out for certain who they were. They accordingly took to their arms and soon met with the hostile party, and both parties engaged; but the English nobles were put to flight with

loss, and with difficulty escaped to their ships; and after they had re-embarked, the French returned to their own quarters. To the king's inquiries as to what had happened, and whence the strangers had come, the soldiers said that it was the army of the king of England which had been sent to the assistance of the count of Flanders, and they then related the misfortune which had happened and the irreparable damage done to his fleet; on learning which king Philip retired in confusion from Flanders with great loss to himself and to his followers.

The king of England absolved at Winchester.

The English king, on hearing what had taken place in Flanders, was greatly rejoiced, and in the joy of his mind at knowing that the approach of the French king was suspended at least for a time, he ordered the nobles and the whole army which he had collected near the sea-coast, for the defence of their country, to return to their homes; he then sent a large sum of money to the soldiers in Flanders, and promising them the assistance of the emperor, to invade the French king's territory with fire and sword. The king himself assembled a large army at Portsmouth, intending to cross over into Poictou, determining to harass the French king and his kingdom in the western parts, as those who were in Flanders did in the east, and to use all his endeavours to recover the territories he had lost to his dominion. But things turned out contrary to his expectations, for the English nobles refused to follow him unless he was previously absolved from the sentence of excommunication. In this difficulty, then, the king sent the warrants of twenty-four earls and barons to the aforesaid archbishop and bishops for greater security, telling them to lay aside all fear, and to come to England, there to receive all their rights, and the indemnity for the property they had been deprived of according to the terms of the above written peace. By the advice of Pandulph, therefore, when all was ready for their return home, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops William of London, Eustace of Ely, Hubert of Lincoln, and Giles of Hereford, embarked in company with others of the clergy and laity who were in exile on account of the interdict, and, landing at Dover on the

16th of July, they set out to see the king, and came to him at Winchester on St. Margaret the virgin's day. The king, when he heard of their approach, went out to meet them, and when he saw the archbishop and bishops, he prostrated himself at their feet, and besought them in tears to have compassion on him and the kingdom of England. The said archbishop and bishops, seeing the king's great humility, raised him from the ground, and taking him by the hand on each side, they led him to the door of the cathedral church, where they chanted the fiftieth psalm, and, in the presence of all the nobles, who wept with joy, they absolved him according to the custom of the church. At this absolution, the king swore on the holy gospels that he would love holy church and its ordained members, and would, to the utmost of his power, defend and maintain them against all their enemies; and that he would renew all the good laws of his ancestors, especially those of king Edward, would annul bad ones, would judge his subjects according to the just decrees of his courts, and would restore his rights to each and all. He also swore that, before the next Easter, he would make restitution of confiscated property to all who were concerned in the matter of the interdict; and if he did not do so, he would consent to have the former sentence of excommunication renewed. He moreover swore fealty and obedience to pope Innocent and his catholic successors, as was contained in the above-written charter: the archbishop then took the king into the church, and there performed mass, after which the archbishop, bishops, and nobles, feasted at the same table with the king, amidst joy and festivity. The next day the king sent letters to all the sheriffs of the kingdom, ordering them to send four liege men from each town in their demesne, together with the warden, to St. Alban's on the 4th of August, that through them and his other agents he might make inquiries about the losses and confiscated property of each of the bishops, and how much was due to each. He then set out in all haste to Portsmouth, that he might thence cross to Poictou, and gave charge of the kingdom to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter and the bishop of Winchester, with orders that they were to consult with the archbishop of Canterbury in arranging the business of the kingdom. On the king's arrival at Portsmouth, there came

to him there an immense number of knights, complaining that, during their long stay there they had spent all their money, and that therefore unless they were supplied with money from the treasury, they could not follow him. This the king refused, but, flying into a rage, he embarked with his private attendants, and after three days landed at Guernsey, whilst his nobles returned home; and the king, seeing himself thus abandoned, was compelled to return to England himself.

Declaration of laws and rights.

Whilst this was passing, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter and the bishop of Winchester held a council at St. Alban's with the archbishop, bishops, and nobles of the kingdom, at which the peace made by the king was told to all, and, on behalf of the said king, it was strictly ordered, that all the laws of his grandfather king Henry should be kept by all throughout the kingdom, and that all unjust laws should be utterly abolished; the sheriffs, foresters, and other agents of the king were forbidden, as they regarded life and limb, to extort anything from any one by force, or to inflict injuries on any one, or to make tallage any where in the kingdom as had been their custom. King John in the meantime, finding himself deserted by some of the nobles as we have said, collected a large army to bring these rebellious ones to their duty; but as soon as he had begun to take up arms, the archbishop went to him at Northampton and told him, that it would redound very much to the injury of the oath which he had taken on his absolution, if he were to make war against any one without the decision of his court; the king, hearing this, angrily said that he would not put off the business of the kingdom on the archbishop's account, as lay matters did not pertain to him. The next day therefore he set out on his march in a rage, taking the way to Nottingham, the archbishop, however, still followed him, boldly declaring that, unless he desisted from his undertaking, he would anathematize all who made war against any one before being absolved from an interdict, besides himself alone, and thus the archbishop diverted the king from his purpose, and did not leave him till he had prevailed on the king to name a convenient day for the barons to come to his court, and there submit to justice.

The reason of the irritation of the barons against the king.

On the 25th of August in the same year, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops, abbats, priors, deacons, and barons of the kingdom assembled at St. Paul's, in the city of London, and there the archbishop granted permission to the conventual churches, as well as to the secular priests, to chant the services of the church in a low voice, in the hearing of their parishioners. At this conference, as report asserts, the said archbishop called some of the nobles aside to him, and conversed privately with them to the following effect, "Did you hear," said he, "how, when I absolved the king at Winchester, I made him swear that he would do away with unjust laws, and would recall good laws, such as those of king Edward, and cause them to be observed by all in the kingdom; a charter of Henry the first king of England has just now been found, by which you may, if you wish it, recall your long-lost rights and your former condition." And placing a paper in the midst of them, he ordered it to be read aloud for all to hear, the contents of which were as follows:—

"*Henry by the grace of God king of England, to Hugh de Boclande justiciary of England, and all his faithful subjects, as well French as English, in Hertfordshire, greeting.*— Know that I, by the Lord's mercy, have been crowned king by common consent of the barons of the kingdom of England; and because the kingdom has been oppressed by unjust exactions, I, out of respect to God, and the love which I feel towards you, in the first place constitute the holy church of God a free church, so that I will not sell it, nor farm it out, nor will I, on the death of any archbishop, bishop, or abbat, take anything from the domain of the church or its people, until his successor takes his place. And I from this time do away with all the evil practices, by which the kingdom of England is now unjustly oppressed, and these evil practices I here in part mention. If any baron, earl, or other subject of mine, who holds possession from me, shall die, his heir shall not redeem his land, as was the custom in my father's time, but shall pay a just and lawful relief for the same; and in like manner, too, the dependants of my barons shall pay

a like relief for their land to their lords. And if any baron or other subject of mine shall wish to give his daughter, his sister, his niece, or other female relative, in marriage, let him ask my permission on the matter; but I will not take any of his property for granting my permission, nor will I forbid his giving her in marriage except he wishes to give her to an enemy of mine; and if on the death of a baron or other subject of mine, the daughter is left heiress, I, by the advice of my barons, will give her in marriage together with her land; and if on the death of a husband the wife is surviving and is childless, she shall have her dowry for a marriage portion, and I will not give her away to another husband unless with her consent; but if a wife survives, having children, she shall have her dowry as a marriage portion, as long as she shall keep herself according to law, and I will not give her to a husband unless with her consent; and the guardian of the children's land shall be either the wife, or some other nearer relation, who ought more rightly to be so; and I enjoin on my barons to act in the same way towards the sons and daughters and wives of their dependants. Moreover the common monetage, as taken throughout the cities and counties, such as was not in use in king Edward's time, is hereby forbidden; and if any one, whether a coiner or any other person, be taken with false money, let strict justice be done to him for it. All pleas and all debts, which were due to the king my brother, I forgive, except my farms, and those debts which were contracted for the inheritances of others, or for those things which more justly belong to others. And if any one shall have covenanted anything for his inheritance, I forgive it, and all reliefs which were contracted for just inheritances. And if any baron or subject of mine shall be ill, I hereby ratify all such disposition as he shall have made of his money; but if through service in war or sickness he shall have made no disposition of his money, his wife, or children, or parents, and legitimate dependants, shall distribute it for the good of his soul, as shall seem best to them. If any baron or other subject of mine shall have made forfeiture, he shall not give bail to save his money, as was done in the time of my father and my brother, but according to the degree of the forfeiture; nor shall he make amends for his fault as he did in the time of my father or of my other

ancestors; and if any one shall be convicted of treason or other crime, his punishment shall be according to his fault. I forgive all murders committed previous to the day on which I was crowned king; but those which have been since committed, shall be justly punished, according to the law of king Edward. By the common advice of my barons, I have retained the forests in my possession as my father held them. All knights, moreover, who hold their lands by service, are hereby allowed to have their domains free from all amercements and from all peculiar service, that as they are thus relieved from a great burden, they may provide themselves properly with horses and arms, so that they may be fit and ready for my service and for the defence of my kingdom. I bestow confirmed peace in all my kingdom, and I order it to be preserved from henceforth. I restore to you the law of king Edward, with the amendments which my father, by the advice of his barons, made in it. If any one has taken anything of mine, or of any one else's property, since the death of my brother king William, let it all be soon restored without alteration; and if any one shall retain anything of it, he shall, on being discovered, atone to me for it heavily. Witness Maurice bishop of London, William elect of Winchester, Gerard of Hereford, earl Henry, earl Simon, earl Walter Gifford, Robert de Montfort, Roger Bigod, and many others." When this paper had been read and its purport understood by the barons who heard it, they were much pleased with it, and all of them, in the archbishop's presence, swore that when they saw a fit opportunity, they would stand up for their rights, if necessary would die for them; the archbishop, too, faithfully promised them his assistance as far as lay in his power; and this agreement having been settled between them, the conference was broken up.

Of the heresy of the Albigenses, and the declaration of a crusade against them.

About that time the depravity of the heretics called Albigenses, who dwelt in Gascony, Arumnia, and Alby gained such power in the parts about Toulouse, and in the kingdom of Arragon, that they not only practised their impieties in secret as was done elsewhere, but preached their erroneous doctrine openly, and induced the simple and weak

minded to conform to them. The Albigenses are so called from the city of Alba, where that doctrine is said to have taken its rise. At length their perversity set the anger of God so completely at defiance, that they published the books of their doctrines amongst the lower orders, before the very eyes of the bishops and priests, and disgraced the chalices and sacred vessels in disrespect of the body and blood of Christ. Pope Innocent was greatly grieved at hearing these things, and he immediately sent preachers into all the districts of the west, and enjoined to the chiefs and other Christian people as a remission of their sins, that they should take the sign of the cross for the extirpation of this plague, and, opposing themselves to such disasters, should protect the Christian people by force of arms; he also added, by authority of the apostolic see, that whoever undertook the business of overthrowing the heretics according to his injunction, should, like those who visited the Lord's sepulchre, be protected from all hostile attacks both in property and person. At this preaching such a multitude of crusaders assembled, as it is not to be credited could have assembled in our country.

Of the movements of the crusaders against the Albigenses.

When therefore they were all assembled and prepared for battle, the archbishop of Narbonne, the legate of the apostolic see in this expedition, and the chiefs of the army, namely the duke of Burgundy, the count of Nevers, and the count de Montfort, struck their camp and marched to lay siege to the city of Beziers. But before they got to it the lords of some of the castles, having little confidence in themselves, fled at the sight of their army; the knights and others who were left in charge of the said castles, went boldly as good catholics and surrendered themselves with their property, as well as the castles to the army of the crusaders; and, on the eve of St. Mary Magdalen, they surrendered the noble castle of Cermaine to a monk, the lord of the castle, who also possessed several others of great strength, having taken to flight. They warned the citizens of Beziers, through the bishop of that city, under penalty of excommunication, to make choice of one out of two alternatives; either to deliver the heretics and their property into the hands of the crusaders, or else to

send them away from amongst them, otherwise they would be excommunicated, and their blood be on their own heads. The heretics and their allies scornfully refused to accede to this, and mutually swore to defend the city; and, when they had pledged their faith, they hoped to be able for a long time to sustain the assaults of the crusaders. After the city was laid siege to, on the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, the catholic barons considered how they could save those amongst them who were catholics, and made overtures for their liberation; but the rabble and low people, without waiting for the command or orders of the chiefs, made an assault on the city, and, to the astonishment of the Christians, when the cry to arms was raised, and the army of the faith was rushing in all directions to the assaults, those who were defending the walls inside threw out the book of the gospel from the city on them, blaspheming the name of the Lord, and deriding their assailants; "Behold," they said, "your law, we take no heed to it; yours it shall be." The soldiers of the faith, incensed by such blasphemy and provoked by their insults, in less than three hours' time crossed the fosse and scaled the walls, by the Lord's assistance. Thus was the city taken, and on the same day it was sacked and burnt, a great slaughter of the infidels taking place as the punishment of God; but, under his protection, very few of the catholics were slain. After the lapse of a few days, when the report of this miracle was spread abroad, the Lord scattered before the face of the crusaders, as it were without their assistance, those who had blasphemed his name and his law, and at length the followers of this heretical depravity were so alarmed that they fled to the recesses of the mountains, and what may be believed, they left more than a hundred untenanted castles, between Beziers and Carcassone, stocked with food and all kinds of stores, which they could not take with them in their flight.

The capture of the city and castle of Carcassone.

The crusaders, moving their camp from this place, arrived on the feast of St. Peter "ad vincula" at Carcassone, a populous city, and till now glorying in its wickedness, abounding in riches, and well fortified. On the following day they made an assault, and within two or three hours they crossed the entrenchments and scaled the walls amidst

showers of missiles from the cross bows, and the blows of the lances and swords of its wicked defenders. After this they set up their engines of war, and on the eighth day the greater suburb was taken after a great many of the enemy, who had incautiously exposed themselves, were slain, and the suburbs of the city, which seemed larger than the body of the town, were altogether destroyed. The enemy being thus confined in the narrow streets of the city, and suffering as well from their numbers as from want of provisions more than is credible, offered themselves and all their property, together with the city to the crusaders, on condition of their lives being preserved out of mercy, and of being saved for at least one day. After holding a council, therefore, the barons received the city almost as it were under compulsion; in the first place because, in men's opinion, it was deemed impregnable; for another reason because, if that city were altogether destroyed, there would not be found a nobleman of the army who would undertake the government of that country, as there would not be a place in the subdued land where he could reside. Therefore, that the land, which the Lord had delivered into the hands of his servants, might be preserved to his honour and the advantage of Christianity, the noble Simon de Montfort earl of Leicester was, by the common consent of prelates and barons, chosen as ruler of that country; and into his hands was delivered as a prisoner the noble Roger, formerly viscount and ruler of that country, together with the whole of the province, including about a hundred castles, which, within one month, the Lord designed to restore to the catholic unity; and amongst these same castles were several of such strength that there would have been, in the opinion of men, but little cause to fear any army. After effecting this, the count of Nevers and a large part of the army returned home, whilst the illustrious duke of Burgundy and the rest of the nobles proceeded with their army to the extirpation of this heretical depravity, and after this they delivered into the hands of earl Simon de Montfort several more castles which they took either by fair means or by threats.

Messengers sent to Toulouse by the crusaders.

As the city of Toulouse had been reported to have been

long tainted with this pestiferous sin, the barons sent special messengers, namely, the archbishop of Santonge, the bishop of Foroli, the viscount of St. Florentius, and the lord Accald de Roussillon, to the inhabitants of that city with letters from them, ordering them to deliver up to the army of the crusaders the heretics of that city, and all their property. But if by chance they should say that they were not heretics; that those who were signified and expressed by name should come to them to make a plain declaration of their faith, according to Christian custom, before the whole army; and should they refuse to do this they would, by the same letters, excommunicate their chief officers and counsellors, and place the whole town of Toulouse with its dependencies under an interdict. In this year,* on the fourteenth of October, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of England, closed his life.

* "In the course of the same year, during the following summer, there sprang up in France a false doctrine never before heard of: for a certain youth, who was a boy in age, but of vile habits, at the instigation of the devil, went about amongst the cities and castles of France, chanting in French these words: "O Lord Jesus Christ, restore to us the holy cross!" with many other additions. And when the rest of the boys of his own age saw and heard him, they followed him in endless numbers, and, being infatuated by the wiles of the devil, they left their fathers and mothers, nurses, and all their friends, singing in the same way as their teacher; and, what was astonishing, no lock could detain them, nor could the persuasions of their parents recall them, but they followed their said master towards the Mediterranean sea, and, crossing it, they marched on in procession singing. No city could hold them on account of numbers; their leader was placed in a car ornamented with a canopy, and was attended by armed guards raising their shouts around him. They were so numerous that they squeezed one another together, and that one thought himself happy who could gain a thread or a shred of his garment. But at last, their old enemy Satan plotted against them, and they all perished either on land or by sea.

Of the death of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter.

In the same year Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, justiciary of all England, a man of great power and authority, died on the second day of October, to the great grief of the kingdom. This man was a firm pillar of the church, and was a noble-minded man, learned in the laws, treasures, and revenues, was strengthened by good works, and was allied either by blood or the ties of friendship to all the nobles of England: the king on this account feared him more than all the rest of his subjects, without having any regard for him for he held the reins of government; and therefore at his death England was like a ship at sea without a pilot. This disturbance commenced on the death of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, a noble and a faithful man; and after the deaths of these two men, England could not breathe. On the death of the said Peter being told to king John, he laughingly said, "Wher

Of the death of the king of Arragon at Murelles.

About this time the king of Arragon, after being crowned at Rome by pope Innocent, although he had received a most strict injunction not to render assistance or show kindness to

he gets to hell, let him greet Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, for he will doubtless find him there." And then turning to those sitting round him he added, saying, "By the feet of the Lord, I am now for the first time king and lord of England." Then from that time he had more free power to act in opposition to his oaths and agreements, which he had made with the said Geoffrey, and to release himself from the fetters of the peace in which he had involved himself. He was therefore sorry that he had been led to give his consent to the aforesaid peace.

King John in despair sent messengers to the emir Murmelius.

He therefore immediately sent secret messengers, namely, the knights Thomas Hardington and Ralph Fitz-Nicholas, and Robert of London a clerk, to the emir Murmelius the great king of Africa, Morocco, and Spain, who was commonly called Miramumelinus, to tell him that he would voluntarily give up to him himself and his kingdom, and if he pleased would hold it as tributary from him; and that he would also abandon the Christian faith, which he considered false, and would faithfully adhere to the law of Mahomet. When the aforesaid messengers arrived at the court of the above-named prince, they found at the first gate some armed knights keeping close guard over it with drawn swords. At the second door, which was that of the palace, they found a larger number of knights, armed to the teeth, more handsomely dressed, and stronger and more noble than the others, and these closely guarded this entrance with swords drawn: and at the door of the inner room there was a still greater number, and, according to appearance, stronger and fiercer than the former ones. Having at length been led in peaceably by leave of the emir himself, whom they called the great king, these messengers on behalf of their lord the king of England saluted him with reverence, and fully explained the reason of their coming, at the same time handing him their king's letter, which an interpreter, who came at a summons from him, explained to him. When he understood its purport, the king, who was a man of middle age and height, of manly deportment, eloquent and circumspect in his conversation, then closed the book he had been looking at, for he was seated at his desk studying. At length after deliberating as it were for a time with himself he modestly replied, "I was just now looking at the book of a wise Greek and a Christian named Paul, which is written in Greek, and his deeds and words please me much; one thing however concerning him displeases me, and that is, that he did not stand firm to the faith in which he was born, but turned to another like a deserter and a waverer. And I say this with regard to your lord the king of the English, who abandons the most pious and pure law of the Christians, under which he was born, and desires, flexible and unstable that he is, to come over to our faith." And he added, "The omniscient and omnipotent God knows that, were I without a law, I would choose that law before all others, and having accepted it would strictly keep it." He then inquired what was the condition of the king of England and his kingdom; to which Thomas, as the most eloquent

the enemies of the faith, not devoutly attending to the commands of the holy father, contumaciously began to kick against the apostolic mandate. For as soon as he returned home, he joined the heretics in that very country which had

of the messengers, replied: "The king is illustriously and nobly descended from great kings, and his territory is rich, and abounds with all kinds of wealth, in agriculture, pastures, and woods; and from it also every kind of metal may be obtained by smelting. Our people are handsome and ingenious, and are skilled in three languages, the Latin, French, and English, as well as in every liberal and mechanical pursuit. Our country, however, does not of itself produce any quantity of vineyards or olive trees, nor fir trees, but of these it procures an abundance from adjoining countries by way of trade. The climate is salubrious and temperate; it is situated between the west and the north; and, receiving heat from the west, and cold from the north, it enjoys a most agreeable temperature. It is surrounded entirely by the sea, whence it is called the queen of islands. The kingdom has, from times of old, been governed by an anointed king, and our people are free and manly, and acknowledge the domination of no one except God. Our church and the services of our religion are more venerated there than in any part of the world, and it is peacefully governed by the laws of the pope and of the king." The king at the conclusion of this speech drew a deep sigh and replied: "I never read or heard that any king possessing such a prosperous kingdom subject and obedient to him, would thus voluntarily ruin his sovereignty by making tributary a country that is free, by giving to a stranger that which is his own, by turning happiness to misery, and thus giving himself up to the will of another, conquered as it were without a wound. I have rather read and heard from many that many would procure liberty for themselves at the expense of streams of their blood, which is a praiseworthy action; but now I hear that your wretched lord, a sloth and a coward, who is even worse than nothing, wishes, from a free man to become a slave, who is the most wretched of all human beings." After this he asked, although contemptuously, what was his age, size, and strength; in reply he was told that he was fifty, entirely hoary, strong in body, not tall, but rather compact and of a form suited for strength. The king on hearing this, said: "His youthful and manly valour has fermented, and now begins to grow cool; within ten years, if he lives so long, his valour will fail him before he accomplishes any arduous enterprize; if he should begin now he would fall to decay, and would be good for nothing; for a man of fifty sinks imperceptibly, but one of sixty gives evident signs of decaying. Let him again obtain peace for himself and enjoy rest." The emir, then, after reading over all the questions and answers of the messengers, after a short silence burst into a laugh, as a sign of indignation, and refused king John's offer in these words: "That king is of no consideration, but is a petty king, senseless and growing old, and I care nothing about him; he is unworthy of any alliance with me;" and, regarding Thomas and Ralph with a grim look, he said: "Never come into my presence again, and may your eyes never again behold my face; the fame, or rather the infamy of that foolish apostate, your master, breathes forth a most foul stench to my nostrils." The messengers were then going away with shame, when the

been just recovered, under God, by the assistance of the crusaders, and uniting with the counts of Toulouse, Foix, and Commenges, he with the citizens of Toulouse and a large army on the third day of the week after the nativity of

emir beheld Robert the clerk, who was the third of the messengers, and who was a small dark man, with one arm longer than the other, and having fingers all misshapen, namely, two sticking together, and with a face like a Jew. Thinking, therefore, that such a contemptible looking person would not be sent to manage a difficult business unless he were wise and clever, and well understood it, and seeing his cowl and tonsure, and finding by it that he was a clerk, the king ordered him to be called; for when the others had been speaking he had till now stood silent at a distance from him. He therefore kept him and sent away the others, and then had a long secret interview with him, the particulars of which the said Robert afterwards disclosed to his friends. The said king asked him if king John was a man of moral character, and if he had brave sons, and if he possessed great generative power; adding that, if Robert told him a lie in these matters, he would never believe a Christian again, especially a clerk. Robert then, on his word as a Christian, promised to give true answers to all the questions which he put to him. He therefore answered affirmatively that John was a tyrant rather than a king, a destroyer rather than a governor, an oppresser of his own people, and a friend to strangers, a lion to his own subjects, a lamb to foreigners and those who fought against him; for, owing to his slothfulness, he had lost the duchy of Normandy and many other of his territories, and moreover was eager to lose the kingdom of England or to destroy it; that he was an insatiable extorter of money, and an invader and destroyer of the possessions of his own natural subjects; he had begotten few strong children, or rather none at all, but only such as took after their father; he had a wife who was hateful to him and who hated him; an incestuous, evil disposed, adulterous woman, and of these crimes she had been often found guilty, on which the king ordered her paramours to be seized and strangled with a rope on her bed; yet nevertheless this same king was envious of many of his nobles and relations, and violated their marriageable daughters and sisters; and in his observance of the Christian religion he is wavering and distrustful, as you have heard." When the king emir heard all this, he not only disdained John as he had before done, but detested him; and, according to his own law cursed him; adding, "Why do the wretched English permit such a man to reign, and lord it over them? they are indeed effeminate and servile." Robert replied: "The English are the most patient of men until they are offended and injured beyond endurance; but now, like a lion or an elephant, when he feels himself hurt or sees his blood, they are enraged, and are proposing and endeavouring, although late, to shake the yoke of the oppressor from their necks." When the king emir heard this, he blamed the too easy patience of the English, which the interpreter, who had been present all the time, rightly asserted to be fear. The said king conversed on many other subjects besides this with Robert, all which the latter afterwards told to his friends in England. He then made him several costly presents of gold and silver, various kinds of jewels and silks, and dismissed him on friendly terms;

St. Mary, laid siege to the castle of Murelle. At this news the venerable fathers, the bishops of Toulouse, Nismes, St. Agatha, Bourdeaux, Uzes, Louvaine, and Commenges, and the abbats of Clairvaux, Magneville, and St. Tiberius,

but the other messengers he neither saluted when they left him, nor did he honour them with any presents. They then returned home and told John all that they had seen and heard, on which he wept in bitterness of spirit at being despised by the king Emir, and at being balked in his purpose. Robert however liberally regarded the king from the foreign gifts bestowed on him, so that it was evident he had been received more favourably than the others, though at first he had been repulsed and kept silence; on which account the king honoured him more than the others, and by way of reward this wicked extortioner bestowed on him the charge of the abbacy of St. Alban's, although it was not vacant, so that this transgressor of the faith remunerated his own clerk with the property of another. This Robert then, without consulting, yea even against the will of the temporary abbat, John de Cell, a most religious and most learned man, seized on everything which was then in the church and the convent at pleasure, and appropriated it to his own use; and in each bailiwick, which we call obediences, he appointed a porter, as a careful and resolute searcher of everything, by which means the aforesaid clerk, Robert, cheated that house of more than a thousand marks. He, however, had a regard for some of the chief servants of the abbat, and a monk of St. Alban's, namely, Laurence knight of the seneschal, Laurence a clerk, and Master Walter a monk and painter, and them he kept as his familiars, to whom he showed his jewels and other in secret presents from the emir, and related what had passed between them, the hearing of MATTHEW, WHO HAS WRITTEN AND RELATED THESE EVENTS.

King John resolves to place England under the papal rule.

From that time then king John began to strengthen his purpose, from which he had thought to retract, and to make his condition worse and worse, to the detriment of the whole kingdom; he hated, like viper's poison, all the men of noble rank in the kingdom, and especially Saver de Quency, Robert Fitz-Walter, and Stephen archbishop of Canterbury. He also knew and had learnt by manifold experience, that the pope was beyond all other men ambitious and proud, and an insatiable thirster after money, and ready and apt to perform any sin for a reward or on the promise of one. He therefore sent messengers with orders of speed and by them transmitted a large sum of money to him with a promise of more, and assured him that he was, and always would be, subject and tributary to him on condition that he would, when an opportunity occurred, endeavour to abase the archbishop of Canterbury, and excommunicate the barons of England, whose part he had formerly taken; and he eagerly longed for this that he might glut his evil disposition by disinheriting, imprisoning, and slaying them when excommunicated. And these plans, which he had wickedly raked up, he more wickedly carried into execution, as will be related hereafter.

King John entertains evil opinions of the faith.

About this time king John became so foolish that he conceived evil thoughts about the resurrection of the dead, and other matters connected

all of whom the archbishop of Narbonne, the legate of the apostolic see had ordered to assemble for the purpose of managing the business of the crusade, set out together with Simon de Montfort, and an army of crusaders, to render assistance to the besieged castle. On the Wednesday of the above-mentioned week they arrived at a castle called Savardon, whence they sent messengers to the besieging commanders at Murelle, saying that they were come to treat with them about peace, and therefore they wished safe con-

with the Christian religion, and gave utterance to some unmentionable foolish sayings, of which, however, we have thought proper to relate one. It happened that a very fat stag had been taken in the hunt, and when it was being skinned in the king's presence he laughed, and said in mockery, "Oh how fat this animal has grown without ever hearing mass."

The emir Murmelius is conquered and takes to flight.

About this time the king, or emir, Murmelius, of whom mention was made above, with a large army which he had collected, with John's consent, as is said, determined to take forcible possession of the kingdom of Spain; and he was inspired with this boldness by the wavering faith of king John, and the interdict on that kingdom. When, however, the Christian followers of the king of Spain heard of this, they bravely opposed him, and dispersed his whole army, and drove them from the country, after slaying his eldest son and capturing his royal standard. In this battle the king of Arragon would have gained immortal renown, if he had not been elevated by pride and contumaciously exacted from Simon de Montfort the whole of the land which he had gained from the Albigenses to be held by him, in spite of the prohibition of the pope who had asked for the same, whereby he kindled a fierce war against himself.

About this time the king of Arragon, who had been crowned by pope Innocent at Rome, and received from that pontiff a strict order not to give assistance or show favour to the enemies of the faith, disregarded the order of his father the pope, and after the victory over the emir Murmelius began to backslide, doing all the injury in his power to the aforesaid Simon; he also allied himself with the heretic Albigenses, and, in company with some knights, fled and joined the people of Toulouse. R. de Beders too with his Bederans summoned together an immense number of his fellow provincials, and having thus raised a large army, laid siege to the castle of Murelle on the Tuesday after the nativity of St. Mary. On hearing this the venerable fathers, the bishops of Toulouse, Nismes, Agde, Bourges, Utica, Loches, Carcassone, Elmo, and St. Malo, and the abbats of Clerac, Mandeville, and St. Giles, and many other illustrious men whom the archbishop of Narbonne, the legate of the apostolic see, &c. &c.—All in Matthew Paris's hand. From this point in the C.C.C. MS. the continuation of the history in the text has been compiled by Matthew Paris, and has been written by the same hand as the Cotton MS. The text of Wendover is not left, but additions and alterations are made as well in the body of the work as by Paris himself, as it would appear, in the margin.

duct to be granted them. On the following day, as the urgency of the case so much required it, the crusading army left Savardon, and hurried to the assistance of the castle of Murelle; the aforesaid bishops, however, determined to stay at a castle called Hanterive, half-way between Savardon and Murelle, about two leagues from either of them, there to await the return of their messengers; these when they did return brought word to the bishops from the king of Arragon, that he would not grant safe conduct to them, because, having come with such a large army, they did not want it. The bishops, when they heard this, entered Murelle with the crusading army on Wednesday of the same week, and immediately sent two religious men to the king and the inhabitants of Toulouse, but they received with derision from the king the answer, that they wanted to have a conference with him on account of the four ribalds, which the bishops had brought with them; but the citizens of Toulouse told them, the messengers, that they were allies of the king of Arragon, and would not do anything except the said king's pleasure. When the messengers had related this to the bishops, the latter determined to go unshod in company with the abbats to the king; but when their approach in this way was made known to the king, the gates of the city having been thrown open, and earl Montfort and all the crusaders being unarmed, because the bishops were gone to treat for peace, the enemies of God treacherously attempted to force their way into the town, but by the grace of God they were balked in their design. The earl and the crusaders, seeing their pride, and being themselves wholesomely cleansed from their sins by contrition of heart and verbal confession, put on their armour and went to the bishop of Toulouse, who by authority of the lord archbishop of Narbonne, was discharging the functions of the legateship there, and humbly asked his permission to sally forth against the enemies of the faith. As matters were at a crisis permission was granted them, and in the name of the Holy Trinity they sallied out in three bodies, but the enemies of the faith, on the other hand, came forth from their well fortified camp in several masses of troops, and although they were a host in comparison with the crusaders, the servants of Christ, trusting to his assistance, and armed with valour from on high, bravely attacked them.

And immediately the virtue of the Most High, by the hands of his followers, broke through the enemy, crushing them in a moment; for they turned their backs and fled like dust before the wind; some escaped death altogether by flight, some escaping the sword perished in the water, while others were slain on the field. For the illustrious king of Arragon who fell amongst the slain, much grief is to be felt that he united with the enemies of the faith, and wickedly annoyed the catholic church.* A correct account of the number slain cannot be given by any means; but of the crusaders one knight only besides a few of the soldiers fell. This battle took place on the sixth day of the week after the octaves of the nativity of St. Mary, in the month of September, 1213.

The arrival in England of Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, and legate of the apostolic see.

About Michaelmas of the same year, Nicholas bishop of Tusculum and legate of the apostolic see, came to England to settle, by the apostolic authority, the disagreements between the throne and the priesthood, and although the country was under an interdict, he was everywhere honourably received with solemn processions, with music, and by the people dressed in holiday clothes; and on his arrival at Westminster, he immediately degraded William the abbat, who was accused by his monks of wasteful expenditure and incontinency. At that place there came to him seeking absolution the citizens of Oxford, by whose agency and presumption the two clerks, of whom we have made mention above, had been hung; in appointing penance for them he, amongst other things, ordered them to go to each of the churches of the city, laying aside their garments, and with naked feet, carrying scourges in their hands, and there to chant the fiftieth psalm, and thus obtain absolution from the parochial priests; and they were only allowed to go to one church on each day, that they and all others might be afraid to show such presumption in future. Thus the legate,

* "Earl Simon knew from his scouts that the king of Arragon was ready to sit down to table to take his breakfast, and on receiving the information he jokingly said, when he was sallying out, 'Of a truth I will wait on him at the first dish.' And the said king was the first who was killed, being pierced by a sword before he had swallowed three mouthfuls of bread."—*M. Paris.*

who had come into England with only seven horsemen in his train, shortly walked abroad with a train of fifty, and attended by a numerous household. At length the archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops and nobles of the kingdom, met at London in presence of the king and of the cardinal, and there for three days a discussion was carried on between the throne and the priesthood as to the losses of the bishops, and their confiscated property; on behalf of the king, an offer was made, as a full restitution, of a hundred thousand marks of silver, to be paid immediately; and if on inquiry it could be found that the guardians of the churches or other agents of the king had taken away more, he the said king made oath and gave security, that, by the decision of the bishops and the legate himself, he would before the ensuing Easter make satisfaction in full for all their confiscated property. The legate agreed to this, wishing it to be settled immediately, and was indignant that the offer was not accepted at once; and on this account it was suspected that the legate took the king's side more than was right. The bishops however prolonged the business, objecting to the terms offered, in order that they might, after holding a council, make inquiry as to the confiscated property and their losses, and might state the amount thus found out to the king, and at the same time receive what they demanded. The king hearing of this delay, which suited him, at once gave his consent, and thus they went away on that day without settling their business.

How king John resigned his crown with the kingdoms of England and Ireland into the hands of the legate.

On the following day they all again assembled in the cathedral church at St. Paul's, where after many and diverse discussions about the removal of the interdict, before the great altar in presence of the clergy and people, that notorious though dishonourable submission was again exacted from the king, by which he resigned his crown and kingdom into the hands of the pope, and surrendered the dominion of Ireland as well as the kingdom of England; the charter of the king too, which had been before sealed with wax and delivered to Pandulph, was now stamped with gold, and resigned to the legate for the use of our lord the pope and

the church of Rome; and for the restitution of the confiscated property, they appointed to meet at Reading on the 3rd of November. On the appointed day, when all had as before assembled, the king did not make his appearance, but on the third day after they again all assembled at Wallingford; and there the king, as before, willingly promised that he would satisfy the bishops and all the rest for the property which had been confiscated; but this seemed of little use to those whose castles had been thrown down, houses destroyed, and whose orchards and woods had been cut down; therefore the king and the bishops alike agreed to abide by the decision of four barons, and thus all would be satisfied by their decision. On the 6th of November they again assembled at Reading, the king and the legate, the archbishop and bishops, the nobles, and all the religious men connected with the business of the interdict, and at this conference they each and all produced a paper containing the amount of the confiscated property and their losses; but as the legate showed favour to the king, the payment of all was postponed except in the case of the archbishop and bishops who had been so long exiled from England, who there received fifteen marks of silver.

Pope Innocent to Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, about the vacant churches.

At this time pope Innocent sent letters to Nicholas, legate of the apostolic see, to the following purport: "As the Lord's churches cannot better be provided for than when suitable pastors are appointed to them, who will desire not so much to have authority over them as to promote their welfare, we, by these apostolic letters, enjoin your brotherhood, in whom we have full confidence, to cause suitable persons, according to your own judgment, to be ordained to the bishoprics and abbacies in England now vacant, either by election or by canonical appointment, who shall be remarkable, not only for their mode of life, but also for their learning, and at the same time faithful to the king, and of use to the kingdom, and also efficacious in giving assistance and advice, the king's consent being previously obtained. When therefore we by our letters command the chapters of the vacant churches to abide by your advice, do you, always having the Lord in view, consult on these matters with prudent and honourable

men, who may fully be aware of the merits of persons, less you may be overreached by the craft of any one; but if any shall gainsay you or prove contumacious, do you, by means of the censure of the church, compel them to obey, without appeal. Given at the Lateran, on the first of November, in the sixteenth year of our pontificate." The legate, on receiving this authority from the pope, rejected the advice of the archbishop and bishops of the kingdom, and, going to the vacant churches with the clerks and agents of the king, presumed to make appointments to them, according to the old evil custom of England, of persons little suited to those offices; and some of various orders, who, on manifest cause of complaint, appealed to the hearing of the supreme pontiff, he suspended and sent to the court of Rome, and to them he showed himself so destitute of humanity, that he did not allow them even one penny out of their own money to pay their expenses on the journey. Moreover he distributed the parochial churches which were vacant in various places amongst his own clerks without asking the consent of the patrons; for which he deserved the malediction of many instead of their benediction, inasmuch as he changed justice into injury, and judgment into forejudging.

The appeal of the archbishop of Canterbury as to the appointments of vacant churches.

A.D. 1214. King John at Christmas held his court at Windsor, when he distributed festive dresses to a number of his nobles. Afterwards, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, met at Dunstable to discuss the affairs of the English church there; for they were beyond measure annoyed that the legate, as we have before stated, in attending to the king's pleasure without consulting with them, had appointed unfit persons to the vacant churches more by force than by canonical election. After various discussion on one subject and another, the archbishop of Canterbury at length sent two clerks to Burton on the Trent, where the legate then was, to forbid him, by the interposition of an appeal on the part of the archbishop of Canterbury, to appoint prelates in the vacant churches in disregard of his, the archbishop's, high office, to which the appointment to the churches in his own diocese of right belonged. The

legate however paid no attention to this appeal, but, by the king's consent, despatched the before-named Pandulph to the court of Rome to counteract the intentions of the archbishop and bishops; on his arrival there he, in presence of the supreme pontiff, vilified the character of the archbishop in no slight degree, but he extolled the king of England with so much praise, declaring that he had never before seen such a humble and moderate king, that John gained great favour in the eyes of the pope. One person at that court however opposed Pandulph, which was master Simon de Langton, brother of the archbishop of Canterbury; but, as the gold-sealed charter of the subjection and tribute of the kingdoms of England and Ireland had been lately brought to our lord the pope by Pandulph, master Simon could not obtain a hearing for his opposing arguments. Moreover the said Pandulph declared in the presence of the pope, that the archbishop and bishops were too strict and covetous in their exactions, and about the restitution of the property confiscated at the time of the interdict, and that they oppressed the king himself and the rights of the kingdom in an unjust manner. And thus the purpose of the archbishop and bishops was delayed for a time.

How king John crossed sea to Poictou.

In the same year king John sent a large sum of money to the chiefs of his army in Flanders, to enable them to harass the king of the French, and to ravage his territory, and destroy his castles in their hostile incursions; they therefore, in obedience to the king's commands, laid waste the territory of the count de Guisne with fire and sword; they laid siege to the castle of Bruncham and destroyed it, taking away in chains a number of knights and their attendants who had been obliged to surrender themselves; they also besieged Arria, and, after subduing it, destroyed it by fire. They took the castle of Liens by assault, slaying a great many, and imprisoning those who were taken; they also ravaged the territory of Louis son of the French king, in that district. King John himself after having sent messengers to Rome for the withdrawal of the interdict, embarked on the day of the Purification of St. Mary at Portsmouth, accompanied by his queen, and in a few days landed with a large army at

Rochelle; and at news of his arrival, several barons of Poictou came and swore fealty to him. Afterwards proceeding in great force, he reduced a great many castles belonging to his enemies; but whoever wishes to know more of what happened there, let him read the letters sent by the king to the justiciaries of the treasury.

King John's letter about his proceedings in Poictou.

"*John, by the grace of God, &c.*—Be it known to you, that when the truce was at an end which we had granted to the counts of La March and Augi, and as we found them not disposed to make a peace suitable to us, we on the Friday next preceding Whitsuntide, crossed with our army to Miervant, a castle belonging to Geoffrey de Lusignan; and although many might not believe that it could be taken by assault, we, on the day after, which was the eve of Whitsuntide, took it by force after one assault, which lasted from early in the morning till one o'clock. On Whitsunday we laid siege to another castle of this same Geoffrey's, called 'Novent,' in which Geoffrey with his two sons had shut themselves; and when, after repeated discharges from our petraries for three days, a fitting opportunity for taking the aforesaid castle was approaching, the count de la March came to us, bringing it about that the aforesaid Geoffrey threw himself on our mercy, together with his two sons, his castle, and every thing in it. Whilst we were still there, news was brought us that Louis, son of the king of France, had laid siege to a castle belonging to the same Geoffrey called 'Muneuntur;' on hearing this, we immediately turned in that direction to meet him, so that on the day of the Holy Trinity we were at Parthenay, and there the counts de la March and Augi came to us with the aforesaid Geoffrey de Lusignan, and did homage and swore fealty to us. And, because we had formerly treated with the count de la March as to giving our daughter in marriage to his son, we granted that favour to him, although the king of the French had requested her for his son, but with treacherous designs; for we remembered our niece who was married to Louis, son of that monarch, and the result of that affair; and may God grant us more success in this marriage than in the former one! Now, by the grace of God, an opportunity is afforded us of attacking our mortal enemy the

king of the French beyond Poictou. And we inform you thereof that you may rejoice in our successes. Witness myself at Parthenay, in the sixteenth year of our reign." On the 24th of June, in the same year, died Gilbert bishop of Rochester.

Letter of pope Innocent on the withdrawal of the interdict.

About this time pope Innocent wrote to Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, about the withdrawal of the interdict, as follows: "*Innocent bishop, &c.* Our venerable brother John bishop of Norwich, and our beloved son Robert de Marisco archdeacon of Northumberland, and the nobles Thomas and Adam de Hardington, the ambassadors of our well-beloved in Christ, John the illustrious king of England of the one part, and master Stephen de Langton A. and G. clerks, messengers of our beloved brother Stephen archbishop of Canterbury of the other part, having appeared before us, have, by common consent and deliberately declared, that, to avoid great loss of property and serious danger to their souls, it was necessary to the kingdom as well as the priesthood that the sentence of interdict be withdrawn without delay; wherefore we, in our paternal regard have, for their preservation and for the advantage of peace, carefully entertained the matter between them, and at length, with their acquiescence, we have devised and determined on the underwritten terms:—"Let the aforesaid king pay to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of London and Ely, or to others whom they may appoint to receive it, so much money as, when added to what the said king has already paid to us, shall amount to the sum of forty thousand marks; on the payment of which by him, and his giving the undermentioned security, do you immediately withdraw the sentence of interdict, doing away with all appeal or gainsaying. And after this he must pay twelve thousand marks yearly, at two fixed periods, namely, six thousand marks on the commemoration of All Saints, and the same number at the feast of our Lord's ascension, until the whole amount be paid. And, for the due fulfilment of this, the said king has bound himself by his own oath and by letters patent under his own seal, and also by the suretyship of the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, the earls of Winchester and Chester, and William Marshal; that the heirs of the said king and their successors shall be held bound by a

similar engagement; wherefore we command you, by these our apostolic letters, to proceed in this matter according to the form above-named, unless the parties of their own free-will determine to settle the matter otherwise. Given at the Lateran in the sixteenth year of our pontificate."

Of the restitution of the confiscated property.

At the time when Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, legate of the apostolic see, received this warrant by the messengers of our lord the pope, the king of England was in the transmarine provinces; but as he had, on leaving England, entrusted his part in this business to the legate and William Marshal, the said legate convened a grand council at St. Paul's in the city of London, at which were assembled the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, earls, barons, and others concerned in this affair of the interdict. The said legate there explained to all the terms of restitution of the confiscated property, and of satisfaction for losses which had been arranged by the pope at Rome with the consent of the parties; and he clearly ordered that a certificate should be given of the quantity of money paid to the bishops and others by the king's agents on account of the interdict; so that, by what money had been paid, it might be known how much remained to be paid. It was there proved by a sure computation, that the archbishop and the monks of Canterbury, with the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Bath, and Lincoln had, before they returned to England from their exile, received twelve thousand marks of sterling money by the hands of Pandulph; also that, since their arrival, the said bishops and the monks aforesaid had, at the council which was held at Reading on the sixth of December, received fifteen thousand marks to be divided amongst them; and this sum, together with the former one received, made a total of twenty-seven thousand marks. The other fifteen thousand which remained to be paid to make up the before-mentioned complement of forty thousand marks, remained under the suretyship of the bishops of Winchester and Norwich, with letters patent from the king besides for further security, according to what was contained in the letters of our lord the pope.

Of the withdrawal of the interdict.

After thus arranging matters, on the apostles, St. Peter

and St. Paul's day, Nicholas bishop of Tusculum, legate of the apostolic see, went to the cathedral church, and there amidst the ringing of bells and the chanting of the "Te Deum," solemnly revoked the sentence of interdict which had lasted for six years, three months, and fourteen days.

How the legate put off the restitution of the confiscated property.

On the removal of the interdict, as above-mentioned, the legate was beset by an innumerable multitude of abbats, priors, templars, hospitallers, abbesses, nuns, clergy and laity, asking for satisfaction to be made to them for losses and injuries suffered by them during the time of the interdict; for they asserted that, although they had not left England, they had endured the incessant persecution of the king and his agents, both in person and property, until all their property being confiscated and their persons ill used, they knew not whither to turn from the fury of their enemies. But the legate in reply to this multitude of complainants, said that of their losses and injuries no mention had been made in the pope's letters, wherefore he ought not and could not lawfully go beyond the bounds of the apostolic mandate; but he nevertheless advised them to lay a complaint of their losses and injuries before the pope, and to ask for full justice to be shown to them. On hearing this, however, the whole of that assembly of complaining prelates, having no hope of better luck, returned again to their homes. In the same year, on the day of St. Kenelm, the king and martyr, John abbat of the church of St. Alban's, a religious and learned man, closed his life at a good old age, in the nineteenth year of his prelateship.*

How king John led his army into Brittany.

About this time king John led his army forward from Poictou into Lesser Britain, and there stayed three days and three nights. On arriving near a city called by the inhabitants Nantes, he determined to attack it; but the citizens and knights who had been left in charge of the place by the

* About that time Ralph of Arundel, abbat of Westminster, was deposed by the aforesaid legate on the day after the feast of St. Vincent, his seal having been broken in the chapter-house by N. abbat of Westham, who was sent on behalf of the legate; in Ralph's place was appointed William de Humes, prior of Frontignac, a monk of Caen.

French king, on learning the approach of the English monarch, went out to meet him, and at a bridge not far from the city they gave battle to the English king's army; but king John, by good luck, gained the victory, taking twenty knights in the battle, and amongst the rest the son and heir of Robert de Drus, uncle of the French king; this knight the king loaded with chains, and took away with him on his return. After this the said king marched with his army to the castle of Rocheau Maine, and laid siege to it; on hearing which Louis, son of the French king, who had been sent by his father to check the incursions of king John, hastened with a large army to the assistance of the besieged. The English king, when he learned their approach, sent scouts from his army to find out the number and strength of the approaching enemy; these messengers, soon performing the duty assigned to them, returned and told the king that he, the English king, had a much larger force, and therefore earnestly persuaded him to engage the enemy in open battle, because, by doing this, he would without doubt gain a victory over the enemy. He therefore, being inspirited by the information of his messengers, ordered his soldiers to arms as soon as possible, to give open battle to Louis, but the barons of Poictou refused to follow the king, saying that they were not prepared for a pitched battle. King John then, knowing too well the accustomed treachery of the nobles of Poictou, although the capture of the castle was almost certain, retired in great annoyance from the siege. Louis too, when he heard that the English king had moved his camp, feared that he would attack him, and fled in an opposite direction from king John's; and thus each army ignominiously taking to flight, turned their backs on one another.

How the king of the French marched against the army of the English king in Flanders.

At this time the English king's army in Flanders had spread its ravages through several provinces, and was now laying waste Poictou in a most relentless manner; in this expedition were the warlike and tried men William duke of Holland; Reginald, formerly count of Boulogne; Ferrand count of Flanders; and Hugh de Boves, a brave soldier though a cruel and proud man, for he showed his cruel dis-

position in those regions by sparing neither the female sex nor the young children. King John had appointed his brother William earl of Salisbury, marshal over that army, and over the knights of the kingdom, to fight in conjunction with them, and also to give the pay from the treasury to the other soldiers. These warriors were moreover assisted and favoured by Otho the Roman emperor, with all the forces of the dukes of Louvaine and Brabant, who were equally exasperated against the French. When all these proceedings came to the knowledge of Philip king of the French, he was much alarmed lest he should be unable to defend that part of the country, having lately sent his son Louis with a large army into Poictou to oppose the English king, and to check his hostile incursions there; and although the said king often thought on the common proverb—

> "Whose mind to many schemes is bent,
> On each can scarcely be intent."

He however collected an army of earls, barons, knights, and soldiers, horse and foot, together with the commoners of the cities and towns, and advanced in great force to meet his enemies, giving orders to the priests, religious men, clerks and nuns, to give alms, to offer prayers to God, and to perform services for the firm standing of his kingdom; after which he boldly marched with his army against the enemy. Hearing that the latter had already arrived as far as the bridge of Bovines in the territory of Pontoise, he led his forces in that direction, and arriving at the aforesaid bridge, he crossed the river with his army, and there pitched his camp. The heat of the sun was very great, as is usual in the month of July, on which account the French determined to halt near the river for the sake of refreshing the men as well as horses. They arrived at the before-mentioned river on a Saturday, about the hour of evening; and, having arranged the carts, waggons, and all the vehicles in which they conveyed their food and arms, engines of war and weapons; to the right and left they appointed watches all round, and rested there for the night. When morning came, and the English commanders were informed that the French king had arrived, they held a council, and unanimously determined to give open battle to the enemy; but, as it was

Sunday, it seemed to the more prudent men of the army, and especially to Reginald, formerly count of Boulogne, that it was improper to engage in battle on such a festival, and to profane such a day by slaughter and the effusion of human blood. The Roman emperor Otho coincided in this opinion, and said that he had never gained a triumph on such a day; on hearing this Hugh de Boves broke forth into blasphemy, calling count Reginald a base traitor, and reproaching him with the lands and large possessions he had received as gifts from the king of England; he added also that, if the battle was put off that day, it would redound to the irreparable loss of king John, for "delays are always dangerous when things are ready." But count Reginald, in reply to the taunts of Hugh, said indignantly, "This day will prove me faithful, and you the traitor; for even on this very Sunday, if necessary, I will stand up in battle for the king, even to the death, and you, according to your custom, will, by fleeing from the battle, show yourself a most base traitor in the presence of all. By these and other abusive words of the said Hugh, the whole multitude were stirred up and excited to battle; they therefore all flew to arms and boldly prepared for fighting. When all were armed, they arranged themselves in three bodies, over the first of which they appointed Ferrand count of Flanders, Reginald earl of Boulogne, and William earl of Salisbury, as commanders; the command of the second they gave to William duke of Holland, and Hugh de Boves, with his Brabant followers; the command of the third was assigned to Otho the Roman emperor and his fighting men: and in this manner they slowly marched forth against the enemy, and arrived in sight of the French army. When the French king saw that his enemies were prepared for a pitched battle, he ordered the bridge in his rear to be broken down, that, in case any of his army should endeavour to fly, they should have no where to fly except amongst the enemy. The French king having drawn up his troops, surrounded by his waggons and other vehicles, as already mentioned, there awaited the assault of his enemies. In short, the battalions commanded by the above-named counts burst upon the ranks of the French with such impetuosity, that in a moment they broke their ranks, and forced their way even up to where the French

king was. Count Reginald, when he saw the king who had disinherited him and expelled him from his county, couched his lance against him, and having forced him to the ground, was preparing to slay him with his sword; but one of the soldiers, who had been appointed as a body-guard for the king, exposed himself to the blows of the count and was killed in his stead. The French, seeing their king on the ground, rushed impetuously and in great force to his assistance, and re-mounted him on his horse; then the battle raged on both sides, swords glistened like lightning around helmeted heads, and the conflict was most severe on both sides. The before-mentioned counts with the body of troops under their command had become separated from the rest of their fellow soldiers, and their retreat, as well as the advance of the rest of the army to their succour was stopped; and thus their small body not being able to withstand the attacks of such numbers of the French, at length gave way, and in this manner the aforesaid counts with the whole of the band which they commanded, were, after showing great bravery, taken and made prisoners.

Conclusion of the battle.

Whilst these events were passing round king Philip, the counts of Champagne, Perche, and St. Paul, with many other nobles of the French kingdom, made an attack on the troops above-mentioned to be commanded by Hugh de Boves, and put that noble to flight, together with all the troops collected from the different provinces; and in their base flight they were pursued at the sword's point by the French as far as the position of the emperor; therefore, after their flight, all the weight of the battle was in an instant thrown on the latter. The above-named counts then summoned him and endeavoured to slay him or to compel him to surrender; but he, holding his sword, sharp on one side like a knife, with both hands, dealt such insupportable blows on all sides, that he either stunned all whom he struck, or levelled riders and horses with the ground. His enemies, fearing to come too near him, killed three horses under him with their lances, but by the bravery of his troops, he was each time re-mounted, and renewed his attacks more fiercely; at length his enemies left him and his followers unconquered, and he

retreated from the battle without harm to himself or his followers. The king of the French, in his joy for such an unexpected victory, gave thanks to God for having granted him such a triumph over his enemies. The three counts above named, with a great number of knights and others, were taken away to be imprisoned. This battle took place on the 27th of July. By this misfortune the English king ineffectually spent the forty thousand marks which he had taken from the monks of the Cistercian order during the time of the interdict, thus verifying the proverb,

"Inglorious spoil will never end in good."

When at length the news of this event came to king John's knowledge he was thrown into dismay, and said to those about him, "Since I became reconciled to God, and submitted myself and my kingdoms to the church of Rome, woe is me, nothing has gone properously with me, and every thing unlucky has happened to me." In this same year John bishop of Norwich, when returning from the court of Rome, died in the territory of Poictou, and his body was brought to England, and buried with honour in the church at Norwich.

Of a truce made between the French and English kings.

After the events above-mentioned, by the intervention of religious men, a truce was agreed on in the transmarine provinces between Philip and John, the French and English kings, in this form:—"*Philip, by the grace of God, king of the French, to all who shall see these letters, greeting.* Be it known to you, that we have granted to king John and his men who have appeared in the field on his behalf since this last war, up to the Thursday next after the exaltation of the Holy Cross in September, a truce in due form from us and our men, who have appeared on the field in our behalf, until next Easter, that shall be in the year of our Lord 1215, and for five full years after the said Easter; saving however to us, our prisoners whom we have in our power, and saving the oath which the towns of Flanders and Hainault made to us; and saving in a like manner to king John the prisoners he has in his power. And we and our subjects and adventurers will remain in the same position as we were on the aforesaid Thursday, till the end of the aforesaid five years. And those who are to dictate and arrange the terms of this

truce made between us and the king of England, shall be, on behalf of us, P. Savary, Guy Turpin, abbat of Marmontier, and G. archdeacon of Tours; on behalf of the king of England, Hugh de Bourg seneschal of Poictou, R. de Ponte abbat of St. John in England, and the dean of Christaton. And all these have sworn in good faith that, for the settlement of all differences and complaints which may arise in Poictou, Anjou, Brittany, or Tours, they will meet at the convent of Fulcirelle; and for other complaints which may arise in Bourges, Auvergne, the counties of La Marche and Limosin, they will meet to arrange matters in those provinces." On the 5th of October in this year Richard dean of Salisbury, and Walter de Gray chancellor of England, were, by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, consecrated bishops, the former to the church of Chichester, and the latter to that of Winchester. About this time too, on the 19th of October, king John, having settled all his business in the transmarine provinces, returned home to England.

Of a conference held by the barons against king John.

About this time the earls and barons of England assembled at St. Edmund's, as if for religious duties, although it was for some other reason; for after they had discoursed together secretly for a time, there was placed before them the charter of king Henry the First, which they had received, as mentioned before, in the city of London from Stephen archbishop of Canterbury. This charter contained certain liberties and laws granted to the holy church as well as to the nobles of the kingdom, besides some liberties which the king added of his own accord. All therefore assembled in the church of St. Edmund, the king and martyr, and, commencing from those of the highest rank, they all swore on the great altar that, if the king refused to grant these liberties and laws, they themselves would withdraw from their allegiance to him, and make war on him, till he should, by a charter under his own seal, confirm to them every thing they required; and finally it was unanimously agreed that, after Christmas, they should all go together to the king and demand the confirmation of the aforesaid liberties to them, and that they should in the meantime provide themselves with horses and arms, so that if the king should endeavour to

depart from his oath, they might by taking his castles, compel him to satisfy their demands; and having arranged this, each man returned home.

Of William, abbat of the church of St. Alban's.

In this year, John, abbat of the church of St. Alban's, was succeeded by William, a monk of the same church, who was solemnly elected on the day of St. Edmund the king and martyr, which was the fifth day of the week, and, on the day of St. Andrew the apostle, which was the first Sunday of our Lord's advent, he was pontifically and solemnly consecrated before the great altar in St. Alban's church by Eustace bishop of Ely; and the promotion of this man is said to have been shown in a nocturnal vision to some of the brothers of that monastery, even before the election was made. The first abbat of the church of St. Alban, the English protomartyr, was Willegod, who was appointed abbat, and ordered to observe a regular course of life on the first of August in the year of our Lord seven hundred and ninety-four, by Offa king of the Mercians, after the martyr's body had been found, and the monks introduced, though the church was not then built; to Willegod succeeded Edric, Wolsius, Wolnoth, Edfred, Wolsin, Alfric, Eldred, Edmar, Leofric, who was made archbishop of Canterbury; to him succeeded Alfric, brother of the said Leofric; to Alfric succeeded Leofstan, Frederic, Paul, Richard, Geoffrey, Ralph, Robert, Simon, Warin, John, and to John succeeded William the twenty-second abbat, who was appointed to the office in the sixteenth year of king John's reign.

Of the demand made by the barons of England for their rights.

A.D. 1215; which was the seventeenth year of the reign of king John; he held his court at Winchester at Christmas for one day, after which he hurried to London, and took up his abode at the New Temple; and at that place the above-mentioned nobles came to him in gay military array, and demanded the confirmation of the liberties and laws of king Edward, with other liberties granted to them and to the kingdom and church of England, as were contained in the charter, and above-mentioned laws of Henry the First: they also asserted that, at the time of his absolution at Win-

chester, he had promised to restore those laws and ancient liberties, and was bound by his own oath to observe them. The king, hearing the bold tone of the barons in making this demand, much feared an attack from them, as he saw that they were prepared for battle; he however made answer that their demands were a matter of importance and difficulty, and he therefore asked a truce till the end of Easter, that he might, after due deliberation, be able to satisfy them as well as the dignity of his crown. After much discussion on both sides, the king at length, although unwillingly, procured the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Ely, and William Marshal, as his sureties, that on the day pre-agreed on he would, in all reason, satisfy them all, on which the nobles returned to their homes. The king however, wishing to take precautions against the future, caused all the nobles throughout England to swear fealty to him alone against all men, and to renew their homage to him; and, the better to take care of himself, he, on the day of St. Mary's purification, assumed the cross of our Lord, being induced to this more by fear than devotion. In the same year Eustace bishop of Ely, a man well skilled in divine as well as human knowledge, died at Reading.

Of the principal persons who compelled the king to grant the laws and liberties.

In Easter week of this same year, the above-mentioned nobles assembled at Stamford, with horses and arms; for they had now induced almost all the nobility of the whole kingdom to join them, and constituted a very large army; for in their army there were computed to be two thousand knights, besides horse soldiers, attendants, and foot soldiers, who were variously equipped. The chief promoters of this pestilence were Robert Fitz-Walter, Eustace de Vescy, Richard de Percy, Robert de Roos, Peter de Bruis, Nicholas de Stuteville, Saer earl of Winchester, R. earl of Clare, H. earl Clare, earl Roger Bigod, William de Munbray, Roger de Creissi, Ranulph Fitz-Robert, Robert de Vere, Fulk Fitz-Warine, William Mallet, William de Montacute, William de Beauchamp, S. de Kime, William Marshall junior, William Maudut, Roger de Mont-Begon, John Fitz-Robert, John Fitz-Alan, G. de Laval, O. Fitz-Alan, W. de Hobregge, O. des Vaux, G. de Gant,

Maurice de Gant, R. de Brackele, R. de Muntfichet, W. de Lanvalei, G. de Mandeville earl of Essex, William his brother, William de Huntingefeld, Robert de Greslei, G. constable of Meautun, Alexander de Puinter, Peter Fitz-John, Alexander de Sutune, Osbert de Bobi, John constable of Chester, Thomas de Mulutune, and many others; all of these being united by oath, were supported by the concurrence of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, who was at their head. The king at this time was awaiting the arrival of his nobles at Oxford. On the Monday next after the octaves of Easter, the said barons assembled in the town of Brackley; and when the king learned this, he sent the archbishop of Canterbury, and William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with some other prudent men, to them to inquire what the laws and liberties were which they demanded. The barons then delivered to the messengers a paper, containing in great measure the laws and ancient customs of the kingdom, and declared that, unless the king immediately granted them and confirmed them under his own seal, they would, by taking possession of his fortresses, force him to give them sufficient satisfaction as to their before-named demands. The archbishop with his fellow messengers then carried the paper to the king, and read to him the heads of the paper one by one throughout. The king when he heard the purport of these heads, derisively said, with the greatest indignation, "Why, amongst these unjust demands, did not the barons ask for my kingdom also? Their demands are vain and visionary, and are unsupported by any plea of reason whatever." And at length he angrily declared with an oath, that he would never grant them such liberties as would render him their slave. The principal of these laws and liberties, which the nobles required to be confirmed to them, are partly described above in the charter of king Henry, and partly are extracted from the old laws of king Edward, as the following history will show in due time.

The castle of Northampton besieged by the barons.

As the archbishop and William Marshall could not by any persuasions induce the king to agree to their demands, they returned by the king's order to the barons, and duly reported all they had heard from the king to them; and when the

nobles heard what John said, they appointed Robert Fitz-Walter commander of their soldiers, giving him the title of "Marshal of the army of God and the holy church," and then, one and all flying to arms, they directed their forces towards Northampton. On their arrival there they at once laid siege to the castle, but after having stayed there for fifteen days, and having gained little or no advantage, they determined to move their camp; for having come without petrariæ and other engines of war, they, without accomplishing their purpose, proceeded in confusion to the castle of Bedford. At that siege the standard-bearer of Robert Fitz-Walter, amongst others slain, was pierced through the head with an arrow from a cross-bow and died, to the grief of many.

How the city of London was given up to the barons.

When the army of the barons arrived at Bedford, they were received with all respect by William de Beauchamp. There also came to them there messengers from the city of London, secretly telling them, if they wished to get into that city, to come there immediately. The barons, inspirited by the arrival of this agreeable message, immediately moved their camp and arrived at Ware; after this they marched the whole night, and arrived early in the morning at the city of London, and, finding the gates open, they, on the 24th of May, which was the Sunday next before our Lord's ascension, entered the city without any tumult whilst the inhabitants were performing divine service; for the rich citizens were favourable to the barons, and the poor ones were afraid to murmur against them. The barons having thus got into the city, placed their own guards in charge of each of the gates, and then arranged all matters in the city at will. They then took security from the citizens, and sent letters throughout England to those earls, barons, and knights, who appeared to be still faithful to the king, though they only pretended to be so, and advised them with threats, as they regarded the safety of all their property and possessions, to abandon a king who was perjured and who warred against his barons, and together with them to stand firm and fight against the king for their rights and for peace; and that, if they refused to do this, they, the barons, would make war against them

all, as against open enemies, and would destroy their castles, burn their houses and other buildings, and destroy their warrens, parks, and orchards. The names of some of those who had not as yet sworn to strive for these liberties were, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, Ralph earl of Chester, William earl of Salisbury, William earl Warrenne, William earl of Albemarle, H. earl of Cornwall, W. d'Albiney, Robert de Vipont, Peter Fitz-Hubert, Brian de l'Isle, G. de Lucy, G. de Furnival, Thomas Basset, Henry de Braibroc, John de Bassingeburne, William de Cantelu, Henry de Cornhulle, John Fitz-Hugh, Hugh de Neville, Philip de Albeney, John Marshal, and William Briuerre; the greatest part of these, on receiving the message of the barons, set out to London and joined them, abandoning the king entirely. The pleas of the exchequer and of the sheriff's courts ceased throughout England, because there was no one to make a valuation for the king or to obey him in any thing.*

The conference between the king and the barons.

King John, when he saw that he was deserted by almost all, so that out of his regal superabundance of followers he scarcely retained seven knights, was much alarmed lest the barons would attack his castles and reduce them without difficulty, as they would find no obstacle to their so doing; and he deceitfully pretended to make peace for a time with the aforesaid barons, and sent William Marshal earl of Pembroke, with other trustworthy messengers, to them, and told them that, for the sake of peace, and for the exaltation and honour of the kingdom, he would willingly grant them the laws and liberties they required; he also sent word to the

* "About the same time the king concealed his secret hatred of the barons under a calm countenance, and planning revenge, caused the seals of all the bishops to be counterfeited, as it is commonly called, and wrote word in their names to all countries, that the English were all apostates, and to be detested by the whole world. And whoever would attack these apostates, he would bestow on him, with the consent of them, and by authority of the pope, all their lands and possessions. But when the people of foreign countries heard these promises, they put no faith in them, because they knew that the English were of all Christians the most steadfast; and when they discovered the truth they detested such crimes and falsehoods, and thus the king fell into the net which he had himself spread."—*M. Paris.*

barons by these same messengers, to appoint a fitting day and place to meet and carry all these matters into effect. The king's messengers then came in all haste to London, and without deceit reported to the barons all that had been deceitfully imposed on them; they in their great joy appointed the fifteenth of June for the king to meet them, at a field lying between Staines and Windsor. Accordingly, at the time and place pre-agreed on, the king and nobles came to the appointed conference, and when each party had stationed themselves apart from the other, they began a long discussion about terms of peace and the aforesaid liberties. There were present on behalf of the king, the archbishops, Stephen of Canterbury, and H. of Dublin; the bishops W. of London, P. of Winchester, H. of Lincoln, J. of Bath, Walter of Worcester, W. of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester; master Pandulph familiar of our lord the pope, and brother Almeric the master of the knights-templars in England; the nobles, William Marshal earl of Pembroke, the earl of Salisbury, earl Warrenne, the earl of Arundel, Alan de Galwey, W. Fitz-Gerald, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Alan Basset, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Hugh de Neville, Hubert de Burgh seneschal of Poictou, Robert de Ropeley, John Marshal, and Philip d'Aubeny. Those who were on behalf of the barons it is not necessary to enumerate, since the whole nobility of England were now assembled together in numbers not to be computed. At length, after various points on both sides had been discussed, king John, seeing that he was inferior in strength to the barons, without raising any difficulty, granted the underwritten laws and liberties, and confirmed them by his charter as follows:—

Charter of king John as to the grant of common rights to the barons.

"*John, by the grace of God, king of England, &c.* Be it known, that we, looking to God and for the safety of our soul, and those of our ancestors and our heirs, have, for the honour of God, the exaltation of the holy church, and the amendment of our kingdom,* conceded to God, and by this

* Paris inserts here:—"By the advice of our venerable fathers, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury primate of all England, and a cardinal of the holy Roman church, Henry archbishop of Dublin, and the bishops William of London, Peter of Winchester Jocelyn of Bath and Glaston-

our present charter have confirmed, on behalf of us and our heirs for ever, that the church of England be a free church, and keep its laws entire, and its liberties uninfringed, and we wish it to be observed so, inasmuch as it appears that the liberty of elections, which is considered to be of the greatest importance and most necessary to the English church, was granted by us, of our own free will, and confirmed by our charter, before any open disagreement had arisen between us and our barons, and we obtained a confirmation of it from our lord pope Innocent the third, and we will keep it ourselves and wish it to be observed by our heirs in good faith for ever. Also to all our free subjects of the kingdom of England, we, for ourselves and our heirs for ever, have granted all the underwritten liberties, to be had and to be held by them and their heirs from us and our heirs. If any one of our earls, or barons, or any others holding possession from us in chief by knight's service, shall die, and, after his decease, his heir shall be of age, and shall owe relief, he shall take his inheritance by the old relief; that is to say, the heir or heirs of an earl shall pay a hundred pounds for the entire barony of the earl, the heir or heirs of a baron a hundred marks for the whole of his barony, and the heir or heirs of a knight a hundred shillings at most for the whole of his knight's fee, and whoever owes less let him pay less, according to the old custom of fees. But if the heir of any one of these shall be under age, his lord shall not have custody of him or his land, before he has received his homage, and after that such heir shall be in wardship, and attain the age of twenty-one years, he shall take up his inheritance without relief or fine; so that if the heir himself, whilst under age, be made a knight, nevertheless his land shall remain in the custody of his lord till the before-named period. The guardian of the property of an heir under age,

bury, Hugh of Lincoln, Walter of Worcester, William of Coventry, and Benedict of Rochester, of master Pandulph, sub-deacon and familiar of our lord the pope, the master of the knights-templars in England, and of the nobles William Marshall earl of Pembroke, W. earl of Salisbury, William earl Warrenne, William earl of Arundel, Alan de Lewey constable of Scotland, Warin Fitz-Gerard, Peter Fitz-Herbert, Hubert de Bourg seneschal of Poictou, Hugh de Neville, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Thomas Basset, Alan Basset, Philip Daubeney, Robert de Ropesle, John Marshall, John Fitz-Hugh, and others of our faithful subjects amongst the first."

shall take from the land of the said heir only reasonable outgoings, reasonable customs, and reasonable service, and these without destruction of, or damage to, person or property. And if we entrust the guardianship of such land to any one, either a sheriff or any other, who ought to answer to us for the outgoings of that land, and he in his guardianship causes destruction or waste to it, we will take compensation from him, and the land shall be entrusted to two liege and prudent men of that fee, who shall in the same way answer to us as above-mentioned. But the guardian, as long as he holds charge of the land, shall, from the produce thereof, support all houses, parks, warrens, lakes, mills, and other appurtenances of that land; and shall, when the heir comes of age, restore the land to him furnished with ploughs and all other things, at least as well as he received it. All these rules shall be observed in the guardianships of archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, priories, churches and vacant dignities, which belong to us, except that the wardships of these ought not to be sold. Heirs may marry without disparagement. A widow, after the death of her husband, may immediately, and without any difficulty, take possession of her marriage portion, and her inheritance, and shall not give anything for her dowry, marriage portion, or the inheritance which she and her husband possessed on the day of that husband's decease; and she may remain in the principal house of her husband for forty days after the death of her said husband, during which time her dowry shall be allotted to her, unless it has been previously allotted to her, or unless that house be a castle; and if she goes away from a castle, a fitting house shall be provided for her, in which she can stay in a becoming manner till her dowry is allotted to her, according to what has been stated above, and she shall have a reasonable allowance for herself out of the common property; and there shall be allotted to her for her dowry a third portion of all her husband's land, which was his in his life-time, unless she received less as a dowry at the door of the church. No widow shall be bound to marry when she wishes to live without a husband; but if she holds property of us she shall give security that she will not marry without our consent. And we and our bailiffs will not seize any land or property for any debt as long as the chattels of the debtor, then in his

possession, are sufficient to pay the debt and the debtor himself is willing to satisfy our demand out of them. And the debtor's sureties shall not be bound as long as the debtor personally is able to pay the debt, and if the debtor himself fails to pay the debt, not possessing means of payment, or refusing to pay although he is able, his sureties shall be answerable for the debt; and if they wish it they shall have the lands and income of the debtor, until they are satisfied for the debt, which they have pre-paid for him, unless the debtor himself shows that he was quit of it to the said sureties. The city of London* shall have all its old liberties and its free customs. Moreover we will and grant that all other cities, towns, and villages, and barons of the cinque ports, and all our ports, shall have all their liberties and customs free. No one shall be bound to do greater service

* "Whoever accepts a loan from a Jew, be it more or less, and dies before paying that debt, the debt shall not be charged with interest as long as his heir is under age, of whomsoever he may hold; and if that debt should fall into our hands we will only seize the chattels mentioned in the charter. And if any one dies, owing a debt to Jews, his wife shall receive her dowry, and shall not pay anything for that debt. And if any children of the deceased survive, who are under age, they shall be provided with necessaries according to the tenement which the deceased held, and with what remains the debt shall be paid, saving, however, the service due to their lords. And the same shall be the case when debts are contracted with others besides Jews. We will not levy any scutage or tax in our kingdom without the advice of the kingdom in general, unless it be to ransom our body, to make a knight of our eldest son, and to marry our eldest daughter once, and for this only a reasonable tax shall be levied. And the same shall be observed with regard to the taxes of the city of London; and the city of London shall enjoy all its old liberties and free customs both by land and water. And moreover we will and grant leave for all other cities, boroughs, and towns, and the barons of the cinque ports, to enjoy all their liberties and free customs. And in order to obtain the general opinion of the kingdom as to levying taxes in any cases except those three above-mentioned, and as to levying scutages, we will summon, by our letters under our seal, the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, and chief barons of the kingdom. And we will moreover by means of our sheriffs and bailiffs, summon all others in general, who hold of us in chief, to meet at a fixed place, and at a fixed time, namely, at the term of forty days at least. In all our letters of summons we will set forth the cause of that summons; and after having thus summoned them the business shall be proceeded with on the appointed day according to the plans of those who may be present, although all who were summoned may not have come. Henceforth we do not permit any one to levy a tax from his freemen, unless to ransom his body, or to make his eldest son a knight, or to marry his eldest daughter once, and only a reasonable tax shall be levied for this purpose."—*M. Paris.*

for a knight's fee, or for any other free tenement than he ought to do for it. The common pleas shall not accompany our court, but shall be held in some fixed place. Recognizances for new disseising, and the death of an ancestor, shall only be taken in their own counties and in this manner. We, or if we are out of the kingdom, our chief justiciary, will send our justiciaries through each county once a year, who will, with the knights of the counties hold the before-mentioned assize in each county; and those things, which at their arrival in the counties could not be determined by the aforesaid messengers at the aforesaid assizes, shall be determined elsewhere by the same messengers on their journey; and those things which could not, on account of some difficulty in the points in question, be determined by the said messengers, shall be referred to our justiciaries of the bench and there determined. The assizes concerning the last presentation to the churches shall always be held before the justiciaries of the bench, and there determined. A freeman shall be fined for a small offence only according to the degree of his fault, and for a great offence according to the greatness of his offence, saving his tenements; and, in the same way, a merchant, saving his merchandize; and a villain of any other person except ourselves shall be amerced in the same manner, saving his wannage,* if he throws himself on our mercy. And none of the aforesaid allowances shall be made, unless on the oath of tried and lawful men of the neighbourhood in the county. Earls and barons shall only be fined by their peers, and then only according to the degree of their offence. No ecclesiastic shall be fined according to the degree of his ecclesiastical benefice, but according to his lay possessions, and the degree of his offence. No town or person shall be bound to make bridges over rivers, unless bound in duty to do so by old custom and by right. No river shall be embanked anew, unless those which were embanked at the time of king Henry our grandfather. No sheriff, constable, or coroner, or other bailiffs of ours shall hold pleas of our crown.† If any one holding lay fees from

* Farming-stock.

† Paris adds:—"All countries, hundreds, wapentakes, and tithings, shall be set at their ancient farmage without any increase, except the manors of our domain."

us dies, and our sheriff or bailiff shows our letters patent, with a warning from us of the debt which the deceased owed us, it shall be lawful for our sheriff or bailiff to attach and reduce to writing the chattels of the deceased which are found in his lay fee, to the value of that debt, according to the decision of legal men, so that nothing may be moved from thence till our debt is ascertained and paid, and then the residue shall be left to the deceased's executor to execute his will; and if he owes us nothing, all the chattels shall go out to the deceased, except reasonable portions for his wife and his sons.* No constable or bailiff of his shall take the corn or chattels of any one who does not belong to the town where the castle is situated, unless he immediately pays him money, or has regard for the same at the will of the seller; but if he belongs to that town, he shall pay the price within forty days. No constable shall compel any knight to pay him for taking care of his castle, if he wishes to do it personally, or by some other approved person, if he cannot do it by reasonable cause; and if we shall send him to the army, he shall be quit of his wardship as long as he is detained by us in the army, as regards the fee for which he served in our army. No bailiff, sheriff, or other agent of ours, shall take horses or carts belonging to any one for carriage of goods, unless he pays the livery determined on of old; that is to say, for a cart with two horses ten pence a day, and for one with three horses fourteen pence a day. No cart belonging to any ecclesiastical person, or knight, or any lady, shall be taken by the aforesaid bailiffs; nor will we, or our bailiffs, or any others take wood belonging to another to make our castles or to do our work, unless by consent of the party to whom the wood belongs. We will retain the lands of those convicted of felony only for one year and one day, and then they shall be given up to the lords of the fees. All the weirs shall be hereafter done away with entirely in the Thames and the Medway, and throughout all Europe except at the sea-coast. The brief called 'præcipe," shall hereafter not issue to any one for any tenure whereby a free man may lose his court.

* Paris gives in addition:—"If any free man dies intestate, his goods shall be distributed, according to the decision of the church, by his relatives, parents, or friends, saving to each of them the debts which the deceased owed him."

There shall be one measure for wine and beer throughout the whole of our kingdom, and one measure for corn, namely, the London quarter; and one width for dyed cloths, russets, and hauberjets, namely, two ells inside the binding; and with weights it shall be as with measures. Nothing shall hereafter be given for a writ of inquisition by any one requiring an inquisition as to life or limb, but it shall be granted free without denial. If any one holds from us by fee farm, or soccage, or burgage, and holds land from another person by knight service, we will not have the wardship of his heir or his land, which is of another's fee, on the pretext of that fee-farm, soccage, or burgage. Nor will we hold the wardship of that fee-farm, soccage, or burgage, unless the fee farm itself owes knight service. We ought not to have the wardship of the heir or land which he holds from another by knight's service, on the pretext of any petty sergeantry, which he holds from us by the service of offering a knife, arrow, or any other thing of the kind. No bailiff shall henceforth put any one to the law or to his oath, on his simple assertion, unless credible witnesses be brought to that effect. No free person shall be taken or imprisoned, or shall be dispossessed of any free tenement of his, or his liberties or free customs, nor shall he be outlawed, or be punished in any other way, nor will we come upon him, nor send him to prison, unless by legal decision of his equals, or by the law of the land. We will not sell the right and justice to any one, nor will we refuse it or put it off. All traders, unless openly forbidden, shall have free egress from and ingress to England, both to stay and to go, both by land and water, to buy or sell without any extortion, according to old and just customs; unless in time of war, and they belong to the country at war with us; and if such be found in our territory at the beginning of the war, they shall be seized without damage to their persons or property, until we, or our chief justiciary, learn how the merchants of our country are treated in the country at war with us and, if our merchants are safe with them, theirs shall be safe with us.* If any one holds from any escheat, as

* Paris adds:—"It shall be henceforth lawful for every one to leave, and return to, our kingdom safely and securely by land and water, saving our faith, unless in time of war, for a short time for the advantage of the kingdom; except in the case of prisoners and outlaws, according to the law of

from the honour of Wallingford, Boulogne, Lancaster, Nottingham, or from other escheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir shall not give any other relief, nor do any other service for us than he would do for a baron, if that barony was in the hands of a baron; and we will hold it in the same way as the baron held it; nor will we on the pretext of such barony or escheat, hold any escheat* or wardship of any of our subjects unless he who held the barony or escheat, held elsewhere from us in chief. No freeman henceforth shall give or sell so much of his land to any one, that he is disabled from discharging, out of the residue, the service which is due to his lord for that fee. All the patrons of abbacies, who have from the king of England charters of advowson, or who hold through ancient tenure or possession, shall have charge of those abbacies, when they become vacant, as they ought to have, and as has been above declared. No man shall be taken or imprisoned, on the appeal of a woman, for the death of any one except that woman's own husband. No county shall henceforth be held unless from month to month; and where the term has been used to be longer, it shall be longer; and no sheriff or bailiff of it shall make his term in the hundred more than twice a year, and then only at the proper and accustomed times, that is to say, once after Easter and again after Michaelmas. And in like manner, the view of frank pledge shall take place at the said term of Michaelmas without fail, so that each person may have his own liberties, such as he had, and has been accustomed to have, at and since the time of king Henry our grandfather, or which he has gained since; and the view of frank pledge shall be held, so that our peace may be kept, and that the tithing may be unharmed as it used to be; and that the sheriff shall not seek pretexts, and that he shall be content with receiving what the sheriff has been accustomed to receive for making his view in the time of our grandfather king Henry. No one shall hence-

the kingdom, and the people warring against us, and their merchants concerning whom the rules above-mentioned shall be observed."

* Paris adds:—"People who dwell out of the forest, shall not henceforth appear before our justiciaries of the forest unless they be impleaded, or are pledges of any person or persons who are attached on account of the forest. And all the woods, which were afforested by our brother king Richard, shall be immediately deforested, except those of our domain."

forth be allowed to give his land to a religious house, so as to resume possession of it to be held of that sam house, nor shall any religious house be allowed so to receive land as to give it back in tenure to him from whom they received possession of it; but if any one henceforth thus gives his land to a religious house and is convicted of so doing, his gift shall be altogether annulled, and the land shall fall int the possession of the lord of that fee. Scutage shall henceforth be taken as it used to be taken in the time of our grandfather king Henry. And all these aforesaid customs and liberties, which we, as far as pertains to us, have granted to be held in our kingdom, towards all our subjects in our kingdom, shall be observed both by our clergy and laity, as much as pertains to them, towards their dependants, saving to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, templars, hospitallers, earls, barons, knights and all others, ecclesiastics as well as seculars, the liberties and free customs which they formerly had. Witness these, &c." The liberties and free customs of the forest, which could not be contained in the same sheet as the above-written liberties because it was not large enough, are contained in this underwritten charter as follows:—

The liberties of the forest.

"*John, by the grace of God, king of England, &c.* Be it known that we, looking to God, and for the safety of our soul, as well as those of our ancestors and successors, have for the exaltation of the holy church, and for the improvement of our kingdom, of our own free will, on behalf of ourselves and our heirs, granted these under-mentioned liberties to be had and held for ever in our kingdom of England. In the first place all the forests, which king Henry our grandfather made, shall be inspected by approved and legal men; and if any one has made forest of any other wood than that belonging to his own domain to the injury of the owner of the same, it shall be immediately disforested; and, if he has forested his own wood, it shall remain a forest, saving the common of herbage, and other things in the same forest, to those who used to hold it. All men living without the bounds of a forest shall hereafter not come before our justiciaries of the forest by ordinary summons, unless they be impleaded or be securities for some person or persons who are attached on

account of the forest. All woods, which were forested by our brother king Richard, shall be immediately disforested, unless they are woods of our demesne. Archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, earls, barons, knights, and free tenants, who have wood in the forest, shall hold possession of their wood as they did at the time of the coronation of our aforesaid grandfather king Henry, so that they shall be for ever free from all annoyances, waste, and clearages made in those woods from that time till the commencement of the second year of our coronation; and whoever henceforth commit waste, nuisance, or make clearance, in those woods without our permission, shall be answerable for such waste, annoyance, or clearance. Our inspectors shall go through the forests to take account, as was the custom at the time of the coronation of our said grandfather king Henry, and no otherwise. Inquisitions or views concerning the footing of dogs in a forest shall be taken henceforth when survey ought to be taken, that is to say, every third year; and then it shall be taken according to the view and testimony of legal men, and no otherwise; and if any person's dog is then found not footed, he shall pay three shillings for alms. Henceforth no oxen shall be taken for footing; but such footing shall commonly be by assize, that three claws shall be taken from his hind foot without the ball. Dogs henceforth shall not be footed, unless at the place where they used to be footed at the time of the coronation of our said grandfather king Henry. No forester or bedel shall henceforth make a tallage, or shall collect sheaves of oats or other kinds of corn, or sheep or pigs, or make any collection, and when the inspection is made, so many foresters shall be appointed to guard the forests as, in the view and on the oath of twelve inspectors, shall seem sufficient in reason for the purpose. No swainmote shall be hereafter held in our kingdom except three times a year, namely, fifteen days before Michaelmas, when our officers go round to levy tax for maintaining the fences of our woods; and at Martinmas, when the same officers collect our pannage;* and at those two swainmotes the foresters, verdurers, and collectors,† shall assemble, and no one else, by writ of distringas. And the third swainmote

* Money paid for hedge-waste which cattle fed on.

† Of taxes for repairing the bounds of a piece of ground.

shall be held fifteen days before St. John the Baptist's day, for the foddering of our cattle, and at that swainmote the foresters, verdurers, and collectors shall assemble, and no others, by writ of distringas. And moreover every forty days throughout the year the verdurers and foresters shall assemble to inspect the attachments of the forest, as well with regard to the turf as the venison on the presentation of those foresters, and they shall be attached in their presence. But these said swainmotes shall only be held in the counties where they used to be held. Every free man shall collect the tax to repair the bounds of his own wood in the forest at will, and shall receive his own pannage. We also grant permission to every free man to bring his pigs through the wood of our domain, free and without hindrance, and to enclose them in his own woods or elsewhere at his pleasure, and if any freeman's pigs wander in our forest for one night, it shall not be made a pretext for him to be deprived of any of his property. No one shall be deprived of life or limb for hunting in our forest; but if any one shall be taken and convicted of stealing venison, he shall pay a heavy ransom, if he has the means to do so, and if he has not the means he shall be imprisoned for a year and a day. And if, at the expiration of a year and a day, he can find sureties he shall be released from prison; but if not, he shall abjure our kingdom of England. If any archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, in coming to us by our orders, passes through our forest, he may take one or two beasts in sight of the forester, if the latter be present, and if not, let him sound a horn that he may not appear to be taking them by stealth; he may also act in the same way on his return. Every free man may henceforth, without hindrance, in his own wood or on the land which he holds in the forest, build a mill, make a warren, lake, marl-pit, or ditch, or may lay out arable ground beyond what is enclosed in arable land, so that it may not be to the injury of any neighbour of his. Every free man may in his own woods have aviaries of sparrow-hawks, falcons, eagles, and herons, and in the same way may have the honey found in his own woods. No forester, who is not a forester paying fee-farm to us for his bailiwick, shall henceforth take any road-tax in his bailiwick; but a forester who pays fee-farm to us for his bailiwick shall take road-tax; namely, for every cart two-pence during a

half-year, and two-pence for the other half-year; and for a baggage horse one farthing for half a year, and a farthing for the other half-year; and only from those who come from out of his bailiwick to trade by his leave in his bailiwick, to buy wood, timber, bark, or coal, and to take them elsewhere to sell, wherever they please; and from no other cart or beast of burden shall any road-tax be taken, and the said road-tax shall only be taken in the places where it used to be taken formerly. But those who carry on their shoulders their wood, bark, or coal for sale, shall not, although they live by this means, pay any road-tax. No road-tax for the woods of other people shall be paid to our foresters, but only from the woods of our domain. All who have been outlawed concerning forest matters, from the time of our grandfather king Henry till our coronation, may return peaceably without hindrance, and shall find good securities that they will not again make forfeiture to us with respect to our forest. No chastellain or other person shall hold pleas of the forest, either with regard to the turf or the venison, but any fee-forester may attach pleas of the forest, as well concerning the turf as the venison, and shall present them to the verdurers of the counties; and, when they are enrolled and under the seals of the verdurers, they shall be presented to the chief forester, when he comes to that part of the country to hold pleas of the forest, and shall be determined in his presence. And it is our will that all the aforesaid customs and liberties which we have granted to be had and observed in the kingdom towards our men, on our part, shall be observed by all the people of the kingdom, clergy as well as laity, on their part towards their men."

Of the twenty-five barons, who were appointed by the king to revise the aforesaid laws.

"Since we, out of love to God, and for the amendment of our kingdom, and the better to set at rest the disagreement which has arisen between us and our barons, have granted all these things, wishing to preserve them entire and on a firm footing, we give and grant the underwritten security to them, namely:—That the barons shall choose twenty-five barons of the kingdom, whomsoever they please, who shall with all their power observe, keep, and cause to be observed

peace and the liberties which we have granted, and by this our present charter have confirmed to them, so that, if we personally or by our justiciary, or bailiff, wrong any one in any way, or break through any one of the articles of this peace or security, and the injury shall be proved to four out of the twenty-five barons, those four barons shall come to us, or, if we are out of the kingdom, to our justiciary, and, explaining what is wrong to us, shall require us to give satisfaction without delay. And if we, or, if we are out of the kingdom, our justiciary, do not give satisfaction within forty days, reckoning from the time when it was pointed out to us, the said four barons shall refer the matter to the rest of the twenty-five; and those barons with the whole community of the country shall annoy and harass us, by all the means in their power, such as taking our castles, lands, and possessions, and any other means, till we give them satisfaction according to their decision, saving always our person, and the persons of our queen, and our children; and when we have given satisfaction, they shall obey us as they did before. And let every one in the kingdom who chooses to do so, swear that, to obtain all the aforesaid terms, he will obey the commands of the aforesaid twenty-five barons, and will harass us in conjunction with them, to the utmost of his power; and we give open and free permission to swear this to any one who chooses to do so, and we will never forbid any one to swear this. But all those in our kingdom who choose to swear to unite with the barons in annoying and harassing us, we will cause to swear to obey our commands as above-mentioned. But in all cases which are entrusted to the management of those twenty-five barons, if by chance they disagree amongst themselves on any point, or any of them when summoned refuse or are unable to be present, whatever the majority of them shall determine and order shall be ratified and confirmed, as though the twenty-five had all agreed to it. And the twenty-five barons shall swear that they will faithfully observe the aforesaid terms, and to the best of their ability cause them to be observed; and we will do nothing personally or by another, by which any of the said grants and liberties shall be revoked or deteriorated; and if any such grant shall have been made, it shall be null and void, and we will never make use of it ourselves or by

any other person. And all the bad disposition, indignation, and rancour which has arisen between us and our subjects, clergy as well laity, from the commencement of our disagreement, we entirely dismiss and pardon in respect of all. And the better to harass us, the four castellans of Northampton, Kenilworth, Nottingham, and Scarborough, shall swear to the twenty-five barons that they will do with the said castles whatever they or the majority of them may enjoin and command them to do; and there shall always be appointed to those castles, castellans who are faithful and will not break their oath. And we will send away from our kingdom all foreigners, all the relatives of Gerard d'Athie, namely, Engelard, Andrew, Peter, and Guy de Chanceles, Guy de Ciguigny, the wife of the aforesaid Gerard with all their children, Geoffrey de Martenn and his brothers, Philip Mark and his brothers, and G. his nephew, Falco, and all the Flemings and robbers who do injury in our kingdom. Moreover all offences which have been committed on account of this disagreement from the last Easter, which was in the sixteenth year of our reign, till this renewal of peace, are by us freely forgiven to all, clergy and laity, and as far as concerns us are fully pardoned. And moreover we have caused testimonials and letters patent to be granted them from our lords, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, Henry bishop of Durham, and Pandulph subdeacon and familiar of our lord the pope, and also from the aforesaid bishops, as a security for this and for the aforesaid grants. Wherefore we will and strictly order, that the English church be free, and that all subjects of our kingdom shall have and hold all the aforesaid liberties, laws, and customs, well and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and entirely, to themselves and their heirs from us and our heirs, in all matters and places for ever, as aforesaid. An oath also has been made in presence of the above-named witnesses, as well on behalf of us as of the barons, that we will observe all the aforesaid articles in good faith, and without fraudulent reservation. Given under our hand in the field called Runnymede, between Staines and Windsor, on the fifteenth day of June, in the seventeenth year of our reign.*

* M. Paris here inserts:—"In the same year too, John, in order the

How the king of England by letters patent ordered the aforesaid liberties to be observed.

After this king John sent his letters patent throughout all the English territories, strictly ordering all the sheriffs of the whole kingdom to make the inhabitants in their jurisdictions of every rank, swear to observe the above-written laws and liberties, and also, as far as lay in their power, to annoy and harass him, the king, by taking his castles till he fulfilled all the above-mentioned terms, as contained in the charter. After which, many nobles of the kingdom came to the king asking him for their rights of land and possessions, and the custody of the castles, which, as they said, belonged to them by hereditary right; but the king delayed this matter till it was proved on the oath of liege men, what of right was due to each; and, the more fully to effect this, he fixed the 16th of August as a day for them all to come to Westminster. Nevertheless he restored to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury the castle of Rochester and the Tower of London,

more to gain the good-will of the prelates and nobles, granted free elections in all the churches of England; and the king himself, as well as the nobles and prelates, procured a confirmation of this charter and grant from the pope, and, for better security, the king's charter was inserted, sealed in the pope's warrant of confirmation. The twenty-five barons chosen were as follow:—The earls of Clare, Albemarle, Gloucester, Winchester, and Hereford; earls Robert, Roger, Marshall the younger, Robert Fitz-Walter the elder, Gilbert de Clare, Eustace de Vescy, Hugh Bigod, William Mersbray mayor of London, Gilbert de Laval, Robert de Roos constable of Chester, Richard Percy, John Fitz-Robert, William Malet, Geoffrey de Say, Roger de Mowbray, William of Huntingfield, Richard de Montfichet, and William de Albeney. These twenty-five barons, at the king's request, swore on their souls that they would observe these customs in every point, and would compel the king to observe them by force, if he should by chance wish to withdraw his consent. The following nobles swore on their souls to obey the commands of the twenty-five barons; the earl of Clare, the earl of Arundel, earl Warrenne, Henry Doyly, Hubert de Bourg, Matthew Fitz-Herbert, Robert Pinkney, Roger Huscarl, Robert de Newburg, Henry de Pont Omar, Ralph de la Haye, Henry de Brentfield, Warren Fitz-Gerald, Thomas Basset, William de Rokeland, William St. John, Alan Basset, Richard de Bankes, Hugh de Beneval, Jordan de Sackville, Ra. Musgard, R. Aflenvast, Robert de Ropele, Andrew de Beauchamp, Walter of Dunstable, Walter Folioth, Faulkes, John Marshal, Philip de Albeney, William Parc, Ralph de Normanville, William de Parcy, William Agorlun, Engerus de Pratest, William de Cirent, Roger de Zucha, Roger Fitz-Bernard, and Godfrey de Cracombe, who all swore that they would obey the commands of the twenty-five barons."

which by old right belonged to his custody: and then breaking up the conference, the barons returned with the above-named charter to London.*

* M. Paris here adds:—"King John, wishing that these things should be on a more secure footing, sent to pope Innocent, asking him to grant the favour of confirming this by his bull; and as he had become an obedient vassal of the pope, and an apostolic king, he soon obtained what he wanted in the following form:—'Innocent, bishop, &c., to all his venerable brothers and all his beloved sons, the prelates of the churches throughout England, health and the apostolic blessing. We worthily laud the magnificence of the Creator, who is terrible and wonderful in his counsels on the sons of men, for that, when he has once taught us our weakness by causing the storm to blow, he has again said to the winds, Peace, be still, and has suffered the sailors to enter the desired port. Whereas a great controversy has long existed between the sovereign and the priesthood of England, not without much danger and loss, concerning the elections of prelates, however by the wonderful working of Him to whom nothing is impossible, and who breathes where he wishes, our well beloved John, the illustrious king of the English, has, of his own free will, and by the common consent of his barons, for the salvation of the souls of himself, his predecessors, and his successors, liberally granted to us and confirmed by his letters, that henceforth in all and singular the churches and monasteries, both cathedral and conventual, of all England, the elections of all prelates whatsoever, whether the superior or inferior, shall be for ever free. We therefore, in ratification thereof, by the apostolic authority and by these present letters, ratify and confirm this grant to you, and, by your means, to the churches and your successors, as we have seen it contained in the said letters of the king; and, for better security and in lasting memory of this grant, we have caused the aforesaid letters of the king on this matter to be united to these presents; the tenor of these letters is as follows:—"John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and count of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, bailiffs, and all to whom these letters shall come, greeting. Whereas, under God's favour, a full arrangement has been, by the voluntary consent of both parties, come to between us and our venerable fathers Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England and cardinal of the holy Roman church, William bishop of London, Eustace of Ely, Giles of Hereford, John of Bath and Glastonbury, and Hubert of Lincoln, concerning their losses and property which was confiscated at the time of the interdict, we wish not only to give satisfaction to them as far as lies in our power with God's assistance, but also wholesomely and advantageously to provide for the whole church of England for ever. Therefore, whatever custom may have been hitherto observed in the English church in the times of ourself and our ancestors, and whatever right we may have hitherto claimed for ourselves, henceforth in each and all of the churches and monasteries of England, conventual and cathedral, the elections of prelates shall be free for ever, of whatever order they may be, superior as well as inferior; saving to us and our heirs the custody of the vacant churches and monasteries, which belongs to us. We also promise that we will not hinder,

How king John retired clandestinely to the Isle of Wight and laid plans against the barons.

After the barons, as has been stated, had gone from the conference, the king was left with scarcely seven knights out of his proper body of attendants. Whilst lying sleepless that night in Windsor castle, his thoughts alarmed him much, and before daylight he fled by stealth to the Isle of Wight, and there in great agony of mind devised plans to be revenged on the barons. At length, after divers meditations, he determined, with the assistance of the apostle Peter, to seek

nor permit, or cause our agents to hinder the electors in each and all of the churches and monasteries when the prelacies are vacant from appointing any pastor they may choose for themselves, but permission to do so must be previously asked of us and our heirs, which we will not refuse or put off. And if it should happen that we should refuse or delay to give permission, the electors shall proceed to make a canonical election. And likewise after the election has been made, our consent to it shall be asked, which we will not refuse, unless we set forth and legitimately prove a reason why we ought not to consent to it. Wherefore it is our will and strict order that no one, in vacant churches or monasteries, shall dare in any way to contravene this our grant and decree; and if any one shall at any time contravene it he will incur the malediction of the omnipotent God and of us. As witness these, Peter bishop of Winchester, W. Marshal earl of Pembroke, William earl Warrenne, R. earl of Chester, S. earl of Winchester, G. de Mandeville earl of Gloucester and Essex, W. earl Ferrers, G. Briwere, W. Fitzgerald, W. de Cantwulf, H. de Neville, Robert de Iver, and W. Huntingfield. Given under the hand of master Robert Marsh our chancellor, at the New Temple at London, this fifteenth day of January, in the sixteenth year of our reign." Let no man therefore presume to infringe or rashly to oppose this our letter of confirmation. But if any one presumes to attempt such a thing, let him be assured that he will incur the anger of the omnipotent God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at the Lateran, this thirtieth day of March, in the eighteenth year of our pontificate.'

"When this was completed and approved of by both parties, they all exulted in the belief that God had compassionately touched the king's heart, had taken away his heart of stone and given him one of flesh, and that a change for the best was made in him by the hand of the Almighty; and all and every one hoped that England, being by the grace of God freed in their time from, as it were, the Egyptian bondage, by which it had been for a long time previously oppressed, would enjoy peace and liberty, not only by the protection of the Roman church, under whose wings they thought they were sheltered, and thus as it were under the divine shield, to serve which is to reign, but also on account of the wished-for humiliation of the king, who they hoped was happily inclined to all gentleness and peace. But far otherwise was it—oh shame!—oh sorrow!—and far differently from what was expected, did events happen. Fortune was believed

revenge on his enemies with two swords, the spiritual and temporal, so that if he could not succeed with the one, he might for certain accomplish his purpose with the other. To strike at them with the spiritual sword, he sent Pandulph the pope's subdeacon with other messengers, to the court of Rome, to counteract, by the apostolic authority, the intentions of the barons. He also sent Walter bishop of Winchester and chancellor of England, John bishop of Norwich, Richard de Marisco, William Gernon, and Hugh de Boves, with his own seal, to all the transmarine territories to pro-

smilingly to have offered them nectar, when it prepared draughts of gall and poison: for lo, on the instigation of the devil, who by old custom is jealous of the prosperity of mankind, the sons of Belial, like wicked freebooters, who love war rather than peace, whisperingly instilled their words of discord in the ears of the king: for they said gruntingly and with much laughter and derision, 'Behold this is the twenty-fifth king in England;—lo! he is not now a king, nor even a petty king, but a disgrace to kings; he had better be no king at all than be one of this kind. Behold a king without a kingdom, a lord without a domain; a worthless man and a king contemptible to his people. Alas! wretched man, and slave of the lowest degree, to what a wretched state of slavery have you fallen? You have been a king, now you are the scum of the people; you have been the greatest, now are you the least. Nothing is more unfortunate than to have been fortunate.' And thus arousing his anger they fanned the fire into a general conflagration.

The alienation of the king's heart.

"The too credulous king then, at the whisperings of these abominable bandits, whom, according to custom and to his own injury, he had too freely entertained, giving up his own natural subjects, changed his mind and inclined his heart to the very worst devices; for it is easy to turn a wavering man, and one prone to evil it is easy to hurry headlong into wickedness. The king then deeply sighing, conceived the greatest indignation, and began to pine away himself, giving vent to lamentations and complaints. 'Why,' said he, 'did my mother bring me forth, unhappy and shameless woman that she was? Why was I nursed on her knees, or suckled at her breast? Would that I had been slain rather than suffered to grow to manhood.' He then commenced gnashing his teeth, scowling with his eyes, and seizing sticks and limbs of trees, began to gnaw them, and after gnawing them to break them, and with increased extraordinary gestures to show the grief or rather the rage he felt. And on that very night he at once secretly prepared letters and sent to Philip Marc constable of the castle of Nottingham, a native of Poictou, and to all his foreign-born subjects, in whom his soul most confided, ordering them to supply their castles with provisions, surround them with trenches, garrison them, and to prepare cross-bows and engines, and to make arrows; telling them, however, to do this cautiously and without open blustering, lest the barons should happen to find it out and prevent the anger of the king from

cure supplies of troops in those parts, promising them lands, ample possessions, and no small sum of money; and the more to secure the fidelity of the people there, he ordered them if necessary to give warrants of security for their pay to all the soldiers who would join them; and he arranged that, at Michaelmas, they should come to him at Dover with all whom they could allure to them. He moreover sent letters to all the governors of his castles throughout England, ordering them each and all to furnish their castles with all kinds of provisions and arms, and to strengthen their garrisons with soldiers so as to be able to defend them at a day's notice. He himself in the meantime, with a few followers whom he had begged from the retinue of the bishop of Norwich, took on himself the business of a pirate, and employed himself in gaining the good-will of the sailors of the cinque-ports; and thus, hiding as it were in the open air in the island and near the sea-coasts, without any regal show, he for three months led a solitary life on the water and in the company of sailors, for he preferred to die rather than to live long unrevenged for the insults of the barons. All this time different reports were circulated by different people concerning him; and by some he was said to have turned fisherman, by others a trader and a pirate, and by

proceeding further. But as there is nothing done in secret which is not discovered, these dangerous preparations and designs were soon made known to the nobles by passers-by; on which some of the more prudent of them went to the king to find out if what had been told them was true, and if so, to endeavour by wholesome representations and advice to dispel his anger, and to recall him from his unjust purpose before it was commenced. The king however, in the presence of his nobles, concealed his inward bitterness under a calm countenance, and boldly swore by the feet of God that he designed nothing underhanded; and thus by false assertions he deceitfully lulled the report which had arisen. Nevertheless, as it is difficult for a furious man to restrain himself, these nobles discovered by many indications, before the interview was broken off, that the affection of the king was estranged from them, and that his look was dejected, and they pondered the event in their minds, using these words: 'Woe to us, yea to all England, since it has not a true king, but is oppressed by a tyrant who endeavours to make his people miserable. He has already placed us in subjection to Rome and the Roman court, that we might obtain protection from it; it is to be feared that we shall find the assistance from that place injurious to our posterity. We never heard of any king who was unwilling to withdraw his neck from slavery; but this one willingly succumbs to it.' And with these sorrowful reflections they left the king and departed."

some he was said to have become an apostate; and after he had been, on account of his protracted absence, sought for by several without success, they believed that he was drowned, or had perished in some other way. The king however bore all these reports with equanimity, awaiting the expected arrival of his messengers, some of whom he had sent to the court of Rome, and others to raise troops to assist him.

How the barons of England prepared for tournaments.

The barons meanwhile, who were staying in the city of London as if the whole matter was at an end, agreed amongst themselves to assemble at Stamford, there to enjoy the sports of the tournament; they therefore sent letters to the noble William d'Albiney to the following effect:—"Robert Fitz-Walter, marshal of the army of God and the holy church, and the other nobles of the same army to the noble William d'Albiney, greeting. You well know of how great importance it is to you and to us all, to keep possession of the city of London, which is a place of refuge for us, and what a disgrace it would be if, through any fault of ours, we were to lose it. Be it known to you as a fact, that we have been forewarned that there are some who are only waiting for our departure from the aforesaid city, to take possession of it on a sudden; therefore, by the general advice of all, we have put off the tournament, which was commenced at Stamford on the Monday next after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, to the Monday next after the octaves aforesaid. But there will be a tournament near London, in Staines Wood, and at the town of Hounslow; and this we have done for our safety and for the safety of the aforesaid city. And we therefore enjoin, and earnestly beseech you to come to the tournament aforesaid well provided with horses and arms, that you may there obtain honour. Whoever performs well there will receive a bear, which a lady will send to the tournament. Farewell."

In the same year pope Innocent convoked a general council of the prelates of the church universal, namely, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, primates, archdeacons, deacons of cathedral churches, abbats, priors, templars, and hospitallers, who were all ordered, as they wished to avoid the

punishment of the church, to appear in the presence of our lord the pope at the city of Rome on the 1st of November.

Of the statements made by the messengers of the king of England to the pope.

At the same time the king of England's messengers appeared before our lord the pope at Rome, setting forth the rebellion and injuries which the barons of England had perpetrated against the said king, in extorting from him certain unjust laws and liberties, which it did not become his royal dignity to confirm; and when, after much discord between them, the said king and barons had met several times to treat about peace, the king openly declared before them all that the kingdom of England by right of dominion belonged to the church of Rome, and therefore he could not and ought not, without the knowledge of our lord the pope, make any new arrangements, or alter any thing in the kingdom to the detriment of that pontiff. On which, although he had made an appeal, and had placed himself and all the rights of his kingdom under the protection of the apostolic see, the said barons, paying no regard to his appeal, had taken possession of the city of London, the capital of his kingdom, which had been treacherously given up to them, and even now retained possession of it; and after this they flew to arms, mounted their horses, and demanded from the king that the aforesaid laws and liberties should be confirmed to them, and the king, through fear of an attack from them, did not dare to refuse what they required. The said messengers then gave the pope a written paper containing some of the articles of the said charter which seemed most to help the cause of the king. The pope, after reading them carefully, exclaimed in astonishment, "Are the barons of England endeavouring to drive from the throne of his kingdom a king who has taken the cross, and who is under the protection of the apostolic see, and to transfer to another the dominion of the Roman church? By St. Peter we cannot pass over this insult without punishing it!" Then, after taking counsel with his cardinals, he, by a definitive sentence condemned and for ever annulled the said charter of grants of the liberties of the kingdom of England; and in

testimony of this, he transmitted to the English king the following immunity:—

How, by the immunity from the apostolic see, the liberties granted to the English barons were annulled.

"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful ones of Christ, who shall see this paper, health and the apostolic blessing. Although our well-beloved son in Christ, John the illustrious king of the English, has greatly offended God and the holy church, for which we fettered him with the bonds of excommunication, and placed his kingdom under an interdict, nevertheless the said king, by the merciful inspiration of Him who desires not the death of a sinner but that he should be converted and live, at length, after reflection, atoned in all humility to God and the church, inasmuch as he not only gave recompence for losses, and made restitution of confiscated property, but also granted full liberty to the English church; moreover on the withdrawal of both decrees, he yielded his kingdom of England as well as that of Ireland to St. Peter and the church of Rome, receiving them from us in fee on condition of the annual payment to us of a thousand marks, and making an oath of fealty to us, as appears by his privilege sealed with the golden bull. And desiring still more to give satisfaction to the Almighty, he assumed the sign of the living cross, in order to go to the assistance of the Holy Land, for which he was preparing himself with much expense. But the enemy of the human race, whose custom it is to be envious of good actions, by his crafty arts excited the barons of England against him, so that, the order of things being perverted, he was, after being converted and making atonement to the church, attacked by those who stood by him in his offence against the church. When at length a cause of difference arose between them, and after several days had been appointed to treat about peace, special messengers were sent to us; and after a careful discussion of the matter with them, we, after full deliberation, wrote by the same messengers to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of England, ordering them to give diligent attention and efficacious assistance to restore true peace and concord between the parties, to proclaim all confederacies and con-

spiracies, if any had been formed since the commencement of the dispute between the king and priesthood, annulled by the apostolic authority, and to forbid, under penalty of excommunication, any one to show such presumption for the future; at the same time prudently and effectually to warn and enjoin the nobles and men of rank in England, to endeavour by evident indications of devotion and humility to make their peace with the king, and then, if they intended to demand anything of him, to ask it of him not insolently, but with humility, observing towards him the respect due to a king, and rendering to him the usual service which they and their ancestors had rendered to him and his ancestors; since the king ought not to be despoiled by them without judgment, and that they might thus more easily obtain what they were trying for. We also requested and advised the said king by our letters, and enjoined on the aforesaid archbishop and bishops to request and warn him, as a remission of his sins, to treat the aforesaid nobles with kindness, and to give favourable attention to their just petitions, so that they might both learn to their joy that he was altered for the better, and that by this means they and their heirs would more readily and more devotedly serve him and his heirs; also to grant them full security to come, to stay, or to depart, that, if perchance peace could not be arranged between them, the differences which had arisen might be set at rest in his court by their deputies according to the laws and customs of the kingdom. But before the said messengers returned with this prudent and just advice, these barons, utterly disregarding their oath of fealty, (for even if the king had unjustly oppressed them, they ought not so to have acted against him, as to be at once judge and executioners in their own cause, vassals openly conspiring against their lord, knights against their king,) dared, in conjunction with others his declared enemies, to make war against him, taking possession of, and ravaging, his territories, and moreover took possession of the city of London, the capital of the kingdom, which had been given up to them through treachery. But in the meantime when the above messengers returned, the king offered, in accordance with our mandate, to show them due justice, but they rejected it and turned their hands to worse offences; on which the king himself, appealing to our attention, offered to

do them justice in presence of us, to whom the decision of this matter belonged by right of dominion, and this they altogether rejected. Then he proposed to them that four skilful men should be chosen as well by him as them, who might, in conjunction with us, put an end to the disagreement which had arisen between them, promising that, above all things, he would remove all the abuses which might have been introduced into England in his time; but they did not condescend to try this. At length the king explained to them that, since the dominion of the kingdom belonged to the church of Rome, he could not and ought not, without our special mandate, to make any alteration in it to our prejudice; and he then again appealed to our hearing, placing himself and his kingdom with all its dignities and rights under the protection of the apostolic see. But as he did not gain anything by any of these means, he asked the archbishop and bishops to fulfil our mandate, to defend the right of the church of Rome, and to protect him according to the terms of the privilege granted to those who assume the cross. Besides this, when they would not agree to any of these terms, he, seeing himself destitute of all aid and counsel, dared not refuse whatever they presumed to demand; therefore he was compelled by force and through fear, which even the bravest of men is liable to, to enter into an agreement with them, which was not only vile and base, but also unlawful and unjust, much to the disparagement and diminution alike of his rights and his honour. But as has been told us by the Lord through his prophet, 'I have appointed thee over people and kingdoms, to pluck up and destroy, to build and to plant,' and also by another prophet, 'Cast loose the bonds of wickedness, shake off the oppressing burdens,' we do not choose to pass over such wicked audacity, tending to the contempt of the apostolic see, the detriment of kingly right, the disgrace of the English nation, and danger to the cause of the cross, which would assuredly happen to it, unless by our authority every thing was revoked which had been thus extorted from such a prince who had also assumed the cross, even though he were willing to keep them. We therefore, on behalf of God the omnipotent Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, by the authority of his apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own, by the general advice of our brethren,

reprobate and entirely condemn an agreement of this kind, and forbid the said king, under penalty of excommunication, to keep, and the barons and their accomplices to compel him to keep either the charter, or the bonds or securities, which have been given for its observance, and we altogether annul and quash the same so that they may never have any validity. Let none therefore, &c. Whoever, &c. Given at Agnano on the 24th of August in the eighteenth year of our pontificate."

The pope's rebuke to the barons of England for their persecution of the king.

Having thus annulled the aforesaid liberties, the pope wrote to the barons of England in the following terms:—"Innocent, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the nobles of England, the spirit of a wiser counsel. Would that, in the persecution which you have rashly practised against your lord the king, you had more carefully attended to your oath of fealty, the right of the apostolic see, and the privilege granted to those who have assumed the cross; because, without doubt, you have not proceeded so to act, but that all who see it detest the offence, especially since in your cause you have made yourselves both judges and executioners, although the said king was prepared to grant you ample justice in his own court, and by the decision of your peers, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, or in the presence of us to whom the decision of this cause belonged by right of dominion, or even in the presence of arbiters, to be chosen on both sides, who would proceed in the matter conjointly with us. Therefore, since you would not try any one of these plans, he appealed to our hearing, placing himself and the kingdom, with all its dignities and rights, under the protection of the apostolic see; and he openly declared that, since the sovereignty of the said kingdom belonged to the church of Rome, he could not and ought not to make any alterations in it to our injury. Seeing then that the agreement of whatever sort it is, which you have by violence and threats induced him to make, is not only vile and base, but also unlawful and unjust, so that it ought to be justly reprobated by all, chiefly on account of the means used to obtain it, we, who are bound to provide for the spiritual as well as

the temporal good of the king as well as the kingdom, by these our apostolic letters order, and in all good faith advise you, to make a virtue of necessity, and renounce of your own accord an agreement of this kind, and make reparation to the king and his followers for the harm and injuries you have inflicted upon him, that he, being appeased by your manifest indications of devotion and humility, may of his own accord make any concessions he ought by rights to grant; and to this we ourselves will also persuade him, since, as we do not wish him to be deprived of his rights, so we wish him to cease from harassing you, that the kingdom of England may not under our dominion be oppressed by evil customs and unjust exactions; and whatever is decreed in such a way shall be confirmed and ratified for ever. May He, therefore, who wishes no man to perish, incline you to acquiesce with humility in our wholesome advice and commands, lest, if you act otherwise, you be reduced to such straits from which you will not be able to escape without much trouble; since, not to speak of other matters, we cannot conceal the great danger of the whole business of the cross, which would be in imminent danger, unless, by our apostolic authority, we altogether revoke all the promises which have been extorted from such a king, and one who has assumed the cross, even although he wished them to be kept. Wherefore, when the archbishop and bishops of England appear before us at the general council which we intend to hold to expedite the more urgent matters of the church, do you also send fit proctors to appear before us, and entrust yourselves without fear to our benevolence; because we, under God's favour, will so ordain matters that, by altogether doing away with the abuses in the kingdom of England, the king may be contented with his just rights and dignities, and the clergy as well as the people in general may enjoy the peace and liberty due to them. Given at Agnano, the 24th of August, in the eighteenth year of our pontificate." The English nobles, however, even after they had, by the king's management, received these letters, alike admonitory and threatening, would not desist from their purpose, but harassed him the more severely.

William d'Albiney takes command of Rochester castle.

In the meantime the noble William d'Albiney, after

frequently receiving letters from the barons at London, and being blamed in no slight degree for delaying to come to them, at length at Michaelmas, furnished his castle of Belvoir with a sufficiency and even a superabundance of all kinds of provisions and arms, and entrusted it to the care of men who were faithful to him; he then went to London and was received there with great joy by the barons, who immediately communicated to him a plan they had determined on, namely, to block up the road against the king, so that no way of approach might be open to him in any direction to lay siege to the city of London; they therefore picked out a strong body of troops, and appointing William d'Albiney to the command of them, as a man bold and tried in war, they sent them to occupy the town of Rochester. That castle had a short time before been confidentially entrusted by the king to the archbishop, who nevertheless, by what feelings instigated I know not, though the Lord does, delivered it up to the enemies of the king. The latter, on entering it, found the place destitute not only of arms and provisions, but also of every kind of property, except what they themselves had brought with them, on which they in their disappointment thought of abandoning it; but William d'Albiney, exhorting and continually animating the minds of his companions to deeds of valour, said that it was not lawful for knights to desert, lest, what would be a great disgrace to them, they should by and by be called knights-deserters. And thus all of them being powerfully encouraged by his words to bravery, they brought into the castle only what provisions they could find in the town of Rochester; and as these knights were a hundred and forty in number with all their retinues, there was no time left them to collect booty in the country around, or to provide themselves with any supplies of any kind.

How king John besieged the castle of Rochester.

After William d'Albiney and his companions had, as has been mentioned, taken possession of the aforesaid castle, king John, after three months' stay in the isle of Wight, issued forth from that island and sailed to Dover; at the latter place his messengers, whom he had sent to the transmarine provinces, came to him bringing with them such an immense multitude of knights and soldiers, that all who beheld them

were struck with fear and dismay. From the provinces of Poictou and Gascony, the noble and warlike Savaric de Maulion, and the two brothers Geoffrey and Oliver de Buteville came, attended by a large body of knights and soldiers, and promised faithful obedience to the king; from the provinces of Louvain and Brabant came the brave knights Walter Buck, Gerard, and Godeschal de Soceinne, with three battalions of soldiers and cross-bow men, who thirsted for nothing more than human blood; besides these there came to the king from the country of Flanders and other transmarine provinces, all those who coveted the property of others, and thus gave great hope of defence to the king who had before given up all hope. John, as soon as he heard that William d'Albiney and his followers had entered the city of Rochester, marched thither with all the before-mentioned multitude with all speed, and on the third day after they had entered the castle, he blocked up all their ways of egress and besieged them. As soon as he had arrayed his petrarias and other engines, he severely annoyed the besieged by incessant showers of stones and other weapons; the besieged, however, bore their assaults without flinching and bravely defended themselves.

The death of Hugh de Boves.

In the meantime Hugh de Boves, a brave knight but a proud and unjust man, came with a large army to the port of Calais in Flanders to assist the king of England, and at that place he embarked with all his forces and sailed for Dover; but a sudden storm arising before he reached his destined port, they were all shipwrecked, and swallowed up by the waves. The body of the said Hugh was cast ashore not far from the town of Yarmouth, with those of several other knights and followers, and at each of the ports on that part of the sea coast there was found such a multitude of bodies of men and women that the very air was tainted by their stench; a great number of bodies of children were also found, who being drowned in their cradles were thus washed ashore, and afforded a dreadful spectacle to the multitude. They were all however given up to be devoured by the beasts of the sea and the birds of the air, so that not one out of forty thousand men escaped alive. All these people had come to England with their wives and children, with the intention

of expelling and totally exterminating all the natives, and of possessing the land themselves by perpetual right; for the king had by his charter, as was said, given to their leader, the said Hugh de Boves, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, but the grace of God altered their purpose for the better. But when the news of the loss of all these people was brought to the king's knowledge, he was dreadfully enraged and took no food that day, but remained until the evening as if he were possessed by madness.*

The capture of the castle of Rochester, and imprisonment of those taken there.

About this time the barons of England, when they learned that William d'Albiney and his companions were besieged in the castle of Rochester, became greatly alarmed, because before William d'Albiney would enter the castle, they had sworn on the holy gospels that if he should happen to be besieged they would all march to raise the siege. In order therefore that they might seem to be doing something in accordance with their oath and plighted faith, they immediately flew to arms, and took their march towards the town of Deptford, thinking to force the king to raise the siege in one assault; but although only a mild south wind was blowing in their faces, which does not generally annoy any one, they retreated as though they had met a number of armed men, and left the expedition unaccomplished; and although we ought not too easily yield to every breath, they turned their backs on the besieged William and his followers, and returned to their old haunt. When they returned to the city of London, they well fortified it, and amusing themselves with the dangerous game of dice, drinking the best of wines which they chose at their own option, and practising all other vices, they left

* Being scarcely able to contain himself, he pined away in bitter frettings. In the night on which Hugh de Boves was lost, there arose an unusual storm of wind, rain, thunder, and lightning, such as had never been seen before. It happened that a certain monk of St. Alban's named Robert de Weston, who was staying at Bingham, was going to Norwich to fulfil the duties of his calling, and at midnight, when he was about halfway on his journey that storm rose, and in the storm he saw a countless army of men riding on very large black steeds, with torches of sulphur, and they remained near the monk, observing a sort of order in their movements.

their besieged companions at Rochester exposed to the danger of death, and enduring all kinds of misery. When the king learned how pompously the barons had approached to raise the siege, and how basely and ignominiously they had returned, he became bolder, and sent out foragers in all directions to collect provisions for the support of his army, and yet did not allow the besieged in the meantime any rest day or night; for amidst the stones hurled from the petrarias and slings, and the missiles of the cross-bow men and archers, frequent assaults were made by the knights and their followers, so that when some were in a measure fatigued, other fresh ones succeeded them in the assault; and with these changes the besieged had no rest. The besieged too, despairing of any assistance from the barons, endeavoured to delay their own destruction, for they were in great dread of the cruelty of the king; therefore, that they might not die unavenged, they made no small slaughter amongst the assailants. The siege was prolonged many days owing to the great bravery and boldness of the besieged, who hurled stone for stone, weapon for weapon, from the walls and ramparts on the enemy: at last, after great numbers of the royal troops had been slain, the king, seeing that all his warlike engines took but little effect, at length employed miners, who soon threw down a great part of the walls. The provisions of the besieged too failed them, and they were obliged to eat horses and even their costly chargers. The soldiers of the king now rushed to the breaches in the walls, and by constant fierce assaults they forced the besieged to abandon the castle, although not without great loss on their own side. The besieged then entered the tower amidst the attacks of the king's soldiers, who had entered the castle through the breaches; but William d'Albiney with his soldiers, after slaying many of them, compelled them to quit it. The king then applied his miners to the tower, and having after much difficulty broken through the walls, an opening was made for the assailants; but while his army was thus employed, they were often compelled to retreat from the destruction caused in their ranks by the besieged. At length, not a morsel of provisions remaining amongst them, William d'Albiney and the other nobles who were with him, thinking it would be a disgrace to them to die of hunger when they

could not be conquered in battle, after holding counsel together on St. Andrew's day, all the garrison almost unhurt left the castle, except one knight who was killed by an arrow, and presented themselves to the king. This siege had lasted almost three months, and the king, on account of the number of his troops slain, as well as the money he had spent on the siege, was greatly enraged, and in his anger ordered all the nobles to be hung on the gibbet; but the noble Savaric de Mauleon standing up before the king, said to him, "My lord king, our war is not yet over, therefore you ought carefully to consider how the fortunes of war may turn; for if you now order us to hang these men, the barons, our enemies, will perhaps by a like event take me or other nobles of your army, and, following your example, hang us; therefore do not let this happen, for in such a case no one will fight in your cause." The king then, although unwillingly, listened to his advice and that of other prudent men, and William d'Albiney, William of Lancaster, W. d'Einford, Thomas de Muletan, Osbert Gyffard, Osbert de Bobi, Odinell d'Albiney, and other nobles were by his orders sent to Corfe castle to be there placed under close custody; Robert de Chaurn, and Richard Giffard, with Thomas of Lincoln, he ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Nottingham, and others of them in divers other places. All the soldiers, except the cross-bow men, he gave up to his own soldiers to be ransomed; and some of the cross-bow men who had slain many of his knights and soldiers during the siege he ordered to be hung. By these misfortunes the cause of the barons was much weakened.*

* Paris here adds:—"One day during the siege of Rochester castle, the king and Savaric were riding round it to examine the weaker parts of it, when a cross-bow man in the service of William de Albeney saw them, and said to his master. 'Is it your will, my lord, that I should slay the king, our bloody enemy, with this arrow which I have ready?' To this William replied, 'No, no; far be it from us, villain, to cause the death of the Lord's anointed.' The cross-bow man said, 'He would not spare you in a like case.' To which the knight replied, 'The Lord's will be done. The Lord disposes events; not he.' In this case he was like David, who spared Saul when he could have slain him. This circumstance was afterwards known to the king, who notwithstanding this, did not wish to spare William when his prisoner, but would have hung him had he been permitted."

The excommunication of the barons of England in general.

At this time pope Innocent, seeing the rebelliousness of the barons of England in not desisting from their persecution of the king, excommunicated them, and entrusted the fulfilment of this sentence to the bishop of Winchester, the abbat of Reading, and to Pandulph subdeacon of the church of Rome, in the following letter: "Innocent, bishop, &c., to P. bishop of Winchester, the abbat of Reading, and Master Pandulph subdeacon of the church of Rome, health and the apostolic benediction.—We are very much astonished and annoyed that, although our well-beloved son in Christ, John the illustrious king of England, gave satisfaction beyond what we expected to God and the church, and especially to our brother the archbishop of Canterbury and his bishops, some of these showing no due respect, if any, to the business of the holy cross, the mandate of the apostolic see, and their oath of fealty, have not rendered assistance or shown goodwill to the said king against the disturbers of the kingdom, which by right of dominion belongs to the church of Rome, as if they were cognizant of, not to say associates in, this wicked conspiracy; for he is not free from the taint of participation who fails to oppose transgressors. How do these aforesaid prelates defend the inheritance of the church of Rome? how do they protect those bearing the cross? yea, how do they oppose themselves to those who endeavour to ruin the service of Christ? These men are undoubtedly worse than Saracens, since they endeavour to expel from his kingdom him who it was rather to be hoped would afford assistance to the Holy Land. Therefore that the insolence of such men may not prevail, not only to the danger of the kingdom of England but also to the ruin of other kingdoms, and, above all, to the subversion of all the matters of Christ, we, on behalf of the omnipotent God the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the apostles Peter and Paul, and by our own authority, lay the fetters of excommunication on all these disturbers of the king and kingdom of England, as well as on all accomplices and abettors of theirs, and place their possessions under the ecclesiastical interdict; and we most strictly order the archbishop aforesaid and his fellow bishops, by virtue of their obedience, solemnly to proclaim this our sentence throughout

all England on every Sunday and feast-day amidst the ringing of bells and with candles burning, until the said barons shall give satisfaction to the king for his losses and for the injuries they have inflicted on him, and shall faithfully return to their duty. We also on our own behalf enjoin all the vassals of the said king, in remission of their sins, to give advice and render assistance to the said king in opposing such transgressors. And if any bishop neglects to fulfil this our injunction, be it known to him that he will be suspended from his episcopal duties, and the obedience of those under him will be withdrawn, because it is right that those who neglect their obedience to their superior should not be obeyed themselves by their inferiors. Therefore that the fulfilment of our mandate may not be impeded through the irresolution of any one, we have entrusted the business of excommunicating the aforesaid barons to you, together with the other matters connected with this business; and by these our apostolic letters immediately, postponing all appeal, to proceed as ye may think expedient. But if all do not," &c.

The election of Master Simon Langton to the see of York.

About that time the canons of the church of York having been for some time without a pastor, obtained the king's permission and assembled together to make election of one; and although they had been much entreated by the king to receive Walter de Gray bishop of Worcester, as their pastor, they on account of his ignorance refused him, but proceeding with their election, chose master Simon Langton, brother of the archbishop of Canterbury, hoping by his learning to obtain the favour of the supreme pontiff. But when this election was made known to the king, he sent messengers to the court of Rome, and they, in the presence of our lord the pope, set forth objections to the election as follow: they asserted that the archbishop of Canterbury was the open enemy of the king of England, since he had given an incentive to the English barons to act against the said king, and had given his consent to their so doing, and therefore, if the said Simon, who was the said archbishop's brother, were promoted to the archbishopric of York, the peace of the king and kingdom could not be of long duration. By setting forth

these and other similar disadvantages, they induced the pope to agree with them, whereupon he wrote to the chapter of York as follows:—

"Innocent, bishop, &c. When master Simon Langton lately appeared before us with some other canons of York, we verbally forbade him to endeavour to obtain the archbishopric of York, because for certain reasons we could not permit it, and he, as far as words went, with all reverence, promised obedience to this command; therefore we are astonished and annoyed, if his ambition has so blinded him that, although he knew he could not, after our prohibition and his express promise, be lawfully elected, he should give his consent to such an election, which, even if no one else opposed it, we should consider null and void. But that this may not be the occasion of a new error in England, worse than the former, and that the church of York may not any longer be without a pastor, we, by the general advice of our brethren, by these our apostolic letters, order and strictly enjoin you by virtue of your obedience, notwithstanding this election, as we do not choose and ought not to endure insolence and machinations of this sort, without any pretext or irresolution, to send some of your brotherhood with full powers in common to our approaching council, and that they appear before us by the 1st of November, there with our advice to elect or demand a fitting person as a pastor for you, or else from that time we will ourselves provide a suitable prelate for you, and will seriously punish all gainsayers or opposers, if any there be, by canonical censure. And if the aforesaid Simon has given his consent to this election, we, as a punishment for his presumption, decree, that he be henceforth ineligible, without the dispensation of the apostolic see, for the election to the pontifical dignity. Given on the thirteenth of September, in the eighteenth year of our pontificate."

Stephen archbishop of Canterbury suspended.

Soon after this, Peter bishop of Winchester, and Master Pandulph, the familiar of our lord the pope, went in person to the archbishop of Canterbury, and on behalf of the said pope, ordered him to charge his suffragan bishops of the Canterbury church to publish the sentence of the apostolic see which was issued at Rome against the barons of England

in general, and also himself, as far as his duty bound him, to make it public throughout the whole of his diocese on each Sunday and feast-day. The archbishop had already embarked on board ship to go to Rome to attend the council, and therefore asked a respite till he could have an interview with the pope; firmly declaring, as to publishing the sentence, that a tacit sentence had indeed gone forth against the barons, but that he would not in any way make it public until he learned the pleasure of the supreme pontiff on the aforesaid matters by word of mouth. The aforesaid agents in this matter, when they found that the archbishop disobeyed the commands of the pope, by virtue of the authority with which they were invested, suspended him from entering the church and performing divine service; and he observing this in all humility went to Rome a suspended prelate. Then the bishop of Winchester, with his brother agent Pandulph, declared all the barons of England who had endeavoured to drive the king from his kingdom to be excommunicated, and published the sentence pronounced against them every Sunday and feast-day; but as none of them had been mentioned by name in the pope's warrant, they paid no attention to the said sentence, but considered it as invalid and of no effect.

Of the general council held by pope Innocent at Rome.

In the same year, namely, A.D. 1215, a sacred and general synod was held in the month of November, in the church of the Holy Saviour at Rome, called Constantian, at which our lord pope Innocent, in the eighteenth year of his pontificate, presided, and which was attended by four hundred and twelve bishops. Amongst the principal of these were the two patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem. The patriarch of Antioch could not come, being detained by serious illness, but he sent his vicar, the bishop of Antaradus; the patriarch of Alexandria being under the dominion of the Saracens, did the best he could, sending a deacon his cousin in his place. There were seventy-seven primates and metropolitans present, more than eight hundred abbats and priors; and of the proxies of archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and chapters, who were absent, the number is not known. There was also present a great multitude of ambassadors from the

emperor of Constantinople, the king of Sicily, who was elected emperor of Rome, the kings of France, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, Arragon, and other princes and nobles, and from cities and other places. When all of these were assembled in the place above-mentioned, and, according to the custom of general councils, each was placed according to his rank, the pope himself first delivered an exhortation, and then the sixty articles were recited in full council, which seemed agreeable to some and tedious to others. At length he commenced to preach concerning the business of the cross, and the subjection of the Holy Land, adding as follows: "Moreover, that nothing be omitted in the matter of the cross of Christ, it is our will and command, that patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and others, who have the charge of spiritual matters, carefully set forth the work of the cross to the people entrusted to their care; and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one alone and eternal God, supplicate kings, dukes, princes, marquises, earls, barons, and other nobles, and also the communities of cities, towns, and villages, if they cannot go in person to the assistance of the Holy Land, to furnish a suitable number of soldiers, with all supplies necessary for three years, according to their means, in remission of their sins, as in the general letters is expressed; and it is also our will that those who build ships for this purpose be partakers in this remission. But to those who refuse, if any be so ungrateful, let it be on our behalf declared, that they will for a certainty account to us for this at the awful judgment of a rigorous Judge; considering, before they do refuse, with what chance of salvation they will be able to appear before the only God and the only-begotten Son of God, to whose hands the Father has entrusted all things, if they refuse to serve that crucified one, in this their proper service, by whose gift they hold life, by whose kindness they are supported, and by whose blood they have been redeemed. And we, wishing to set an example to others, give and grant thirty thousand pounds for this business, besides a fleet, which we will supply to those who assume the cross from this city and the neighbouring districts; and we moreover assign for the accomplishment of this, three thousand marks of silver, which remain to us out of the alms of some of the true faith. And as we desire to have

the other prelates of the churches, and also the clergy in general, as partakers both in the merit and the reward, it is our decree, that all of them, both people and pastors, shall contribute for the assistance of the Holy Land the twentieth portion of their ecclesiastical profits for three years, except those who have assumed the cross or are about to assume it and set out for the Holy Land in person; and we and our brethren the cardinals of the holy church of Rome will pay a full tenth part of ours. It is also our order that all clerks or laymen, after assuming the cross, shall remain secure under our protection and that of St. Peter; and also under the protection of the archbishops, bishops, and all the prelates of God's church, and that all their property shall be so arranged, as to remain untouched and undisturbed until certain information is obtained of their death or their return. And if any of those who go on this crusade are bound by oath to the payment of usury, their creditors shall by ecclesiastic authority be compelled to forgive them their oath and to desist from exacting their usury; and we make the same decree with regard to the Jews by the secular authority, that they may be induced to do this. Moreover be it known, that the prelates of churches, who are careless in granting justice to crusaders, or their proxies, or their families, will meet with severe punishment. Moreover, by the advice of wise men, we determine that those who thus assume the cross, shall prepare themselves so as to assemble on the first of June next ensuing, and those who determine to cross by sea will assemble in the kingdom of Sicily, some at Brundusium, and others at Messina, at which place we also have determined, under God's favour, to be present, that by our assistance and counsel the Christian army may be duly regulated, and may set out with the blessing of God and the apostolic see. And we, trusting to the mercy of the omnipotent God, and to the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, by virtue of that power which the Lord has granted to us, unworthy though we are, of binding and loosing, grant to all who shall undertake this business in person and at their own expense, full pardon for their sins, for which they shall be truly contrite in heart, and of which they shall have made confession, and in the rewarding of the just we promise an increase of eternal salvation; and to

those who do not come in person, out at their own expense send suitable persons according to their means, and also to those who come in person though at the expense of others, we likewise grant full pardon for their sins. And it is also our will that those should share in this forgiveness who out of their own property shall furnish proper supplies for the assistance of the said country, or who have rendered seasonable counsel and assistance on the aforesaid matters. And for all those who proceed on this expedition the holy and universal synod bestows the favour of its prayers and good wishes, to the end that they may better obtain eternal salvation. Amen."

Of the accusation made at Rome against Stephen archbishop of Canterbury.

At this council there appeared the abbat of Beaulieu, and the knights Thomas Hardington, and Geoffrey de Crawcombe, as proxies of the king of England, against the archbishop of Canterbury, openly accusing him of connivance with the English barons, and asserting that he showed favour and gave advice to the said barons in their attempt to expel the said king from the throne of the kingdom; and although he had received letters from the apostolic see, ordering him by ecclesiastical censure to restrain the nobles from their persecution of the king, he refused to do so, on which he was suspended by the bishop of Winchester and his colleagues from the performance of divine service and from entering the church, and then hurrying to this council he thus by evident indications showed himself rebellious against the apostolic commands. On hearing these and many other allegations againt him the archbishop, as if at once convicted, was not a little confused, and made no answer, except asking for the withdrawal of his suspension; but to this the pope is said indignantly to have made this answer, "Brother, by St. Peter, you will not so easily obtain absolution from us, after having inflicted such and so many injuries not only on the king of England himself, but also on the church of Rome. We will, after full deliberation with our brethren, decide how we are to punish such a rash fault." And at length, after having discussed the matter with his cardinals, he confirmed the

sentence of suspension against the archbishop by the underwritten letter.

Of the confirmation of the suspension of the said archbishop.

"Innocent, bishop, to all the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, greeting. We wish it to be known to you all in common that we have ratified the sentence of suspension, which our venerable brother P. bishop of Winchester, our beloved son P. the subdeacon, and our familiar, the elect of Norwich, by the apostolic authority, pronounced against Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, and we order it to be strictly observed, till the said archbishop, who observes it in all humility, may deserve to be released from it, giving security according to the form of the church, by the substitution of one obligation for another; wherefore by these apostolic letters we order the whole brotherhood of you, that you bishops also strictly observe the aforesaid sentence, and in the meantime that you do not show any obedience to the said archbishop. Given at the Lateran this 4th of November." After this the canons of York presented master Simon Langton to the pope, demanding the confirmation of his election; but to them the pope said, "Know that we do not consider him elected, because, for certain reasons we could not suffer him to be promoted to such a high dignity; and because that election has been made in opposition to our prohibition, we entirely annul and for ever condemn it, and it is our decree that he be ineligible to be elected to the pontifical dignity without a dispensation of the apostolic see." Having thus annulled this election, the pope ordered the canons to proceed in another, and if they did not he would himself provide a fit pastor for them. The canons then, as they had before provided, elected Walter de Gray bishop of Worcester, on account, as they said, of his carnal purity, as one who had continued chaste from his birth till that time; to this the pope is said to have answered, "By St. Peter, chastity is a great virtue, and we grant him to you." Therefore, after receiving the pall, the said bishop returned to England, being bound at the court of Rome in the sum of ten thousand pounds of sterling money. The knights Thomas Hardington and Geoffrey de Crawcombe, having thus accomplished their mission, returned to England, and went to the

king, who had, as before told, subdued the castle of Rochester, to tell him this agreeable news. The king was much elated in his mind when he heard that the barons of England were excommunicated, the archbishop of Canterbury suspended, Walter de Gray promoted to the archbishopric of York, and that he could arrange matters as he chose at Rochester castle, and he at once moved his camp and proceeded in all haste to St. Alban's. On his arrival at that place, he went to the chapter-house in the presence of the monks, and ordered the letters about the suspension of the archbishop of Canterbury to be read, and at once demanded of the conventual assembly that a confirmation of the aforesaid suspension under their seal should be sent to all the churches of England, conventual as well as cathedral, to be made publicly known ; this was willingly granted by the conventual assembly, and immediately after the chapter he retired with a few of his advisers into the cloister and devised plans for overthrowing his enemies, and arranged as to the payment of the foreigners who were fighting under him. At length the king disposed his army in two parts, that with one he might check the irruptions of the barons who were staying in the city of London, whilst with the other he could go himself to the northern parts of England to ravage the whole country with fire and sword. These events at St. Alban's took place on the 20th of December. The commanders appointed to the army which the king left behind, were W. earl of Salisbury, his own brother, Falkasius a man of experience in war, Savaric de Mauleon, with the troops of Poictou, William Briwere with all his force, and Walter surnamed Buck, who commanded the Brabantians ; there were also others besides these, whom, on account of the number, I omit to mention.

How king John marched to the northern parts of England and ravaged the country.

King John then, leaving the town of St. Alban's, proceeded northward, taking with him William earl of Albemarle, Philip d'Albiney, John Marshal, and of the leaders from the transmarine provinces, Gerard de Sotengaine, and Godeschal, with the Flemings and cross-bow men, and other lawless people who neither feared God or regarded man. He rested a little while that night at Dunstable, but before day-light

he set out on his march towards Northampton, and, spreading his troops abroad, burnt the houses and buildings of the barons, robbing them of their goods and cattle, and thus destroying everything that came in his way, he gave a miserable spectacle to all who beheld it. And if the day did not satisfy the malice of the king for the destruction of property, he ordered his incendiaries to set fire to the hedges and towns on his march, that he might refresh his sight with the damage done to his enemies, and by robbery might support the wicked agents of his iniquity. All the inhabitants of every condition and rank who did not take refuge in a church-yard, were made prisoners, and, after being tortured, were compelled to pay a heavy ransom. The chastelains, who were in charge of the fortresses of the barons, when they heard of the king's approach, left their castles untenanted and fled to places of secrecy, leaving their provisions and various stores as booty for their approaching enemies; the king placed his own followers in these empty castles, and in this manner marched with his wicked followers to Nottingham.

Of the ravages committed by his army in the southern part of England.

In the meantime William earl of Salisbury, and Falkasius with the troops before mentioned, whom the king had left at St. Alban's, ordered the castellans of Windsor, Hertford, and Berkhampstead with a strong body of troops to pass and repass to and from the city of London, to watch and harass the barons and to endeavour to cut off their supplies, after which they themselves roved through the counties of Essex, Hertford, Middlesex, Cambridge, and Huntingdon, collecting booty and indulging in rapine; they levied impositions on the towns, made prisoners of the inhabitants, burnt the buildings of the barons, destroyed the parks and warrens, cut down the trees in the orchards, and having spread fire as far as the suburbs of London, they took away an immense booty with them; and when messengers came from various places reporting all this to the barons they looked at one another and said, "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away,"* &c. On the 28th of November in this year,

* "The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away;" these things are to be borne with a firm mind. And when they heard that, amongst other

Falkasius took the town of Hamslape,* belonging to William Maudut; and on the same day the castle of Tunbridge, belonging to the earl of Clare, was taken by the castellans of Rochester. Soon after this time Falkasius arrived at the castle of Bedford and demanded it of the garrison who obtained a truce of seven days, and, finding that they received no assistance from their lord William de Beauchamp in that time, they surrendered the castle to the aforesaid Falkasius on the 2nd of December.

The surrender of Belvoir castle to the king.

A.D. 1216. Which was the eighteenth year of king John's reign, he was at the castle of Nottingham on Christmas day, and on the day after he moved his camp, and arrived at the town of Langar, where he passed the night; in the morning he sent special messengers and with threats demanded its surrender from the garrison. This castle was in the charge of Nicholas a clerk, son of William d'Albiney, and the knights William de Studham, and Hugh de Charneles, who immediately asked the opinion of their fellow knights, as to what should be done; for they had been told on behalf of the

abominable excesses perpetrated by the king and his wicked accomplices, their wives and daughters were exposed to insult, they said sorrowfully, "These are the acts of the well beloved son in Christ, of that pope who protects his vassal in humiliating this noble kingdom in such an unusual way." Oh sorrow! He who ought to heal his languishing people openly spreads poison amongst the paupers, whom we ought to call the church. "The more conspicuous the man is the greater is his crime." [*Juvenal*, 8. 140.] In the same year on the 28th of November, Faulkes took the castle of William de Hanslape and destroyed it. On the same day the castellans of Rochester took the castle of Tunbridge, belonging to the earl of Clare. Soon afterwards Faulkes went to the castle of Bedford and demanded its surrender by the garrison; he however granted them a truce of seven days, and they, receiving no assistance during that time from their lord, William Beauchamp, surrendered the castle to Faulkes on the 2nd of December. The king being quite under the power of Faulkes, who made no distinction between right and wrong, gave him the castle of Bedford and a noble lady, Margaret de Riparus, for his wife, together with all her property, and also gave him the lands of many of the barons of England, that he might increase the rage of all of them against him. In the same year, on the day of the conversion of St. Paul, William de Cornhull was consecrated to the bishopric of Chester, on the 22nd of February, master Benedict, precentor of St. Paul's at London to that of Rochester, and master Richard dean of Salisbury to that of Chichester.

* Probaley Hounslow.

king, that, if he received a single refusal to surrender the castle, W. d'Albiney should never eat again but should die a disgraceful death. The besieged were thus in a perplexity in every way, and did not know what to do; at length, however, by the general advice of all, they agreed to save their lord from an ignominious death by surrendering the castle rather than, by retaining it, to lose their lord as well as the castle. Then Nicholas d'Albiney and Hugh de Charneles, taking the keys of the castle with them went to the king at Langar, and surrendered the castle to him on the condition that he would deal mercifully with their lord, and that they themselves might continue secure under his protection. On the following day then, which was St. John the Evangelist's day, the king came to the castle, and gave it into the charge of Geoffrey and Oliver de Buteville, two brothers, who came from Poictou, and after the oath of fealty and faithful obedience to him had been taken by all, he granted them his letters patent securing to them an indemnity of all their property.

Of the various kinds of sufferings endured by the Christian people.

In the meantime a part of the king's army came to Dovington, a town belonging to John de Lacy, and finding it untenanted, it was immediately razed to the ground by order of the king; after this he separated his wicked army, and took his march towards the northern provinces, burning the buildings belonging to the barons, making booty of their cattle, plundering them of their goods and destroying everything they came to with the sword. The whole surface of the earth was covered with these limbs of the devil like locusts, who assembled from remote regions to blot out every thing from the face of the earth, from man down to his cattle; for, running about with drawn swords and open knives, they ransacked towns, houses, cemeteries, and churches, robbing every one, and sparing neither women or children; the king's enemies wherever they were found were imprisoned in chains and compelled to pay a heavy ransom. Even the priests whilst standing at the very altars, with the cross of the Lord in their hands, clad in their sacred robes, were seized, tortured, robbed, and ill-treated; and there was no pontiff, priest, or Levite to pour oil or wine on their

wounds. They inflicted similar tortures on knights and others of every condition, some of them they hung up by the middle, some by the feet and legs, some by the hands, and some by the thumbs and arms, and then threw salt mixed with vinegar in the eyes of the wretches, taking no heed that they were made after God's image, and were distinguished by the name of Christian; others they placed on tripods or gridirons over live coals, and then bathing their roasted bodies in cold water they thus killed them, and when, in their tortures, the wretched creatures uttered pitiable cries and dreadful groans, there was no one to show them pity, and their torturers were satisfied with nothing but their money. Many who had worldly possessions gave them to their torturers, and were not believed when they had given their all; others, who had nothing, gave many promises, that they might at least for a short time put off the tortures they had experienced once. This persecution was general throughout England, and fathers were sold to the torture by their sons, brothers by their brothers, and citizens by their fellow citizens. Markets and traffic ceased, and goods were exposed for sale only in church-yards; agriculture was at a standstill, and no one dared to go beyond the limits of the churches. Amidst all these sufferings which were occasioned by the barons, they themselves were lying in the city of London like women in labour, giving all their attention to their food and drink, and thinking what new dainty could be set before them, which, by removing their nausea, might give them new appetite; but, although they slumbered, the king slept not, until he had got all their lands and possessions, castles and towns, in his own power from the southern to the Scotch sea.

Of those who were appointed governors of the subdued castles.

When he had, as above-mentioned, disposed of the property of the barons at will, the king gave charge of the whole district between the river Tees and Scotland with the property and castles to Hugh de Baliol and Philip d'Ulcote, allowing them knights and soldiers sufficient for the defence of that part of the country. In the city of York he appointed Robert Oldbridge, Brian de Lisle, and Geoffrey de Lacy, guardians of the property and castles, allotting soldiers to

them. To William earl of Albemarle he gave charge of the castles of Rockingham and Sauvey, and a castle called Biham belonging to William de Coleville. To Falkasius he entrusted the castles of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Cambridge. To Ralph le Tyris he gave the castle of Berkhampstead; and the castle of Hertford was given into the custody of Walter de Godarville, a knight in the service of Falkasius. To these and to all others throughout England the king gave orders, as they valued their bodies and their property, to destroy all the property of the barons, namely, their castles, buildings, towns, parks, warrens, lakes, and mills, and as he had begun, to finish the business with equal cruelty; they not daring to oppose the king's commands exercised such cruelty in the duty assigned to them, that in sight of all they made a lamentable spectacle of the houses and other property of the barons.* And thus the king returning from the north arranged everything at his own pleasure, so that there only remained in the power of the barons the two castles of Montsorrel and another belonging to Robert de Roos in the county of York. Having subdued all this country with dreadful slaughter, he went along the boundaries of Wales to the southern provinces, and exercising his cruelty on all who opposed him, he besieged and took several of the castles of his enemies; some of these he destroyed and others he garrisoned with his own soldiers.

Of the especial excommunication of the barons.

About this time the English barons, who had been formerly excommunicated in general by the supreme pontiff at the king of England's suit, were, by the following letter, excommunicated by him by name, and individually, in the following terms, "Innocent, bishop, to the abbat of Abingdon, the archdeacon of Poictou, and master Robert an official of the church of Norwich, greeting. We wish it to come to

* Paris adds :—"As he who was not very wicked seemed good, and he who did not do as much injury as he could did none, it seemed to be advantageous. 'The king then, roused to a high pitch of rage, marched to the cismarine districts of Scotland, and after taking the castle of Berwick and others, which seemed impregnable, he taunted king Alexander therewith, and alluded to his red hair, saying, 'Thus we will rouse the red fox from his lair.' And there he would have spread slaughter and destruction, if he had not been recalled by urgent necessity."

your knowledge that at our late general council, we, on behalf of the Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and by the authority of the blessed Peter and Paul his apostles, and by our own authority, excommunicated and anathematized the barons of England with their aiders and abettors, for their persecution of John the illustrious king of the English, a king who has assumed the cross and is a vassal of the church of Rome, inasmuch as they are endeavouring to take from him the kingdom which is known to belong to the Roman church. Moreover we excommunicate and anathematize all those who have lent their assistance or money in attacking that kingdom, or to hinder those who go to the assistance of the said king, and we lay the lands of the said barons under the interdict of the church. We also lay our hands more heavily on them if they do not desist from their designs, since in this respect they are worse than Saracens; and it is our decree that, if any priest of any rank or order shall dare to violate the aforesaid sentences of excommunication or interdict, he may rest assured that he is struck with the sword of the interdict, and will be deposed from every office and benefice. Wherefore we, by these apostolic letters, entrust it to your discretion to publish the aforesaid decrees throughout all England, and with our authority to cause the same to be observed inviolate notwithstanding the interposition of any condition or appeal. It is moreover our will and command, that you, by the apostolic authority, publicly throughout all England denounce as excommunicated, and cause to be strictly avoided by all, certain barons of England, whom our venerable brother the bishop of Winchester, and our well-beloved sons the abbat of Reading, and master Pandulph our sub-deacon and familiar, by us delegated, have personally declared excommunicated, because they found them guilty in the aforesaid matters, to wit those citizens of London who have been the chief promoters of the aforesaid crime, and Robert Fitz-Walter, S. earl of Winchester, R. his son, G. de Mandeville, and William his brother, R. earl of Clare, and G. his son, H. earl of Hereford, R. de Percy, E. de Vescy, J. constable of Chester, William de Mowbray, William d'Albiney, W. his son, R. de Roos and William his son, P. de Brus, R. de Cressy, John his son, Ralph Fitz-Robert, R. earl Bigod, H. his son, Robert de

Vere, Fulk Fitz-Warren, W. Malet, W. de Montacute, W. Fitz-Marshall, W. de Beauchamp, S. de Kime, R. de Mont Begon, and Nicholas de Stuteville, and also several others expressed in the decree by name as guilty of the aforesaid offences, together with their accomplices and abettors; and that on each Sunday and feast day you solemnly republish this sentence, and order it to be strictly observed; and that you lay the city of London under the interdict of the church, putting aside all appeal and checking the opposition of all gainsayers, under penalty of the church's censure. We also command that you publicly denounce, as excommunicated, master Gervase chancellor of London, who, as we have heard from the aforesaid arbiters, has been a most open persecutor of the said king and his followers, and that you threaten him with more severe punishment unless he make a meet reparation for his offences. And if all do not, &c. Given at the Lateran, the 16th day of December in the eighteenth year of our pontificate."

The aforesaid sentence enforced.

On receipt of the above-mentioned letters the arbiters wrote to all the churches of England, cathedral and conventual, to the following effect:—"Innocent, bishop, &c. We strictly command you by authority of this our mandate to denounce as excommunicated, the barons of England, together with all their aiders and abettors, who are persecuting their lord, king John of England, and all those who have lent their assistance or money to seize or attack the said kingdom, or to obstruct those who go to the assistance of the said king, and to make it public that the lands of the said barons are laid under the ecclesiastical interdict. Also that you denounce as excommunicated all the barons, who are personally mentioned in the above letter of our lord the pope, together with all others mentioned by name in the sentence of the aforesaid arbiters, namely, Walter de Norton, Osbert Fitz-Alan, Oliver de Vaux, H. de Braibrock, R. de Ropele, W. de Hobregge, W. de Mauduit, Maurice de Gant, R. de Berkley, Adam of Lincoln, R. de Mandeville, W. de Lanvaley, Philip Fitz-John, William de Tuintuna, W. de Huntingfield, Alexander de Puintune, R. de Munfichet, R. de Gresley, Geoffrey constable of Meantune, W. archdeacon

of Hereford, J. de Fereby, R. chaplain of Robert Fitz-Walter, Alexander de Suttune, W. de Coleville, R. his son, Osbert de Bobi, Osbert Giffard, Nicholas de Stuteville, Thomas de Muletune, the citizens of London, and master G. the chancellor, and that you publicly declare the city of London as laid under the ecclesiastical interdict. And you will cause these sentences of excommunication and interdict to be published and solemnly renewed on each Sunday and feast day in the churches, as well conventual as parochial, which belong to you, strictly fulfilling each article of the apostolic mandate, and duly observing it yourselves on your own part, that you may not incur the censure of the church, which is due to the contumacious. Farewell." When these sentences of excommunication and interdict were published throughout England, and became known to all, the city of London alone treated them with contempt, inasmuch as the barons determined not to observe them, and the priests not to publish them: for they said amongst themselves, that all the letters had been obtained under false representations and were therefore of no importance, and chiefly for this reason, because the management of lay affairs did not pertain to the pope, since the apostle Peter and his successors had only been entrusted by the Lord with the control and management of church matters; they therefore paid no regard at all to the sentence of interdict or excommunication, but held worship throughout the whole city, ringing bells and chanting with loud voices.

The ravages in the isle of Ely.

In the meantime Walter Buce with his Brabantians entered the isle of Ely near Herebeie,* and plundered all the churches in that island, compelling the inhabitants by most cruel tortures to pay heavy ransoms; and there was no place of refuge where they could place their property or even themselves out of danger; for the earl of Salisbury, and Falkasius with Savaric de Maulion, coming from the neighbouring districts, entered the island by the bridge of Stunteney, laying waste the whole country, and robbing the churches, and seized all that had been left by the beforementioned robbers. They at length entered the cathedral

* "*i. e.* The station of the army, and was the old fortification, where the conqueror's army lay."—*Tyrrell*, ii. p. 790.

church with drawn swords, and after they had plundered it, the prior of the place with difficulty redeemed it from being burnt by the payment of nine marks of silver. The lord Stephen Ridel was dragged out of the church by force and lost all that he was possessed of, his horses, books, household goods and utensils, and with much difficulty preserved his person from the tortures by payment of a hundred marks. Fifteen knights were taken prisoners in this island, with many others of divers condition and rank. The richer and more noble of the knights made their escape over the sea with much difficulty and fled to London; some of these, however, were not able to accomplish the journey owing to the failure of their horses from weakness, and were made prisoners. And thus everything in the island fell into the possession of these robbers without opposition.

How the barons of England chose Louis for their king.

The barons of England having now lost all that they most cared for in the world, as appears from the foregoing narrative, and having no hope of an improvement in affairs so as to recover by their own means what they had lost, were in consternation and did not know how to act; at length, by general consent, it was determined to choose some powerful man as king, by whose means they could be restored to their possessions and former liberties;* and after long irresolution

* Cursing the king's fickleness, tergiversation, and infidelity they thus gave vent to their grief, "Woe to you, John, last of kings, detested one of the chiefs of England, disgrace to the English nobility! Alas for England already devastated, and to be further ravaged! Alas! England, England, till now chief of provinces in all kinds of wealth, thou art laid under tribute; subject not only to fire, famine, and the sword, but to the rule of ignoble slaves and foreigners, than which no slavery can be worse. We read that many other kings, yea, and princes, have contended even to the death, for the liberty of their land which was in subjection; but you, John, of sad memory to future ages, have designed and made it your business to enslave your country which has been free from times of old, and, that you might drag others with you into slavery, like the serpent who dragged down half the host of heaven, have in the first place oppressed yourself; you have, from a free king, become a tributary, a farmer, and a vassal of slavery, you have bound by a bond of perpetual slavery this noble land, which will never be freed from the servile shackle, unless through the compassion of Him who may at some time deign to free us and the whole world, whom the old servitude retains under the yoke of sin. And what is to be said of you, O pope! who ought to shine forth an example to the whole world, as the

as to whom they should choose, they unanimously determined to appoint Louis, son of Philip the French king, as their ruler, and to raise him to the throne of England. Their reason for this was, that the host of foreigners by whom the king of England was surrounded, were, for the most part, under the dominion of Louis and his father, and if, by means of these latter, John could be deprived of their assistance, being thus left destitute both at home and abroad, he would be left to himself and unable to contend against them. This resolution being satisfactory to all, they sent S. earl of Winchester, and Robert Fitz-Walter as special messengers to king Philip and Louis his son, with letters under the seals of all the barons, earnestly beseeching the father to send his son to reign in England, and the son to come there to take the crown. These messengers immediately made all haste and delivered the aforesaid letters to the French king and his son Louis; but Philip, after he had read the letters and understood their purport, told the messengers in reply that he would not send his son before he had, for greater security, received good hostages from the barons, at least twenty-four of the most distinguished men in the whole kingdom. The messengers, on hearing this, made all possible speed and reported the answer they had received to the barons, who, having no other resort, sent hostages to the French king at his pleasure to the number above-mentioned. The hostages on their arrival were committed to safe custody at Compiegne, and Louis, somewhat encouraged, made pre-

father of holiness, the mirror of piety, the defender of justice, and the guardian of truth; do you agree to this, do you commend and protect such a one? But because he inclines to you, you defend this drainer and extorter of the wealth of England and the English nobility, that everything may be absorbed in the gulph of Roman avarice, but this plea and excuse, this sin and accusation are before God." And the barons in their complaints and lamentations, uttered curses on the king and the pope, thus sinning without hopes of atonement, since it is written, "Thou shalt not curse the king;" and thus transgressed the truth and their reverence, since they declared that the illustrious king John was a slave, when to be a slave to God is to be a king. At length they determined to choose some other prince, by whose means they could be restored to their former condition; thinking that no king could reign more tyrannically than John, then adopting the following maxim:

"When fate on man its force has spent,
He need not fear the next event."—*M. Paris.*

parations for the expedition which he desired above all things; but as his own departure on such an arduous expedition could not be effected in a hurry, he sent messengers in advance to give the barons hope and also to try their fidelity. The names of these were, the castellan of St. Omar, the castellan of Arras, Hugh Thacun, Eustace de Neville, Baldwin Bretel, W. de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beaumont, Giles de Hersi, and Biset de Fersi; all these with a large retinue of knights and followers came by the river Thames, and, to the great joy of the barons, arrived at London on the 27th of February. In this year Stephen archbishop of Canterbury gave security at Rome that he would abide by the decision of the pope on the matters before mentioned, and was released from his suspension, but on condition that he would not go to England before peace was fully restored between the king and barons.

The renewal of the sentence passed against the barons for their contumacy.

In the same year at Easter, the abbat of Abingdon and his co-arbiters, seeing the contumaciousness of the barons and of the citizens of London, laid their hands on them more heavily, and, repeating the edict, they gave orders to all the conventual churches of England to publish the sentence which had been issued in the following form: "H., by the grace of God, abbat of Abingdon, &c. In pursuance of the apostolic mandate imposed on us, as the purport of our letters which we lately transmitted to you, has more fully informed you, we have not merely once, but often, sent our letters containing the words of our lord the pope's warrant to the chapters of St. Paul and St. Martin, to G. de Boclande, dean of the said church, and to the conventual assembly of the Holy Trinity at London, by the apostolic authority, ordering them at once to publish and inviolably observe the sentences of excommunication and interdict which are issued against the persecutors of the said king and the city of London; but they irreverently presume to set at defiance the apostolic mandate, for they contumaciously refuse to publish the said sentences or even to observe them, knowingly taking part in divine services with those excommunicated, and thus in every respect proving themselves transgressors of the decrees of our lord the pope, and open despisers of his

mandate; of which we have full and sure information, by letters patent of the chapter of St. Paul and St. Martin, specially sent us by the clerks and messengers of the said dean, and by other sufficient proofs. Moreover there have lately arrived from the French kingdom, certain nobles with an armed band of knights and followers, all of whom we also undoubtedly wish to be fettered with the sentence of excommunication, for they invade the kingdom of England, in opposition to our lord the pope and the Roman church, are daily robbing it, and in part keep possession of it, as is evident to all in England as well as elsewhere; wherefore, by virtue of the apostolic authority, of which we discharge the duties in this business, we denounce, as excommunicated, the said nobles, namely, the castellan of St. Omar, Hugh Thacun, Eustace de Neville, the castellan of Arras, Baldwin Bretel, W. de Wimes, Giles de Melun, W. de Beaumont, Giles de Hersi, Biset de Fersi, with their accomplices, and all those who have lent their assistance or money against the king, to invade or take possession of the kingdom of England, and also the above-mentioned dean, and also all canons and clerks of every rank and order in the aforesaid churches and city, to whose knowledge the mandate had come, who have either absented themselves, or by any means prevented its reaching them. And by the same authority we also enjoin you publicly to denounce as excommunicated all those above-mentioned, and to cause it to be published throughout the whole of your parish, expressly naming as well the dean as the aforesaid nobles, so that, by showing attention to this matter, as well as that which was contained in his first letters to you, you may not be accused of negligence to the supreme pontiff, but rather be commended for your diligence. Farewell."

How Louis sent consolatory letters to the barons.

About this time Louis wrote to the barons who were staying in London and to the citizens as follows: "Louis, eldest son of king Philip, to all his friends and allies in London, health and sincere affection. Rest assured that on the approaching Easter Sunday we will be at Calais ready, under God's favour, to cross the sea. Inasmuch as you have conducted yourselves strenuously and bravely in all my

affairs, we return you abundant thanks; and we earnestly ask and require that, as you have always done, you will continue to conduct yourselves with courage. We also wish you to be assured that, in a short time you will have us to assist you; and we earnestly beg of you in this matter not to trust to any other false suggestions, or letters, or messages, for we believe that you will receive false letters and misleading messengers. Farewell." About this time the barons went from the city of London, in company with the knights who had lately come from France, to enjoy the sport of tilting with only lances and cloth armour; and after spending great part of the day in urging their horses to speed and striking one another with their lances, one of the French knights in the sport couched his lance against Geoffrey de Mandeville earl of Essex, and mortally wounded him; the earl however forgave the man who had wounded him, and a few days afterwards died to the regret of many.

How Walo came as legate to the French king.

About this same time master Walo was sent by the pope to France by the apostolic authority, to forbid Louis to proceed to England; he on coming to king Philip delivered to him deprecatory letters from the pope, the contents of which were, that he was not to permit his son Louis to go to England as an enemy, or to harass the English king in any way, but to protect and love him as a vassal of the church of Rome, and as one whose kingdom, by right of dominion, belonged to the said church of Rome. The French king, when he read this, immediately answered, "The kingdom of England never was the inheritance of Peter, nor is it, nor shall it be. For king John, in times long past, attempted unjustly to deprive his own brother king Richard of the kingdom of England, on which he was accused of treachery, convicted of the same in that monarch's presence, and condemned by the decision of the said king at his court, and sentence was pronounced by Hugh de Pusaz bishop of Durham; therefore he was not a true king, and could not give away his kingdom. Besides this, had he ever been a lawful king, he afterwards forfeited his kingdom by the murder of Arthur, for which deed he was condemned in our court." He also said that no king or prince could give away his

kingdom without the consent of his barons, who were bound to defend that kingdom; and if the pope was determined to defend that error, it would be a most pernicious example to all kingdoms. The nobles then exclaimed with one voice that they would oppose that point to the death, namely, that a king or prince could at his pleasure alone give his kingdom away, or make it tributary, whereby the nobles of the kingdom would become slaves. These events took place at Lyons on the fifteenth day after Easter.

How the same legate forbade Louis to go to England.

On the following day, at his father's request, Louis came to the conference, and looking on the legate with a scowling brow, took his seat near his father; the legate then, with many entreaties, begged of Louis not to go to England to invade or seize on the inheritance of the church of Rome, and entreated his father, as he had done before, not to permit him to go. The French king, however, immediately replied to the legate in these words, "I have always been a devoted and faithful ally of our lord the pope and the church of Rome, and in all transactions have till this time effectually promoted their welfare, neither shall my son Louis now have my advice in attempting anything against the church of Rome; however, if Louis can prove any claim that he has to the kingdom of England, let him be heard, and let what is right be conceded to him." On this, a certain knight, whom Louis had appointed to plead for him, rose, and in the hearing of all, answered, "My lord king, it is a fact well known to all that John, called king of England, was, by the decision of his peers in your court, condemned to death for his treachery to his nephew Arthur, whom he murdered with his own hands; and was after that deposed by the barons of England from his sovereignty over them, on account of the many murders and other offences he had committed there, and for this reason the said barons had made war against him, to drive him from the throne of the kingdom. Moreover, the said king, without the consent of his nobles, gave his kingdom of England to our lord the pope and the church of Rome, that he might again resume possession of it from them, on the annual payment of a thousand marks. And if he could not give the crown of

England to any one without the baron's consent, he could however resign it; and as soon as he resigned it, he ceased to be a king, and the kingdom was without a king. A vacant kingdom could not be settled without asking the barons; on which they chose Louis as their lord, by reason of his wife, whose mother, namely, the queen of Castile, was the only survivor of all the brothers and sisters of the said king of England. The legate then pleaded that king John had assumed the cross, on which account he ought, according to the decree of the general council, to have peace for four years, and all his possessions ought to remain secure under the protection of the apostolic see; and therefore Louis ought not in the meantime to make war on the said king, or deprive him of his kingdom. To this the proctor of Louis replied, "King John, before assuming the cross, had made war on our lord Louis, and besieged and destroyed the castle of Buncham; he had likewise taken Aria, and burnt the greatest part of it, and, having made prisoners of several knights and their followers at that place, he still detains them prisoners. He also besieged the castle of Liens, and slew a great number at that place; the county of Gisnes, which is the lawful fee of our lord Louis, he ravaged with fire and sword; and even after assuming the cross, he is still at war against Louis, wherefore, he can justly wage war against the said king." The legate, however, not content with these reasons, forbade Louis, as before, under penalty of excommunication, to presume to enter England, and also his father to permit him to go. On hearing this, Louis said to his father, "Although I am your liege subject in the fee which you have given me in the provinces this side of the sea, it is not your duty to determine anything concerning the kingdom of England; I therefore throw myself on the decision of my peers, as to whether you ought to hinder me from seeking my rights, and especially a right in which you cannot afford me justice. I therefore ask of you not to obstruct my purpose of seeking my rights, because, for the inheritance of my wife I will, if necessary, contend even to death;" and with these words Louis retired from the conference with his followers. The legate seeing this, asked the king to grant him safe conduct as far as the sea-coast; to which the king replied, "We will willingly grant you safe conduct through our territory, but

if you should by chance fall into the hands of Eustace the monk, or any other of Louis's friends who are in charge of the seas, do not blame me for anything untoward that befalls you." On this, the legate departed from the court in a rage.

How Louis obtained his father's permission, and went to England.

On the following day, which was that of St. Mark the evangelist, Louis went to his father at Melun, and begged of him not to obstruct his proposed journey; he also added that he had given his oath to the barons of England that he would come to their assistance, and therefore, he would rather be excommunicated by the pope for a time, than incur the charge of falsehood. The king, seeing the firmness and anxiety of his son, granted him his permission, and dismissed him with his blessing. Louis then sent messengers to the court of Rome, there to set forth in the presence of the pope the right which he claimed for himself to the kingdom of England, and then, in company with his earls, barons, knights, and numerous followers, he made all haste to the sea-coast, that he might reach England before the legate. When they all reached the port of Calais, they found there six hundred ships and eighty cogs, all well equipped, which Eustace the monk had collected there against Louis's arrival; they therefore all immediately embarked and put to sea with all speed, making for the isle of Thanet, where they landed at a place called Stanhore, on the twenty-first of May. King John was then at Dover with his army, but as he was surrounded with foreign mercenaries and knights from the transmarine provinces, he did not venture to attack Louis on his landing, lest in the battle they might all leave him and go over to the side of Louis; he therefore chose to retreat for a time, rather than to give battle on an uncertainty. He therefore retreated before Louis, leaving Dover castle in charge of Hugh de Burgh, and continued his flight till he arrived first at Guildford, and afterwards at Winchester. Louis, finding no one to oppose him, disembarked at Sandwich, and soon subdued the whole of the district, with the exception of the castle of Dover. He then went to London, and was there received with great joy by all the barons; he then received homage and fealty from all of them, and from

the citizens who had been waiting his arrival there, whilst he himself swore on the holy gospels that he would grant good laws and restore their inheritances to each and all of them. He also wrote to the king of Scots and to all the nobles of England who had not yet done homage to him, ordering them to make their fealty to him, or to retire with all speed from England. At this command, there came to him William earl of Warrene, W. earl of Arundel, W. earl of Salisbury, W. Mareschal the younger, and many others besides them, abandoning king John, as though they were quite sure that Louis would obtain the kingdom. Louis appointed Master Simon Langton his chancellor, who preached to the citizens of London, as well as the excommunicated barons, when they performed divine service, and also induced Louis himself to agree to it.

Walo the legate follows Louis to England.

About this same time, Walo the legate, when he was informed of Louis's departure to England, as a diligent agent of the apostolic mandate, crossed the sea to follow him, and passing through the enemies unhurt, he came to king John at Gloucester ; the latter received him with great pleasure, and rested all his hopes of being able to oppose his enemies on him. The legate then convoked all the bishops, abbats, and clergy whom he could muster, and, amidst the ringing of bells, and with lighted tapers, excommunicated by name the said Louis, with all his accomplices and abettors, especially Master Simon Langton, at the same time ordering the said bishops and all others to make this sentence public throughout all England, on every Sunday and feast day ; but to all this, Master Simon Langton and Master Gervase d'Hobregge, precentor of St. Paul's church at London, and several others, made reply, that they had appealed on behalf of Louis, and therefore that they considered that sentence as null and void. At this time, all the knights and soldiers from the country of Flanders and the transmarine provinces, except only those of Poictou, abandoned the cause of king John, some of them joining Louis, and others returning home.

How Louis subdued the southern provinces of England.

Louis about this time left the city of London with a large

body of knights, and invaded the county of Kent, and, as no one opposed him, he soon subdued it, with the exception of Dover castle. Marching onward, he by force gained possession of Sussex, with all the towns and fortresses; but here a young man named William, refusing to make his fealty to Louis, collected a company of a thousand bow-men, and taking to the woods and forests with which that part of the country abounded, he continued to harass the French during the whole war, and slew many thousands of them. Louis at length came to the city of Winchester, and reduced it to subjection, together with the castle and the whole country round. Hugh de Neville went to Louis, surrendered to him the castle of Marlborough, and did homage to him. After this, Louis went to Odiham, a town belonging to the bishop of Winchester, and laid siege to the tower. In this tower were only three knights and ten soldiers, but they boldly defended it; on the third day after the French had arranged their engines round the tower, and had made frequent and fierce assaults on it, the aforesaid three knights and their soldiers made a sally from the tower, and seizing the same number of knights and soldiers on the adverse side, regained the tower without loss to themselves. However, after the siege had lasted eight days, they surrendered the tower to Louis, and came out themselves only thirteen in number, saving their horses and arms, to the great admiration of the French. All the southern districts had thus fallen into the power of Louis, except the castles of Dover and Windsor, which, being well garrisoned, awaited Louis's approach. In the meantime, William de Mandeville, Robert Fitz-Walter, and William de Huntingfield, with a powerful army of knights and soldiers, had reduced to subjection under Louis the counties of Essex and Suffolk. Whilst all this was going on, king John had laid in good supplies of provisions and arms in the castles of Wallingford, Corfe, Wareham, Bristol, Devizes, and others too numerous to mention.

The proceedings of Louis's messengers at Rome.

At this time, the messengers whom Louis had sent to the court of Rome wrote to him as follows: "To our most puissant lord, Louis, eldest son of the king of the French, D. de Corbeil, I. de Montevisito, and G. Limeth, mes-

sengers, health and faithful service. Be it known to your excellency, that on the Sunday *ad mensem Paschæ* we went to our lord the pope, without harm to our persons and property, and at once went before him on the same day. We found him cheerful, but apparently having cause of sorrow; and when we had presented our letters and saluted him on your behalf, he answered us, saying, 'Your lord is not worthy of our salutation.' I immediately answered, 'Father, I believe that when you have heard the reasons and excuses of our lord, you will find him worthy of your salutation, as a Christian, a catholic, and one always devoted to you and the church of Rome;' and thus we retired from his presence that day; but, as we were going away, his holiness most kindly told us that he would willingly grant us audience when and as often as we wished. On the following Tuesday our lord the pope sent an attendant of his to your dwelling, ordering us to come to him, on which we immediately went before him; and after we had stated our case, he said much in reply to us which seemed to blame your actions and your reasons, and as soon as he had finished his discourse, he said, striking his breast and groaning in spirit, 'Woe is me that in this affair the church of God cannot escape trouble; for if the king of England is conquered, we are mixed up with his trouble, because he is our vassal, and we are bound to protect him; if your lord Louis is conquered, in his harm the church of Rome is harmed, and we consider an injury to him as one to ourselves; we always indulged the hope, and we indulge it now, that he would be in all its times of need the arm in oppression the solace, and in persecution the refuge of the church of Rome.' And finally, he said that he would sooner die than that any harm should befall you in this business; and thus we left him that day. Moreover, by the advice of some of the cardinals, we are waiting for the day of Ascension, that no decree may be made against you, as on that day it is the pope's custom to repeat his sentences; for the pope had himself told us that he expected messengers from the lord Walo. Farewell!"

Here are given the charges of Louis and the barons of England against king John.

The first statement laid before our lord the pope against king John, by the aforesaid messengers, was, that he had treacherously with his own hands killed his nephew Arthur, by the worst kind of death, called by the English, murder; for which crime the said king had been condemned to death at the court of the French king, by the judgment of his peers. To this charge the pope made this opposition, namely, that the barons of France could not adjudge him to death, because he was an anointed king, and therefore their superior; by the barons, as his inferiors, he could not be condemned to death, because the higher rank in some measure destroys the power of the inferior; and besides, it seems contrary to civil law as well as in opposition to the canons, to give sentence of death on a man who is not present, not summoned, convicted, or confessed to be guilty. To this the messengers replied, "It is the custom of the French kingdom that the king should have all kind of jurisdiction over his liege subjects, and the king of England was his liege subject, his count and duke; therefore, although he was elsewhere an anointed king, yet, as an earl and duke he was under the jurisdiction of our lord, the king of the French. And if an earl or duke committed this offence in the French kingdom, he could, and ought to be condemned to death by his peers; and even though he were not a duke, or a count, or a liege subject of the king of the French, and had committed the offence in the French kingdom, the barons could, for a crime perpetrated in that kingdom, condemn him to death; otherwise, if the king of England could not, because he was an anointed king, be condemned to death, he might come into the kingdom of France, and with impunity murder the barons as he murdered Arthur."* In answer to this, the

* Paris here adds: "The truth of this matter is as follows,—John in fact was not justly or formally deprived of Normandy; because, when he was deprived of it, not judicially, but by force, he, to obtain the restoration of it, sent special messengers, men of prudence, to Philip, the French king, namely, Eustace bishop of Ely, and Hubert de Burgh, men of learning and eloquence, to tell that monarch that he would willingly come to his court to assert his claim, and to answer all accusations in that matter, on condition that safe conduct was granted him. Philip, though not with a calm countenance or cordially, replied, 'Willingly, let him come

pope said, "Many emperors and princes, and even French kings, are reported by history to have slain many innocent persons, yet we do not read that any one of these was condemned to death; and when Arthur was imprisoned at Mirebeau, not as an innocent person, but as being guilty, and a traitor to his lord and uncle, to whom he had done homage and sworn allegiance, he could lawfully be condemned to the most disgraceful death without any trial.

The second charge made by the above against king John.

The second charge against the king was, that, though often summoned, he did not appear in person to take his trial, and sent no one to answer for him in the court of France. To this charge the pope replied, that, if the king of England had been so contumacious as not to appear or send when summoned, no one ought or could be punished with death on account of contumaciousness; therefore the barons of France could not condemn him to death, but could punish him in another way, namely, by depriving him of his fee. The messengers to this made answer, "It is the

safe and in peace.' The bishop then said, 'And may he return? my lord.' The king replied, 'Yes, if the judgments of his peers allows of it.' And when all the messengers begged of him that John might have safe conduct to and from his court, Philip became enraged, and replied with his usual oath, 'By the saints of France, not unless by the judgment of his peers.' The bishop then spoke of the dangers which might happen through his going to the French king's court, and said, 'My lord king, the duke of Normandy could not come to your court unless the king of England also came, since the duke and the king are the same person, and this the barons of England would not allow, even though the king himself wished to come; for there would be imminent danger, as you know, of his being made prisoner or being killed.' To this the king replied, 'And what of this, my lord bishop? It is well known that the duke of Normandy, who is my tenant, gained possession of England by force, and if anything accrues to a subject, does the superior lord thereby lose his rights? Not so.' The messenger then being unable to make any reasonable reply to this, returned to the king of England, and told him all that had passed. The king, however, would not trust to chance, or to the judgment of the French, who did not like him; especially as he feared that he would be accused of the shameful murder of Arthur, as says Horace, 'All the foot-marks led to the lion's cave, but none led back again.' The French nobles, however, proceeded to trial, which they ought not to have done by rights; and by their judgment John was condemned when absent, though he would have appeared if he could. Wherefore, as king John was condemned by his enemies, he was not properly condemned.

custom in the French kingdom, when any one is accused before his judge of the cruel crime of murder, and the accused does not appear, and pleads no legitimate excuse for not appearing, to consider him as guilty, and to adjudge him as if he were guilty of all the charges, even to suffer death, as though he were present." In answer to this the pope said, that, between the king of France and the duke of Normandy, there might be an agreement or an old custom, that the duke of Normandy was only bound to come, on the citing of the king of France, as far as the borders; and therefore if he did not come when summoned, he did not commit an offence, nor could he, on that account, be punished in such a way. The pope also said, that if the sentence had been pronounced on the king of England, it had not however been carried into effect, as he was not yet put to death; and therefore his children which were born afterwards, ought to succeed him in the kingdom, because the king of England had not committed the crime of treason or of heresy, for which offences only the son is disinherited for his father's crime. The messengers in reply to this pleaded, "It is the custom in the kingdom of France, that when any one is condemned to death, his offspring begotten after his condemnation does not succeed him, but those children born to him before his sentence ought to succeed him;" but the messengers however would not dispute this point. The pope next said, that although the king of England was condemned to death, and sons of his flesh were born, Blanche ought not to succed him but those nearer related to his family, namely, the children of his eldest brother, and therefore the sister of Arthur, or Otho, who was the son of his eldest sister; and if it were decided that the queen of Castile ought to succeed him, and consequently Blanche as her daughter, it would not be proper, because a male ought to be preferred, namely, the king of Castile; and if there was no male, the queen of Leon ought to be preferred as the eldest. To this the messengers said, "The brother's sons ought not to succeed him, as the brother was not living when the sentence was pronounced, and the sister of his nephew, Arthur, ought not to succeed him, because she was not his lineal descendant, although the daughter of his brother; likewise the mother of Otho was not living at the time of the sentence, therefore

she did not succeed him, consequently Otho ought not to succeed him; but the queen of Castile was alive, who was his sister, and therefore succeeded, and on the death of the queen of Castile, her children succeeded and ought to succeed. To this the pope replied, that the king of Castile ought to succeed as he was the male heir, or the queen of Leon as the eldest female heir. The messengers replied, that when there were several heirs, who ought to succeed a person, and the one who came first in succession, was still in the matter, or neglected to enter on his inheritance, the one who came after him in succession, if he wished to enter on the inheritance, ought to be invested with it, according to approved custom, saving however the right of the other if he reclaimed it; and therefore our lord Louis enters on the kingdom of England as his own, and if there is any nearer relative who wishes to lay a claim in this matter, our lord Louis will do what is right in it.

The third objection against king John.

The pope then said that the kingdom of England was his own and under his rule by reason of the fealty, which had been sworn to him concerning it, and also by reason of the revenue which was paid to him out of the kingdom; and therefore, as he had committed no crime, Louis ought not to make war on him, or to deprive him by force of the kingdom of England, especially as the king of England held many possessions in fee of the king of France, for which he might make war on him. In reply to this the messengers said, "War, and a just war, was entered upon against the king of England before that kingdom belonged to your holiness; but William Longsword and many others with him came with a powerful force from the kingdom of England, and inflicted many injuries and caused much loss to our lord Louis, therefore he may with justice make war against the king of England." To this the pope replied, that, although the king of England made war on Louis, the latter ought not to have made war on him, but ought to have complained to his lord, namely the pope, to whom the king of England as a vassal was subject. The messengers then said that the custom was, when war was made on any one by the vassal of another on his own authority, he who was attacked could make war on

the other on his own authority, and was not bound to complain to the lord of the other; and if the lord himself defended that vassal as long as he continued such war, the lord himself was said to make war. The pope then said, that, at the general council it had been decreed, that there should be peace or a truce for four years between all who were at difference, in order to give succour to the Holy Land, and therefore Louis ought not during that time to make war on the kingdom of England. The messengers replied, that, on his departure from France, Louis had not been called on to keep the peace or truce; and even if he had, they believed that there was so much ill will in the king of England, that he would not keep either peace or truce. The pope next said that the king of England had assumed the cross; wherefore by a decree of the general council, he and all his possessions ought to be protected by the church. To this the messengers answered, that the king of England had made war on Louis before he took the cross, and had inflicted many injuries on him, had taken his castles, and even now detained his knights and soldiers in prison, being still at war against Louis, and will not make peace with him or grant him a truce, although he had been often asked to do so. The pope then told them that, by the common consent of the general council, he had excommunicated the barons of England and all their abettors, and therefore Louis had incurred that sentence. The messengers replied that their lord Louis did not assist the barons of England nor abet them, but only sought his own rights; and Louis did not, and could not believe that the pope or the council would excommunicate any one unjustly, for at the time of the sentence his holiness did not know that Louis had any claim to the kingdom of England, and as this had been proved to him, Louis did not believe that the council would take away his right from him. The pope next said that the French king, as well as his son Louis, even after the sentence had been pronounced against the king of England by the French barons, had called John a king, considered him as a king, and had made treaties with him as king of England. To this the messengers answered, that, after the declaration of the sentence against the king by the barons, they had never considered him a king, but had called him "the deposed king," in the same

manner as an abbat or any one else is said to be deposed. Lastly the pope said, that he would determine on these matters before the messengers arrived from Walo.*

How Louis ravaged the eastern provinces of England.

About this time Louis made an incursion into the eastern

* C. and B. insert here:—"One day, however, Louis thinking to corrupt the fidelity and firmness of Hubert de Burgh, by trying his avarice, sent word that he wished to have a peaceable interview with him; and when Hubert consented to this, Louis sent special messengers to him to a postern gate which seemed a fit place for the interview. The messengers who were sent to him were the earl of Salisbury, surnamed William Longespee, who brought with him for security Thomas de Burgh, brother of the said Hubert, who had been taken prisoner by Louis at the castle of Norwich, and three of the most noble of the French. Hubert then came to the postern, followed by five cross-bow men with bows bent and arrows fitted, so that if there was necessity, they should not spare their enemies. Earl William then said, 'The death of king John, once our lord, is, I believe, no secret to you, Hubert, nor are you ignorant of the oath of Louis, who has sworn, that when he takes possession of this castle by force of arms, all found in it shall be hung without fail. Consult therefore your own safety and honour. You cannot long retain this castle; the power of our lord Louis increases daily, while that of the king decreases, by strong daily assaults; or you will at least perish of hunger, unless you be wise and yield to my advice, for you see all hope of help has vanished: therefore without any delay or difficulty, give up this castle to Louis, and you will not be branded with perfidy, since you cannot hold possession of it much longer; and you see that others vie with one another in giving their fealty to him.' Thomas, his brother, moreover said to him with tears, 'My dear brother, have compassion on yourself, on me, and all of us, by yielding to the advice of these nobles; for we shall then all be freed from impending destruction.' The earl added, 'Listen to my advice, Hubert, and obey the will of our lord Louis, and he will give you, as an inheritance, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and you will also become his chief counsellor and friend; but, if you do not this, your brother Thomas will be hung, and you in a short time will suffer the same punishment.' To this Hubert then replied: 'Earl, wicked traitor that you are, although king John, our lord and your brother, be dead, he has heirs, namely your nephew, whom, although every body else deserted him, you, his uncle, ought not to abandon, but ought to be a second father to him; why then, base and wicked man that you are, do you talk thus to me?' then casting a scowling look on him and breaking out into a harsher tone, he added, 'Do not speak another word, because by the lance of God, if you open your mouth to say any thing more, you shall all be pierced with numbers of arrows, nor will I even spare my own brother.' The earl therefore, and those who were with him seeing that they would be killed in the flash of an eye, because the cross-bow men were ready to discharge their weapons, retreated at once, glad to escape alive and uninjured. When Louis heard this, although he was sorry and enraged, he greatly applauded the firmness of Hubert."

part of England, pillaged the cities and towns of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, and finding the castle of Norwich deserted he garrisoned it with his own soldiers and imposed a tax on all those districts; he also sent a large force against the town of Lynn, which he reduced, and, taking the inhabitants away prisoners, he compelled them to pay a heavy ransom; after this the French returned with great booty and spoil to London. At that place Gilbert de Gant came to Louis, and was by him presented with the sword of the county of Lincoln; Louis then sent him there to check the incursions of the garrisons of the castles of Nottingham and Newark, who had destroyed with fire all the abodes and fine buildings of the barons in that district, and had taken their lands into their own possession. At the same time Robert de Roos, Peter de Brus, and Richard Percy reduced the city of York with the whole county to subjection to Louis; Gilbert de Gant, and Robert de Roppelle took the city of Lincoln and that county, with the exception of the castle, and imposed an annual tax on the whole of it; thence marching into Hoyland, they plundered it, and levied a tax on it; the king of Scots subdued the whole county of Northumberland for Louis, except the castles which Hugh de Baillul, and Philip de Hulecotes most courageously defended against the attacks of the enemy; however all these provinces were subdued and swore allegiance to Louis. In this year Walo the legate exacted a tax on proxies from the cathedral churches and religious houses throughout all England, namely, for every procuration fifty shillings; moreover he sequestrated all the benefices of the clergy and religious men, who had given assistance, or advice, or favoured the cause of Louis; all which he converted to the use of himself and his clerks.

Of the siege of Dover castle by Louis.

In the same year on the day of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, Louis, with a powerful force of knights and soldiers laid siege to Dover castle, having first sent to his father for a petraria which was called in French "Malvoisine;" and the French having disposed this and other engines before the castle, they began to batter the walls incessantly; but Hubert de Burgh, a brave knight, with a hundred and forty knights and a large number of soldiers who were defending

the castle, destroyed many of the enemy, until the French feeling their loss removed their tents and engines farther from the castle; on this Louis was greatly enraged and swore he would not leave the place till the castle was taken and all the garrison hung. They therefore, to strike terror into them, built a number of shops and other buildings in front of the entrance to the castle, so that the place appeared like a market; for they hoped that they would, by hunger and a protracted siege, force them to surrender, as they could not subdue them by force of arms.

The capture of the castle of Cambridge.

About this same time a party of the barons who were staying at London, made an incursion into the country near Cambridge, pillaged it, and took the castle at that place, where they made prisoners of twenty soldiers whom they found in it, and took them away with them. From thence they marched on, roving through the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, pillaging the country as well as all the churches; they extorted large ransoms from the towns of Yarmouth, Dunwich, and Ipswich; and then, after collecting booty about Colchester, and ravaging the country there in like manner, they returned to their old haunts at London.

The siege of Windsor castle.

After these events the barons assembled a large force, and laid siege to the castle of Windsor; the command of this army was given to the count de Nevers, a descendant of the traitor Guenelon; and having arranged their engines they made fierce assault on the walls. This castle was in the custody of Ingelard d'Athie, a man well tried in war, who was attended by sixty knights with their retainers, and these stoutly defended the castle against their enemies. As soon as John learned that the castles of Dover and Windsor were laid siege to, he assembled a large army of the garrisons of his castles, followed by whom he overran the lands of the earls and barons at harvest-time, burning their houses and crops and doing great damage to his enemies; afterwards he roved through the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, causing similar havoc amongst the possessions of the earl of Arundel, Roger Bigod, William de Huntingfield, Roger de Cresi, and

other nobles. When all these events were told to the barons, who were gaining little or no advantage at the siege of Windsor castle, they determined to raise the siege, in order to cut off the retreat of king John, who, as has been said, was now pillaging and collecting booty about the coast of Suffolk; therefore, by the advice of the count de Nevers, who, it was said, had been bribed by presents from the king, they raised the siege at night, and, leaving their tents, marched with all haste towards Cambridge in order to circumvent the king. He however, by means of good scouts, was forewarned of this, before the barons arrived at Cambridge, and like a cunning traveller betook himself to the town of Stamford. From thence he soon proceeded northward, and hearing that the castle of Lincoln was besieged he made all haste to that place, Gilbert de Gant and the other Normans, who were besieging it fled before him, dreading his presence as they would lightning. The barons, too, who had followed the king, when they found that they were deceived, indulged in rapine and robbery, and gave all their attention to the destruction of property; they then returned with their booty to London, where they appointed some knights to guard the city, and then marched to join Louis at Dover. King John in the meantime proceeded towards the boundary of Wales, besieging and taking the castles of the barons in that direction, all which he ordered to be razed to the ground; and the cruel destruction which he caused amongst the houses and crops of the said barons afforded a pitiable spectacle to all who saw it. In the month of November in the same year Alexander king of Scots, for fear of king John, came with a large army to Louis at Dover, and did homage to him for the right which he ought to hold from the king of the English; but on his way to him, as he was passing Bernard's castle, in the province of Haliwercfolk, and which was in the fee of Hugh de Baillul, he, with the nobles of that district, rode round the castle to see if it was open to assault in any part; whilst thus employed a cross-bow man in the castle discharged his weapon, and wounded a noble of high rank, Eustace de Vesci, in the forehead, and, the weapon piercing his brain, he died on the spot. This said Eustace had married the sister of the king of Scotland; and therefore the latter as well as all the party of the barons was much grieved. The

said king however did homage, as he had pre-arranged, and returned home.

The treachery of the French detected.

It happened about this time that the viscount de Melun, a French nobleman who had come into England with Louis, fell seriously ill at London; and when he found that his death was approaching, he sent for some of the barons who had been left in charge of the city to speak with him, and in the hearing of them all made the following confession. "I grieve," said he, "for your desolation and ruin, because you know not the danger which hangs over you; for Louis and sixteen other French counts and barons with him have sworn, that, if he subdues England and is crowned king, he will condemn to perpetual banishment all those who are now fighting with him and persecuting king John, as traitors against their lord, and will destroy the whole race of them from the kingdom; and, that you may not doubt this, I, who am now lying here at the point of death, declare to you at the risk of my soul, that I am one of those who have taken this oath with Louis. Therefore I now sincerely advise you to provide for your safety for the future, and to keep secret what I have now told you;" and with these words that nobleman immediately expired. When this information was spread amongst the barons they were in great consternation, for they knew that they were in trouble on every side; for Louis had, notwithstanding their murmurs, given their land and castles, which he had subdued in various places, to the French, and, what hurt them most, had branded them with treachery; their alarm was increased too, by the circumstance of their being excommunicated day after day, and deprived of all earthly honour, and they consequently fell into great trouble both of body and mind. Many of them thought of returning to their allegiance to king John; but they were afraid, that, on account of the many and great injuries by which he had been provoked to anger against them, he would not receive them though penitent.

Of the death of king John.

Whilst Louis was continuing the siege at Dover for a

length of time and without success, John with a large force had been committing terrible ravages in the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. At last he took his way through the town of Lynn, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, and received large presents from them. He then took his march towards the north, but in crossing the river Wellester, he lost all his carts, waggons, and baggage horses, together with his money, costly vessels, and everything which he had a particular regard for; for the land opened in the middle of the water and caused whirlpools which sucked in every thing, as well as men and horses, so that no one escaped to tell the king of the misfortune. He himself narrowly escaped with his army, and passed the following night at a convent called Swineshead, where, as was thought, he felt such anguish of mind about his property which was swallowed up by the waters, that he was seized with a violent fever and became ill; his sickness was increased by his pernicious gluttony, for that night he surfeited himself with peaches and drinking new cider, which greatly increased and aggravated the fever in him. He however left that place at early dawn, although in pain, and proceeded to the castle of Lafort to take up his quarters, and at this place he was in such pain, that on the following day it was with difficulty that he reached Newark on horseback; there his disease gained ground, and he confessed himself and received the eucharist from the abbat of Croxton. Afterwards he appointed his eldest son Henry his heir, and made his kingdom swear allegiance to him; he also sent letters under his own seal to all the sheriffs and castellans of the kingdom, ordering them one and all to obey his said son. Being then asked by the abbat of Croxton, where he would wish to be buried in case he should die, he answered, "To God and St. Wolstan I commend my body and soul." After this, on the night next after St. Luke the Evangelist's day, he departed this life, having reigned eighteen years and a half; his body was dressed in royal robes and carried to Worcester, and was there honourably buried in the cathedral church by the bishop of that place. When the king was drawing near his death at Newark, messengers came to him there with letters from about forty of the barons who wished to make their peace with him again; but as he was at the point of death he could not give his attention to

them.* Some one has composed his epitaph and an inscription for his tomb in the following lines:

Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedavit in orbe tumultum.
Hunc mala post mortem timor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis hæc, metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Discute quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.

King John reigned eighteen years five months and four days.†

Of the coronation of Henry the Third, king of England, and of the occurrences in his reign.

After the death of king John, on the eve of the day of the apostles Simon and Jude, an assembly was convened at Gloucester in the presence of Walo, the legate of the apostolic see, at which there were present, Peter bishop of Winchester, and Silvester bishop of Worcester, Ralph earl of Chester, William Marshall the earl of Pembroke, William earl of Ferrers, John Marshall, and Philip d'Albiney, with abbats, priors, and a great number of others, to arrange for the coronation of Henry the eldest son of king John. On the day following all preparations for the coronation having been made, the legate, in company with the bishops

* The abbat of the canons of Croxton, a man well skilled in medicine, who was the king's physician at that time, opened the king's body that it might be better carried to the grave, and having well salted his entrails had them carried to his abbey and honourably buried there. King John reigned eighteen years five months and five days, during which time he caused many disturbances and entered on many useless labours in the world, and at length departed this life in great agony of mind, possessed of no territory, yea not even being his own master. It is, however, to be confidently hoped that some good works, which he performed in this life, may plead in his favour at the tribunal of Jesus Christ; for he founded a monastery of the Cistercian order at Beaulieu, and, when dying, gave to the monastery of Croxton land worth ten pounds.

† A profane rhymer thus says of him,

"With John's foul deeds England's whole realm is stinking,
As doth hell, too, wherein he now is sinking."

But because it is dangerous to write against him who can so easily proscribe a man, it is not my business because it is not safe, to blame his endless reprehensible faults, as says the poet Juvenal,

"I'll aim my shafts of satire at the dead."

and nobles aforesaid, conducted the king in solemn procession to the conventual church to be crowned; and there, standing before the great altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, he swore on the holy gospels and other reliques of the saints that he would observe honour, peace, and reverence towards God and the holy church and its ordained ministers all the days of his life; he also swore that he would show strict justice to the people entrusted to his care, and would abolish all bad laws and customs, if there were any in the kingdom, and would observe those that were good, and cause them to be observed by all. He then did homage to the holy church of Rome and to pope Innocent for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and swore that, as long as he held those kingdoms, he would faithfully pay the thousand marks which his father had given to the Roman church; after this, Peter bishop of Winchester placed the crown on his head, and anointed him king with the usual ceremonies of prayer and chanting observed at coronations. After mass had been performed, the bishops and knights above mentioned clothed the king in royal robes, and conducted him to table, where they all took their seats according to their rank, and feasted amidst mirth and rejoicing. On the following day the king received the homage and fealty of all the bishops, earls, barons, and all others present, and they all promised faithful allegiance to him. Henry was crowned in the tenth year of his age, on the day of the apostles Simon and Jude, which was the 28th day of the month of October. After his coronation he continued under the guardianship of William earl of Pembroke, the grand marshal, who immediately sent letters to all the sheriffs and castellans of England, enjoining them each and all to obey the newly crowned king, and promising them possessions and many presents besides, on condition of their faithfully adhering to the said king; and thus all the nobles and castellans who had served his father adhered more firmly to him, because they all thought that the sin of the father ought not to be charged to the son; wherefore all began to prepare for defence and to fortify their castles as strongly as possible. Those who had taken the side of the king were encouraged, because they saw that his accomplices and abettors were excommunicated each Sunday and feast-day.

How Louis, on hearing of John's death, departed from Dover.

When Louis and the barons who were besieging Dover castle received news of the death of king John, they were all greatly pleased, as they confidently expected that they now had the kingdom of England in their own power. Louis then summoned Hubert de Burgh, constable of Dover castle, to a conference, and said to him, "Your lord king John is dead, and you cannot hold this castle against me for long, as you have no protector; therefore give up the castle, and become faithful to me, and I will enrich you with honours, and you shall hold a high post amongst my advisers." To this offer Hubert is said to have replied, "Although my lord is dead, he has sons and daughters, who ought to succeed him; and, as to surrendering the castle, I will deliberate with my fellow knights." He then returned to the castle and told his friends what Louis had said, but they were all unanimous in refusing to surrender it to him, lest they might be branded with treachery for a cowardly submission. When this was announced to Louis and the barons, they determined to reduce the smaller castles throughout the country, that, after the lesser fortresses were in their power, they might attack the larger ones; they then raised the siege, and returned to the city of London. Directly after their retreat, the knights who had defended the castle sallied out and burnt the houses and buildings which Louis had erected in front of the castle, and then ravaging the country, they procured a plentiful supply of necessaries for the garrison.

Of the siege and capture of the castle of Hertford.

After this, Louis marched on the morrow of St. Martin's day with a large army to the town of Hertford, and laid siege to it, arranging his engines of war round the castle to batter the walls; but Walter de Godardville, a brave knight of the retinue of Falcasius, defended it with his soldiers, and caused a great slaughter amongst the French. However, after the latter had, at great expense, protracted the siege from Martinmas till the feast of St. Nicholas, the town was surrendered to Louis, saving the garrison, their property, horses, and arms. The town being thus given up, Robert Fitz-Walter made a demand of it, saying that the charge of

it belonged to him by old right; Louis then asked the advice of the French knights on the matter, who told him that the English were not worthy of holding charge of such places, as they were traitors to their own sovereign. On this Louis told the aforesaid Robert to wait patiently till the kingdom was subdued, when he would give every one his rights. In the same year on the day of St. Catherine the virgin and martyr, the noble William d'Albiney was released from prison, after paying a fine of six thousand marks for his ransom; he then did homage to king Henry, who delivered into his custody the castle of Lafort, which he vigorously maintained.

Capture of the castle of Berkhampstead.

After reducing the castle of Hertford, as above-mentioned, Louis marched on St. Nicholas's day to the castle of Berkhampstead and surrounded it with his engines of war. Whilst the English barons, after pitching their tents, were employed in setting them in order, the knights and soldiers of the garrison made a sally, seized the baggage and conveyances of the barons, and gained possession of the standard of William de Mandeville, with which they returned to the castle, regretting that they could do no further injury to them. On the same day, whilst the barons were sitting at table, the knights and soldiers of the garrison again made a sally, and, in order to put the barons in confusion, they carried before them the standard which they had taken a short time before, and thought to come upon them unawares; but the latter were forewarned of this, and drove them back into the castle. When the following day dawned Louis ordered the petrariæ and other engines of war to be erected round the city, which being done, they kept up a destructive shower of stones; but Walleran, a German, well tried in warfare, made a brave resistance against them and caused great slaughter amongst the excommunicated French. However at last the aforesaid Walleran, after a protracted siege, by command of the king surrendered the castle to Louis, saving their horses and arms, on the 20th of December. On the following day which was St. Thomas's day, Louis, after placing his own followers in the castle, went to St. Alban's, and required the abbat to do homage to him; to

this the abbat replied that he would not do homage to him, till he was released from the homage which he had made to the king of England, on which Louis became greatly enraged, and swore that he would burn the convent and the whole town unless he did what was required of him. At last the said abbat, after being dreadfully threatened, on the intervention of Sayer earl of Winchester, paid a fine for himself and for the town, giving to Louis for a truce till the purification of St. Mary eighty marks of silver; and on this Louis returned to the city of London.

Events connected with the land of promise.

In the same year, on the expiration of the truce made between those of the faith in the land of promise and the Saracens, at the first passage after the general Lateran council, the army of the Lord assembled in great force at Acre, under the three kings of Jerusalem, Hungary, and Cyprus. There were also present the dukes of Austria and Bohemia, with a large knightly array from the kingdom of Germany, and several counts and men of rank. The archbishops of Nicosia, Salzburgh, Argia, Hungary, Bayeux, Bawerge, Ciceno, Munster, and Utrecht, and with them the noble and powerful Walter d'Avennes. Besides these, the patriarch of Jerusalem, amidst much humility of clergy and people, reverently carrying the symbol of the life-giving cross, set out on the sixth day after All Saints from Acre for the camp of the army of the Lord, which had gone forward to Recordana. This being a piece of the Lord's cross had, after the loss of the Holy Land, been kept concealed by those of the faith till this time; for in a conflict between the Saracens and Christians, in Saladin's time, the cross, as we have heard from our elders, was cut, and a part of it being carried into the fight, was there lost, but the part left behind still remained and was now shown. The army of the faith, furnished with this for a standard, marched through the plain of Faba to the fountain of Tubannia, and suffered much in that day's march. Scouts were then sent out, who saw the dust which was caused by the enemy, but were uncertain whether they were in retreat or advancing to meet them. On the following day they marched between the mountains of Gelboe on their right hand and a lake on their left, and reached

Bethany, where the enemy was encamped; the latter, however, in dread at the approach of the army of the living God, which was so numerous, and marching in such order, struck his tents, and, taking to flight, left the country open to the ravages of the soldiers of Christ. On the eve of Martinmas the army of the faith crossed the Jordan, bathing their bodies in that river, and there rested quietly for two days, finding an abundance of provisions. They then made three stages along the sea of Galilee and passed through the places where our Saviour deigned to work his miracles, and conversed in person with men. They saw Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter, then reduced to a small fortress; they also saw the places where Christ called his disciples, walked on the sea with dry feet, fed the multitudes in the desert, went up the mountain to pray, and where, after his resurrection he ate with his disciples; and then they returned by way of Capernaum to Acre, carrying their sick with them. After this they made another expedition and proceeded to Mount Tabor, where at first they found a scarcity of water, but afterwards by digging they discovered plenty; the chiefs of the army gave up all hopes of ascending the mountain, until they were told by a Saracen boy that the castle could be taken. They therefore held a council, and on the first Sunday in Advent, when was read the gospel, "Go to the castle which is over against you," the patriarch went in advance with the symbol of the cross, and amidst the prayers and chanting of hymns by the bishops and clergy the army reached the side of the mountain; and although it was rugged on every side, and as it seemed insurmountable, except by a winding path, yet they all undauntingly climbed it. John king of Jerusalem, with the soldiers of Christ, struck from their horses the castellan and an emir, who at the first onset had boldly met the enemy outside the gates, to defend the mountain, and were putting them to confusion and flight. But the glory which the king gained in his ascent of the mountain, he lost in the descent; for a number of the templars, hospitallers, and seculars were wounded, when the enemy recovered their courage, though but few were killed. In this expedition, as also in the former one which we mentioned, the Christians brought back a great number of men, women, and children with them to Acre, where the bishop of

Acre baptized all he could obtain by entreaties or for money; the women he distributed amongst the nuns, and had them taught to read. In a third expedition, at which the patriarch was not present with the clergy and the symbol of the cross, the army of the faith endured many inconveniences, as well from robbers as from the severity of the winter, especially on the eve of Christmas day, when, as they were on their march, the weather was disturbed by storms of wind and rain; in the neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon too, near Sarepta, they suffered many hardships, as well from the inclemency of the season as from bodily suffering.

How the barons of England reflected on the wretched state of their affairs.

A.D. 1217. The young king Henry was at Christmas at Bristol, in company with Walo the legate, and William Marshall the guardian of the king and kingdom. At this time there was a great deal of wavering amongst the barons of England, to which ruler they should entrust themselves, whether to the young Henry or to Louis; for they were treated so contemptuously by the French that many of them rejected their assistance. This gust of excitement, moreover, was increased by Louis himself, who, in disregard of his oath, and in spite of their complaints, had retained in his own possession the lands, possessions, and castles of the said barons, which he had subdued with their help, and had placed foreign knights and people in charge of them. On the other hand, it seemed a disgrace for them to return to their allegiance to a king whom they had renounced, lest they should be like dogs returning to their vomit; and, being thus in difficulty in every way, they could not mend the broken reed. In the same year, on the 20th of January, the knights and soldiers of the garrison of the castle of Montsorrel made a sally to rob and pillage the country; but the knights of Nottingham, on being informed of it by their scouts, went to meet them, and giving them battle, made prisoners of ten knights and twenty-four soldiers of the opposite party, and killed three, after which they returned in triumph.

How Falkasius pillaged the town of St. Alban's.

In the same year, on the 22nd of January, the wicked robber Falkasius assembled a force of knights and robbers from the garrisons of the castles of Oxford, Northampton, Bedford, and Windsor, and went to St. Alban's, it being the night of St. Vincent's day, at dusk, and making an unexpected attack on the place, pillaged it and made prisoners of men and children, whom he committed to close confinement; at the very door of the church there he slew a follower of the court who was endeavouring to take refuge in the church, and after the perpetration of this wicked crime by these agents of the devil, he sent orders to the abbat William at once to deliver him a hundred pounds of silver, or else he would directly burn the whole town, with the monastery and other buildings; on which the abbat, after much hesitation, paid the sum demanded, having no other remedy. Falkasius after this, with his excommunicated companions in arms, made all speed to the castle of Bedford, taking with him his booty and prisoners; from that place he marched with his followers to the forest of Walburg, and there made prisoner Roger de Coleville and sixty clerks and laymen with him, who were lying concealed there for the sake of collecting booty.*

* Paris adds :—"One night afterwards, the said Faulkes saw in a vision a large stone from the tower of St. Alban's fall like a thunderbolt on him, and crush him to dust; alarmed by this, he awoke, and told his wife the vision. She then advised him, as her husband, lord, and friend, to go with all due devotion to the blessed Alban, whom he had without doubt offended, and make his peace with that saint by a proper atonement; for she understood that this was a presage of some future punishment for the crime he had committed. Faulkes then consented to do so after some trouble, thus fulfilling the saying of the apostle, 'a faithless man shall be saved by a faithful woman.' He afterwards, not to offend his wife, went to St. Alban's, and entered the chapter-house without his armour, carrying a rod, and asked and obtained absolution, kissing the monks one by one, as if he could thus make his peace with them all; but he did not restore any of the property he had seized, or make any reparation to the poor followers of Christ for the injury he had done them. The servants of Christ stood at the door of the chapter-house, hoping for some reparation to them; but when he saw them waiting, he spurned them and passed on, not knowing that threatening prophecy as to the punishment which the Lord God of vengeance, at the complaint of the blessed Alban, has reserved for him, 'Woe unto you, robber, for you shall be robbed.' And this he learned by experience in the end, as the ensuing narrative will show."

Of the treaty made between the king of England and Louis.

About this time, the messengers of Louis who had gone on his behalf to the court of Rome, brought word to him, that unless he left England the sentence of excommunication which the legate Walo had pronounced against him would on the day of the Lord's supper be confirmed. On account of this a truce was made between Louis and king Henry to last till the Easter month, by which it was agreed that everything was to remain till that time in the same state as it was on the day of the truce being sworn to, with respect both to castles and other possessions. Louis then crossed the sea during Lent, on such a footing, that he never again had the good will of the barons of England as he had formerly; for of that party, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Arundel, William earl of Warrenne, and many others, at once returned to their allegiance to king Henry, and adhered to his cause from that time: the grand marshal too recalled his eldest son William to his allegiance to the king, and thus Louis's party was in a great measure broken up.

Events in the land of promise.

The army at Acre was at this time divided into four parts; the kings of Hungary and Cyprus went to Tripoli, where the young king of Cyprus died. The king of Hungary, after staying there for a short time, took his departure to the injury of the cause of the Holy Land; for he took away with him pilgrims and galleys, horses, cattle, and arms, and although much entreated by the patriarch not to leave, he went away with his retinue, and was excommunicated. Another portion, consisting of the lazy and timid, and the wealthy, remained in Acre. The king of Jerusalem and the duke of Austria, with the hospitallers of St. John, and many prelates, and others of the crusaders, in a short time had strengthened the castle at Cæsarea in Palestine, although frequent reports of the approach of the enemy were brought to them. At this latter place, the patriarch with six prelates celebrated the feast of the Purification with all due solemnity. The templars too, with the lord D'Avennes, and other pilgrims, and the hospitallers of the Teutonic order, fortified a castle formerly called "The District," but now the "Pilgrim's Castle," which lies between Caiffa and Cæsarea,

not far from the sea; wherefore, those who went up and down the narrow road on their way to Jerusalem, called it "The District." The chief advantage of this castle was, that the brotherhood of the Templars, after leaving the city of Acre, which was full of all sin and debauchery, would remain in it as a garrison till the walls of Jerusalem were repaired. The district round it abounded in fisheries, lakes, woods, pastures, meadows, fields, herbage, vineyards, gardens, and orchards. Between Acre and Jerusalem, the Saracens were not in possession of any town, on which account the infidels suffered much loss. Six miles distant from mount Thabor, between Jerusalem and the Jordan, there is a good natural harbour; and therefore the Saracens could neither plough nor sow in the extensive plain which lies between, on account of its being under the protection of this castle. The army of the Lord then, after fortifying this castle, returned to Acre.

Of signs in the heavens by which the province of Cologne was incited to assist in the crusade.

In the month of May in this year, on the sixth day before Whitsuntide, the province of Cologne was awakened to its duty to the Saviour; for at the town of Bebon in Friesland there appeared in the sky the form of the cross in three places, one towards the north of a white colour, another towards the south of the same form and colour, and the third in the middle of a dark colour, with the form of the crucifix, and the figure of a man suspended on it, with uplifted and extended arms, with nails driven through the feet and hands, and with the head bent down; this one was in the middle between the two others, on which latter did not appear the image of a human body; at another time and place too, namely, at a town of Friesland called Fuserhuse, there appeared near the sun a cross of a blue colour, and more people saw this than those who had seen the former crosses: a third cross appeared at the town of Doctham, where saint Bonifacius was crowned with martyrdom; at this place on the feast of the said martyr, many thousand men having collected together, a large white cross was visible, as though two planks were placed artificially across one another; this

cross moved gradually from the north towards the east, and many thousands saw it.

The siege of the castle of Mountsorel.

In the same year after Easter, by the orders of William Marshall guardian of the king and kingdom of England, there assembled, to lay siege to the castle of Mountsorel, Ralph earl of Chester, William earl of Albemarle, William earl of Ferrars, Robert de Vipont, Brian de L'Isle, W. de Cantelupe, Philip Marc, Robert de Gaugi, Falkasius with his castellans, and many others from the garrisons of the different castles, and they at once arranged their engines of war in suitable positions and invested the castle. The commander of the place was Henry de Braybrooke, and there were with him ten knights, men of great valour, and a number of attendants, who courageously returned stone for stone and weapon for weapon on their assailants; the besieged, after they had defended the castle for several days, in order that they might not be reduced to want through a protracted siege, sent to Sayer earl of Winchester, who was then at London, begging him to come at once to their assistance. The said earl then, to whom the castle belonged, went to Louis who had lately returned to London from the transmarine provinces, and demanded of him to send some assistance by which the siege might be raised; after consulting with each other they came to the determination to send a body of knights to raze the siege and to reduce the whole district to submission to Louis. In pursuance of this plan there went forth from the city of London six hundred knights and more than twenty thousand soldiers, who all coveted the property of others; and this array was under the command of the count of Perche mareschal of France, Sayer earl of Winchester, Robert Fitz-Walter with many others, whom they esteemed fit to command the expedition. They moved their camp on the 30th of April, which was on the Monday next before our Lord's Ascension, and marched to St. Alban's pillaging all the places they passed. These wicked French freebooters and robbers roved through the towns around them, sparing neither churches nor cemeteries, and made prisoners of the inhabitants of all ranks, and, after dreadfully torturing them, extorted a heavy ransom from them; the convent of St.

Alban's too, the abbat of which had a short time before satisfied the demands of Louis by the payment of a large sum of money, escaped the hands of the robbers, so that they stole nothing except meat and drink.

Of a miracle of the Lord's cross.

On the following day they moved their camp, proceeding towards the town of Dunstable, and, at the town of Redbourn, they pillaged the church of St. Amphibalus, and stripped the monks even to their inner clothing; they also took the relics of the saints from above the great altar and polluted them with their impious hands. One among them seized on a silver and gold ornamented cross, in which was contained a piece of our Lord's cross, and hid it in his wicked bosom unknown to his companions; but before he had left the oratory, he was possessed by a devil, and fell down grinding his teeth and foaming at the mouth, then rising quickly on the instigation of the devil, he endeavoured to strike at his companions with his sword; they, however, pitying his agony, tied his hands, and, not knowing the cause of it, took him to the church of Flamstead in a state of the wildest frenzy. As these robbers were entering that church for the purpose of robbing it, they were met by the priest, clad in white robes, in order to check the evil disposition of those impious men; however, being alarmed about their mad companion whom they had brought with them, they refrained from plunder, and there, in the presence of the superior and many others, the aforesaid cross leapt forth from the madman's bosom and fell on the ground; the superior then took it up with reverence and astonishment, and, holding it up, asked the robbers what it was. At length on consideration they found out, by means of this visitation of God, that he had clandestinely taken it from the monks whom they had robbed in the adjoining town, and they were all in a state of great perplexity and fear, lest the evil spirit should possess them also, and torture them, as it had done their companion. They therefore in great alarm delivered the cross up to the superior, beseeching him, by the virtue of God and in peril of his order, before he took any food, to go to the place and restore the cross to the monks; the superior therefore made all haste to the oratory of St. Amphibalus, and with due reverence

delivered the cross, and related all the wonderful events connected with it to the prior and brethren.

The raising of the siege of the castle of Montsorel, and of the siege of Lincoln castle.

The army of Louis and the barons of England arrived at Dunstable, and there passed the night. In the morning it took its march northward, hastening to the relief of the before-mentioned castle of Montsorel; earl Ralph of Chester and the others who were with him besieging it, being informed of this by their scouts, raised the siege, and retreated to the castle of Nottingham, where they determined to watch the progress of their approaching enemies. When the barons then arrived at the castle of Montsorel, after pillaging in their usual custom all the cemeteries and churches on their march, it was determined unanimously to march to Lincoln, where Gilbert de Gant and other barons above-mentioned had carried on a long siege without success. They therefore marched through the valley of Belvoir, and there everything fell into the hands of these robbers, because the soldiers of the French kingdom being as it were the refuse and scum of that country, left nothing at all untouched, and their poverty and wretchedness was so great, that they had not enough bodily clothing to cover their nakedness. At length they arrived at Lincoln, and the barons then made fierce assaults on the castle, whilst the besieged returned their showers of stones and missiles with stones and deadly weapons with great courage.

How the king of England assembled an army to raise the siege of the castle of Lincoln.

Whilst these events were passing at this place, William Marshall, the guardian of the king and kingdom, by the advice of Walo the legate, Peter bishop of Winchester, and others by whose counsels the business of the kingdom was arranged, convoked all the castellans belonging to the king, and the knights who were in charge of castles in different parts of the kingdom, ordering them, on the command of the king, to assemble at Newark on the second day in Whitsun week, to proceed together with them to raise the siege of Lincoln castle. They, having an ardent

desire to engage with the excommunicated French, and also to fight for their country, joyfully came at the time and place pre-arranged on, and with them also there came the legate himself, and many other prelates of the kingdom, with horses and soldiers, to assail with prayers as well as arms these disobeyers of their king, and rebels against their lord the pope; for it appeared to them they had a just cause of war, especially as he was innocent, and a stranger to sin, whom his enemies were endeavouring in their pride to disinherit. And when they were all assembled together, there were reckoned in that army four hundred knights, nearly two hundred and fifty cross-bow men, and such an innumerable host of followers and horsemen were present, who could on emergency fulfil the duties of soldiers. The chiefs of this army were William Marshall and William his son, Peter bishop of Winchester, a man well skilled in warfare, Ralph earl of Chester, William earl of Salisbury, William earl of Ferrars, and William earl of Albemarle; there were also there the barons, William d'Albiney, John Marshall, William de Cantelo,* and William his son, the renowned Falcasius, Thomas Basset, Robert de Vipont, Brian de L'Isle, Geoffrey de Lucy, and Philip d'Albiney, with many castellans of experience in war. They made a stay of three days at Newark, to refresh the horses and men, and in the meantime employed themselves in confession, and strengthened their bodies by partaking of the body and blood of our Lord, asking his protection against the attacks of their enemies; and thus all of them were prepared for extremities, and were determined to conquer or die in the cause of right.

How, when the king's army was assembled, the legate encouraged them all to battle.

At length, on the sixth day of Whitsun week, after the performance of the holy sacrament, the legate rose and set forth to all of them how unjust was the cause of Louis, and the barons who had joined him, for which they had been excommunicated and alienated from the community of the church; and in order to animate the army to battle, he put on his white robes, and, in company with the whole clergy there, excommunicated Louis by name, together with all his

* Before called Cantelupe.

accomplices and abettors, and especially all those who were carrying on the siege of Lincoln against the king of England, together with the whole provinces, inclusive and included. And to those who had undertaken to assist in this war personally, he, by the power granted to him from the omnipotent God and the apostolic see, granted full pardon for their sins, of which they had made true confession, and as a reward to the just he promised the reward of eternal salvation. Then, after all had received absolution and the blessing of God, they flew to arms, mounted their horses at once and struck their camp rejoicing. On their arrival at Stowe, eight miles from Lincoln, they there passed the night without fear. In the morning, seven dense and well appointed battalions were formed, and they marched against the enemy, only fearing that the latter would take to flight before they reached the city; the cross-bow men all the time kept in advance of the army almost a mile; the baggage waggons and sumpter-horses followed altogether in the rear with the provisions and necessaries, whilst the standards and bucklers glittered in all directions, and struck terror into those who beheld them.

How the barons went out of the city of Lincoln and reconnoitred the king's army.

The barons who were in the city and the French felt such great confidence of success in their cause, that when their messengers told them of the approach of their adversaries they only laughed at them, and continued to hurl missiles from their mangonells, to destroy the walls of the castle. But Robert Fitz-Walter, and S. earl of Winchester, when they heard that the enemy were approaching the city, went out to watch their approach and to count their numbers; and when they had made a careful survey of the approaching enemy they returned to the city to their companions, telling them, "The enemy are coming against us in good order, but we are much more numerous than they are; therefore, our advice is that we sally forth to the ascent of the hill to meet them, for, if we do, we shall catch them like larks." In reply to them, the count of Perche and the mareschal said, "You have reckoned them according to your own opinion; we also will now go out and count them in the French

fashion." They then went out to reconnoitre the coming army of the king, but in their estimation of them they were deceived; for when they saw the waggons and baggage in the rear of the army, with the guards who followed the squadrons which were already disposed in order of battle, they thought that this was an army of itself, because they beheld there a great multitude of men with standards flying; for each of the nobles had two standards, one, as we have already said, following the troops at a distance in the rear, with the baggage, and another preceding the persons of each of them, that they might be known when engaged in battle. And the count of Perche with the mareschal, being thus deceived, returned in a state of uncertainty to their companions. On their return into the city they proposed this plan to their companions, whose advice they did not despise, namely, to divide the nobles that the gates might be guarded and the enemy prevented from entering by some, until the others had taken the castle, the capture of which would soon be effected. This plan was approved of by many, but several disagreed with it. They then secured the gates, appointed guards to them, and prepared for a defence.

Of the battle fought at Lincoln called by some the "Fair."

The king's army in the meantime approached the city on the side nearest the castle, and when it was discovered by the castellans they sent a messenger by a postern door of the castle to the commanders of the army, to inform them of what was being done inside. This messenger told them that if they wished they could enter the castle by the postern, which had been just opened on account of their arrival; the commanders of the army, however, would not enter the castle that way, but sent Falcasius, with all the division under his command, and all the cross-bowmen, to force open at least one gate of the city for the army. The whole body then marched to the northern gate and endeavoured to force it open, the barons, notwithstanding this, continuing to cast heavy stones from their petrariæ against the castle. But during this time, Falcasius entered the castle with the company of troops under his command, and with the cross-bowmen, and stationed them on a sudden on the roofs of the buildings and on the ramparts, whence they discharged their deadly

weapons against the chargers of the barons, levelling horses and riders together to the earth, so that in the twinkling of an eye they made up a large force of foot-soldiers, knights, and nobles. Falcasius then, seeing a great many of the more noble of the enemy struck to the earth, boldly burst forth with his followers from the castle into the midst of the enemy; he was, however, made prisoner by the number who rushed on him, and carried away, until he was rescued by the bravery of his cross-bow men and knights. The great body of the king's army having in the meantime forced the gates, entered the city and boldly rushed on the enemy. Then sparks of fire were seen to dart, and sounds as of dreadful thunder were heard to burst forth from the blows of swords against helmeted heads; but at length, by means of the cross-bowmen, by whose skill the horses of the barons were mown down and killed like pigs, the party of the barons was greatly weakened, for, when the horses fell to the earth slain, their riders were taken prisoners, as there was no one to rescue them. At length, when the barons were thus weakened, and great numbers of their soldiers had been made prisoners and safely secured, the king's knights rushed in a close body on the count of Perche, entirely surrounding him; and as he could not withstand their force as they rushed against him, they called on him to surrender, that he might escape with life. He, however, swore that he would not surrender to the English, who were traitors to their lawful king. On hearing this, a knight rushed on him, and striking him in the eye, pierced his brain, on which he fell to the ground without uttering another word. Then the French battalions, seeing the fall of their commander, took to flight, both horse and foot-soldiers, with great loss; for the flail of the southern gate through which they took their flight had been replaced in a transverse way across the gate, which greatly impeded their flight; for when any one came up and wished to go out at that gate, he was obliged to dismount from his horse and open it, and after he had passed the gate was again closed, and the flail again fell across it as before, and thus this gate was a great trouble to the fugitives. The king's troops pursued the flying barons and French, but although several were made prisoners in their flight, yet the king's men only feigned to pursue them, and if it had not been

for the effect of relationship and blood, not a single one of all of them would have escaped. But not further to prolong the account to no purpose, of the commanding barons were made prisoners, Sayer earl of Winchester, Henry de Bohun earl of Hereford, count Gilbert de Gant, whom Louis had lately created earl of Lincoln; and the count of Perche lay dead there. There were also made prisoners, the barons Robert Fitz Walter, Richard de Montfitchet, William de Mowbray, William de Beauchamp, William Maudut, Oliver d'Haencurt, Roger de Creisi, William de Coleville, William de Roos, Robert de Roppele, Ralph Chainedut, and many others, to mention whom would be tedious. Three hundred knights were taken, besides soldiers, horse and foot, not easily to be counted. The count of Perche was buried in the orchard of the hospital outside the city. Reginald, surnamed Crocus, a brave knight of Falcasius's retinue, who was slain there, was honourably buried at the monastery of Croxton. There was also slain in this battle a soldier of the barons' party, not known to any one, who was buried outside the city at the meeting of four roads, as one excommunicated. And only the above-mentioned three are mentioned as having been slain in this great battle.

Of the plunder and pillage of the city.

After the battle was thus ended, the king's soldiers found in the city the waggons of the barons and the French, with the sumpter-horses, loaded with baggage, silver vessels, and various kinds of furniture and utensils, all which fell into their possession without opposition. Having then plundered the whole city to the last farthing, they next pillaged the churches throughout the city, and broke open the chests and store-rooms with axes and hammers, seizing on the gold and silver in them, clothes of all colours, women's ornaments, gold rings, goblets, and jewels. Nor did the cathedral church escape this destruction, but underwent the same punishment as the rest, for the legate had given orders to the knights to treat all the clergy as excommunicated men, inasmuch as they had been enemies to the church of Rome and to the king of England from the commencement of the war; Geoffrey de Drepinges precentor of this church, lost eleven thousand marks of silver. When they had thus

seized on every kind of property, so that nothing remained in any corner of the houses, they each returned to their lords as rich men, and peace with king Henry having been declared by all throughout the city, they ate and drank amidst mirth and festivity. This battle, which, in derision of Louis and the barons, they called "The Fair," took place on the 19th of May, which was on the Saturday in Whitsun-week; it commenced between the first and third hour, and was finished by these good managers before the ninth. Many of the women of the city were drowned in the river, for, to avoid insult, they took to small boats with their children, female servants, and household property, and perished on their journey; but there were afterwards found in the river by the searchers, goblets of silver, and many other articles of great benefit to the finders; for the boats were overloaded, and the women not knowing how to manage the boats, all perished, for business done in haste is always badly done. After thus finishing this business, William Marshall ordered all the castellans to return to their castles with the prisoners, and there to keep them in close custody till they should learn the king's pleasure concerning them. The said William Marshall returned the same day, before he took any food, to the king, and told him in presence of the legate what had happened, and they, who had been praying to God with weeping, soon changed their tears to smiles. In the morning messengers came to the king and told him that the knights at Montsorel had left that castle and fled; on which the king ordered the sheriff of Nottingham to go in person to the castle and to raze it to the ground.

Of the flight of the barons and the French from Lincoln.

After the count of Perche was slain, as above stated, they all took to flight, horse as well as foot-soldiers, towards the city of London, and the foremost among them was the mareschal of France, with the castellan of Arras, and all the French; many of them however, and especially almost all the foot-soldiers, were slain before they got to Louis; for the inhabitants of the towns through which they passed in their flight, went to meet them with swords and bludgeons, and, laying snares for them, killed numbers. About two hundred knights reached London and went before to Louis

to tell him of their sad losses; he however sneeringly told them that it was owing to their flight that their companions had been made prisoners, because if they had remained to fight, they would perhaps have saved themselves as well as their companions from capture and death. It must be believed that this defeat happened to Louis and the barons of England by a just dispensation of God, for as they had now continued nearly two years under sentence of excommunication, unless they were corrected by divine punishment, men would say, "There is no God," and so there would be none who acted rightly, no, not one.

Of the death of pope Innocent.

On the 16th of July in the same year, pope Innocent paid the debt of human nature, after filling the pontifical chair for eighteen years five months and four days; he was succeeded by Honorius, formerly called Cencio, who held the see in the Roman church ten years seven months and nineteen days.

How Louis sent to his father for troops.

About this time Louis, owing to the misfortune which had befallen him at Lincoln, despaired of effecting his purpose, he however by good advice sent messengers to his father, and to his wife the lady Blanche, telling them of the irreparable losses which had befallen him and the barons of England at Lincoln, which he said was brought on them by God more than by man; for the king of the English had now become so powerful, that he with a large force paraded through the cities and towns round London, and precluded him and his companions from leaving the city. "Moreover," said he, "all kinds of provisions are failing us and our followers in the city, and even if they abounded there, we have no means of buying them; therefore I inform you that I have no means of resistance, or of leaving England, unless you supply me with strong military aid." When this news reached the father from his son, and the wife from her husband, they were much concerned at his being placed in this strait;* and as the king was afraid to give assistance to

* Paris adds:—"The French king, on hearing this, said, 'Does not William Marshall still live?' And on being told that he did, he said, 'I

his excommunicated son, as he had been often severely rebuked by the pope for granting his consent, he laid the burden of the business on the wife of Louis, who was not slow in fulfilling the duty imposed on her, but sent off to her husband's assistance three hundred brave knights, well equipped with supplies for war, and attended by a large body of soldiers. But all this could not be concealed from the king of England, who, having now recovered his courage, had, with a large army, taken possession of the southern coasts, and had determined to lay siege to the city of London; he therefore, by the advice of the grand marshal, deputed Philip de Albiney and John Marshall, with the sailors of the cinque ports and a large body of troops, to watch the seas carefully, and to look out for and prevent the approach of the French.

On the day of the apostle St. Bartholomew, the French fleet was entrusted to the command of Eustace the monk, a most disgraceful man and a wicked pirate, to conduct it in safety to London, and to deliver it to Louis. The above-mentioned troops then put to sea with a swelling fair wind, which drove them quickly towards England, but they were entirely unaware of the preparations which were made for them. When therefore they had proceeded a good way on their course, the commanders of the king of England's fleet came on an oblique course with eighty ships to oppose them, on which account the French were afraid to engage with them at sea with only their few ships, which did not exceed forty in number, galleys and ships together; but by the event which had taken place at Lincoln, in which a few had triumphed over a great many, they were inspirited and boldly attacked the rear of the enemy; when the French discovered this, they flew to their arms and made a bold resistance against them. Philip de Albiney with his cross-bow men and archers sending their missiles amongst the French, soon caused great slaughter amongst those who opposed them. They had moreover galleys peaked with iron, with which they pierced the ships of their adversaries and sank many of them in an instant; they also threw hot lime-dust on the sea, which, being borne by the wind, blinded the eyes of the

have, then, no fears for my son.' From this, William Marshall was ever after branded as a traitor."

French. A severe engagement took place between the fleets, but that of the French, who were not well skilled in naval warfare, was soon defeated; for the crews were struck down by the weapons and arrows of the English sailors, who were used to naval fights, pierced them with their javelins and arrows, or cut them down with swords and lances whilst others bored holes in their ships' bottoms and sank them; therefore the French having no hopes of escape threw themselves of their own accord into the waves, that they might not be taken alive by their enemies, for they preferred death to being taken prisoners by the English. The French nobles who survived, were taken prisoners, and the victorious English, towing after them the captured vessels, set sail after their glorious victory for Dover. The garrison of that place, on beholding this unexpected goodness of God, went out to meet their approaching fellow countrymen, and put into closer ward the unlucky French prisoners. Amongst other prisoners, that traitor to the king of England and wicked pirate Eustace the monk, after being long searched for was at length found, and dragged forth from the hold of one of the ships; and when he found himself a prisoner, he offered a large sum of money for his life and bodily safety, and promised for the future to fight faithfully under the English king; Richard, the illegitimate son of king John, who seized him, said to him, "Never again in this world, wicked traitor, shall you deceive any one with your false promises;" and with these words he drew his sword and cut off his head. The king's followers then collected all the spoil from the French ships consisting of gold, silver, silk cloths, and arms; and the prisoners having been committed to safe custody, Philip de Albiney told the king what had been done, who immediately gave praise for this heaven-sent victory to the Lord, who is always and every where wonderful in his works amongst men. When this event came to the knowledge of Louis, he was more concerned for it than for his misfortune at Lincoln.*

* C. inserts here, "When Hubert de Burgh was informed of the arrival of such a formidable host, he said to the bishop of Winchester, the marshal and other nobles, 'If these people come to England unopposed, the kingdom is lost. Let us therefore meet them with courage, for God is with us whilst they are excommunicated.' To this they replied, 'We are not

Of the peace and agreement made between Henry king of England, and Louis.

After this the marshal, the king's guardian and regent, assembled a large army of knights and soldiers, and marched in great force to the city of London which he blockaded all round, both by land and water; and, by thus cutting off all supplies of provisions from the garrison, he thought to compel them to surrender. Louis being thus critically situated sent word to the legate and the marshal, that he was willing to comply with their terms in everything, on condition that they would make suitable terms of peace, saving his honour, and without injury to his followers. They therefore, since the

sailors, pirates, or fishermen, do you go therefore and die.' Hubert then went to a little distance from the place and sent for his chaplain Luke; he at once received the wholesome viaticum, and then assuming the boldness of a lion, he said to his particular attendants, to whom he had entrusted the charge of Dover, 'I beseech you, by the blood of Christ, if I should by chance be taken prisoner, to allow me to be hung rather than give up the castle to any Frenchman, for it is the key of England.' They with tears promised him this on their allegiance and oath. He then, in company with two distinguished knights, Henry de Turville and Richard Seward, and some others, though few in number, embarked on board a ship, taking with him some sailors from the cinque-ports. There were under his command about sixteen well-armed ships, not including some small ones which accompanied them to the number of twenty. They then proceeded boldly on their course, and luffed as if they were going to Calais. When Eustace the monk, the French leader, saw this, he said, 'I know that these wretches intend to go to Calais, but it is to no purpose, for the inhabitants are forewarned against them. But the English, finding that the wind failed them, suddenly altered their course, and the wind being now fair for them, they eagerly rushed on the enemy; as soon as they reached the vessels of their adversaries they threw grappling-irons and made them fast to their own vessels, and boarding them with their axes, they cut away the rigging supporting the mast and yards, and, the expending sail falling, the French were caught like birds in a net; the English then attacked them and making prisoners of all of rank amongst them, cut the rest to pieces. Amongst others they discovered Eustace, who had disguised himself, concealed in the hold of a ship, on which they dragged him forth and beheaded him. This man was a Fleming by birth, and on the deaths of his brothers without children, he, in order to obtain their inheritance, abandoned the monk's habit and apostatized from his order; he then became a pirate and a bloody pirate leader, causing great injury to numbers, but at length the robber was himself taken and received the reward of his deeds. When Hubert, after his miraculous victory, reached the English coast all the bishops who were in that quarter came out to meet him clad in their sacred robes, attended by the knights and people, and bearing crosses and standards, singing psalms and praising God."

matter rested with them, and as they desired beyond measure to be rid of Louis, sent back to him terms of peace reduced to writing, telling him that, if he would agree to them, they would bind themselves to grant free egress from England both for himself and all his fellow adventurers; but if not, they would cause his destruction and injure him in every way. When Louis and his counsellors saw these terms of peace, they were much pleased to be allowed to leave England, as it seemed useless for them to stay there any longer; he therefore sent word to the legate and grand marshal, to appoint a time and place for the above-mentioned treaty to be carried into effect. The parties then agreeing to the terms, they came to a conference, near the town of Staines on the river Thames, to conclude the peace; king Henry with the legate, grand marshal, and many others on one side, and Louis with the earls, barons, and others of his followers on the other; and there, by the divine favour, they all agreed to the underwritten terms of peace on the 11th of September.

Of the form of peace and the heavy punishment of those who had been excommunicated on account of the king.

In the first place Louis and all those who were excommunicated and all his fellow adventurers, swore on the holy gospels that they would abide by the decision of the holy church, and would thenceforth be faithful to their lord the pope and the church of Rome. Louis also swore that he would immediately leave England with all his followers, and would never again in his life return with evil designs; and that he would use his best endeavours to induce his father Philip to restore to the English king, Henry, all his rights in the transmarine provinces. He also swore that he would immediately give up to the king and his followers all castles and all lands, which he and his followers had seized in England during the war. The king of England, with the legate and the marshal, swore on the holy gospels, that they would restore to the barons of England and to all others in the kingdom, all their rights and inheritances, together with all the liberties formerly demanded and on account of which the dispute had arisen between John king of England and

the barons. With regard to the prisoners, all those who had, before the arrangement of the peace, ransomed themselves, as well as those who had paid part of the money agreed on for their ransom, should not recover what had been paid; but from whatever remained to be paid should be entirely released. All the prisoners taken at Lincoln, or in the sea-fight near Dover, whether on the side of the king, or on that of Louis, should be everywhere immediately set free without any difficulty, and without any ransom or tribute. After all this was settled Louis together with his followers was absolved according to the form of the church, and each and all gave one another the kiss of peace, many of them deceitfully pretending a joy that was but feigned; after this Louis returned to London, where he received five thousand pounds sterling to meet his necessities, and then under the conduct of the grand marshal he went with all speed to the sea coast, and thence, in lasting ignominy, crossed to France. From the benefit of this absolution and pacification were excluded all the bishops, abbats, priors, canons, seculars, and a number of the clergy, who had given advice and shown favour to Louis and the barons, and especially master Simon de Langton, and master Gervase de Hobregge, who had gone so far in their obstinacy as to cause divine services to be performed for Louis and the excommunicated barons by excommunicated priests; they therefore were excluded from all benefit, and were obliged by the legate to go to Rome. Immediately after Louis's departure from England, the legate sent inquisitors through all the counties of England, to find out all who were guilty of the slightest implications in the rebellion of whatever order or rank they might be, and after suspending them and depriving them of all benefit, to send them to the legate, and he distributed all their benefices amongst his own clerks, and from the losses of others enriched all his own followers. Hugh bishop of Lincoln, too, came to England, and to regain his bishopric paid a thousand marks of sterling money for the pope's benefit, and a hundred to the legate; and following his example several others, priests and religious men, regained the legate's favour at ruinous expense. By such an immoderate draining he emptied the coffers of the clergy and secular canons, so that, according to the word of the gospel, he collected in one place all that had been

scattered abroad, and from several portions made one great heap.

How the inhabitants of Cologne and Friesland prepared to march to the Holy Land.

About that time there was a great movement of the brave and warlike men in the provinces of Cologne and Friesland, for since the commencement of the preaching of the crusade after the general council, they had with great eagerness built three hundred ships and having embarked in them, to fulfil to the Lord their vows of pilgrimage, they set sail, and the greater part of them, with a large array of soldiers, had arrived at Lisbon, where a disagreement arose amongst them about laying siege to a strong castle called Alchatia, some being anxious to proceed, and others wishing to winter where they were; so the fleet was divided, and one part of it wintered at Gaeta and Sorrento, and the other part under the command of two chiefs, namely, William duke of Holland, and George count of Weise, laid siege to Alchacia. Whilst they were still employed in the siege, a large force of Saracens was assembled against them, but the Christians bravely gave them battle, and, by the divine assistance, conquered the infidels. One king amongst the pagans was slain, and numbers of others were killed and made prisoners; the castle was at last taken by the Germans, and held by the Christians.

Of the siege of the castle of Newark, and Robert de Gaugi.

A.D. 1218. At Christmas, king Henry was at Northampton, where Falcasius supplied all the necessaries for the royal festivity. There were at this time, in England, many nobles whose chief delight had been during the past war to live by plunder, and now, even after peace had been declared and granted to all, they could not restrain their hands from pillage; the chief incentors to this work were William earl of Albemarle, Falcasius and his castellans Robert de Vipont, Brian de l'Isle, Hugh de Baliol, Philip Marci, and Robert Gaugi, with many others, who, in defiance of the king's prohibition, and against the consent of the owners, presumed to retain in their own possession the castles of some of the bishops and nobles with their lands and

other property. Amongst these Robert de Gaugi, even after several warnings from the king, refused to deliver up to Hugh bishop of Lincoln, the castle of Newark, with the town and its appurtenances, which of right belonged to that prelate. This circumstance aroused the anger of the grand marshal, who, by the king's orders, assembled a large army and, accompanied by the king himself, marched against the aforesaid castle; and when they arrived in the neighbourhood of it, they sent soldiers in advance to prevent the garrison from leaving the castle that they might not, as was often done, sally forth and burn the town. When Robert and his companions learned that this army was come, they made a sortie on them, but were obliged to retreat again by the attacks of the king's troops; in this attack William de Diva, a knight of the household of Hugh bishop of Lincoln, was slain as he was pursuing the enemy in their retreat to the castle, and several others were wounded; the king and the marshal were much concerned at this and ordered their engines of war to be disposed around the castle to batter the walls with continued assaults from their petrariæ. The siege lasted for nearly eight days, during which the friends of the said Robert made overtures of peace to the bishop of Lincoln, and at length, the two parties with the king's consent, came to this agreement, namely, that the said bishop should give to Robert de Gaugi, a hundred pounds sterling for the stores in the castle, and on these terms the siege was raised, and every one returned to his home.

Of the march of the crusaders from Acre to Damietta.

In the same year was carried into effect the plan of pope Innocent which had been determined on at the Lateran council, namely, to bring the army of Christ into the land of Egypt. In the month of May, then, having prepared cogs, galleys, and a number of other vessels of burden, John king of Jerusalem, and the patriarch, sailed from Acre, accompanied by the bishops of Nicotia, Acre, and Bethlehem, the duke of Austria, and the masters of the templars and hospitallers of St. John and St. Mary of the Germans, and a large host of Christians. The wind beginning to rise a little, the army of the Lord had a favourable voyage, and arrived on the third day at the port of Damietta. Some of the army

then landed and took possession of this hostile land without bloodshed; a few Saracen knights however met them, when a certain Frieslander, kneeling with his right knee on the ground, guarded himself with his shield in his left hand, and shook his lance and sword with his right. A Saracen who beheld him thought that he was in sport, but being suddenly wounded by the Frieslander, the knight and horse were struck to the ground, the others taking to flight; and thus the army of the faith measured out their camp between the coast and the banks of the Nile, and there pitched their tents without obstruction. God also wrought the following miracle for his faithful people; the water of the river near the sea, which at their first arrival was sweet to the taste, afterwards became salt as far as Casale, which is a mile above Damietta. After the arrival of the Christians there was a total eclipse of the moon, which the Christians interpreted to denote the defeat of the Saracens, for they attribute great prophetic influence to the increase and decrease of that luminary.*

Of the siege of the tower of Damietta on the river Nile.

After this the followers of Christ saw in the middle of the river Nile, not far from Damietta, a high and handsome tower strongly built of stone, from which an immensely thick iron chain was extended across the river to the city which stood on the other bank of it. It was the opinion of all that this tower ought to be reduced before laying siege to Damietta, but the Frieslanders, with their usual impatience, crossed the Nile and took away the horses of the Saracens, and, wishing to pitch their camp on the further bank of the river, they stood fighting against the Saracens, who came from the city to attack them; they were however recalled by the patriarch on their oath of obedience, because it seemed to the chiefs of the Christians to be disadvantageous to leave behind them a tower filled with pagans. The chiefs of the army of Christ, though anxious to take possession of this tower, saw that it could not be reduced by hunger on account

* Paris here gives a letter sent by pope Honorius to the English king, urging him to the practice of virtue, &c.; but we forbear to insert it, as those letters, although they might have been interesting to those of former times, are not of the least interest to us of the present day.—Ed.

of the vicinity of the city; nor by undermining it, on account of the velocity of the river which surrounded it; nor could it be reduced by the missiles from their petrariæ and trebuchets, because, although they had attempted it for several days, they had gained little or no advantage. In this dilemma they all came to the following determination, namely, to join some ships and cogs together and to prepare scaling ladders on the tops of the masts; on these they placed cross-bow men and soldiers, and by this plan they hoped to effect their purpose. The duke of Austria then and the hospitallers of St. John constructed two scaling ladders on two of the cogs, which were raised against the tower about the feast of St. John, the Saracens all the time making a brave resistance. That of the hospitallers however was, sad to relate, broken, and their soldiers were precipitated into the river; the second ladder too, that of the duke of Austria, in like manner fell with the mast of the vessel, and the brave knights and soldiers were drowned in the Nile, but Christ took the souls of all of them to heaven crowned with glorious martyrdom. The Egyptians were overjoyed and derided the crusaders, sounding their trumpets to taunt them, while on the contrary the Christians were overcome by grief and despair. The Frieslanders and Germans under the command of Adolphus de Monte, a brave and powerful noble, then fortified a ship with bulwarks and a small kind of castle at the top of the mast. This ship was fiercely attacked by the soldiers of the city, the tower, and bridge, with Greek fire and missiles, and was at length set on fire; and when the Christians were afraid that it would be entirely consumed, the crew of the vessel by great exertions extinguished the fire, and then the cross-bow men inside caused great destruction amongst the Saracens; other ships of the crusaders were, during this assault, fortified with bulwarks, and being made fast to the tower by anchors, sustained great loss of men and property.

Of the capture of the aforesaid tower, and the wonderful prowess of the Christians.

At length the Almighty having pointed out the following plan, and the architects, by his inspiration, having made provision for its execution, the army of the faith, at the expense

of the German knights and Frieslanders, and by the co-operation of the same, joined two cogs together with planks and ropes, and so having given it a firm footing, they erected four masts and yards to the same, and on the top of them fixed a turret made of basket-work, and covered with hides to keep off the Greek fire. Under the turret they constructed a scaling ladder, hung with strong ropes, and reaching thirty cubits beyond the prow of the vessel, and this great work was finished in a very short time. The chiefs of the crusaders were then summoned to inspect it, that whatever was deficient either in expense or human ingenuity, might be supplied; and on their answering that such a machine had never before been constructed of wood, the crusaders thought that they ought at once to apply this contrivance against the tower, because by the incessant missiles from their machines, the bridge, by which the enemies of the faith reached the tower, had been in a great measure destroyed. On the sixth day before the feast of St. Bartholomew, the crusaders devoutly marched barefooted in solemn procession to the holy cross, the clergy in advance chanting and reading the service, and humbly implored the divine assistance that the affair might be free from all jealousy and vain boasting on the part of any people then in the army. They summoned several of the commanders to see the result of this attack, although the Frieslanders and Germans would suffice to fill and manage the vessels. On St. Bartholomew's day, which was the sixth day of the week, although the Nile was much swollen, and the force of the stream much impeded the business, this machine was, although with much difficulty and danger, drawn to the tower; the ship however to which it was attached went under sail, while the patriarch and clergy walked along the banks praying to the Lord. When they reached the tower this double machine could not be brought to the western side, it was therefore worked straight to the northern side and there made fast, and was at length secured with ropes and anchors, although the force of the swollen waters seemed to be threatening to drive it away. When the Saracens saw this, they erected six engines on the towers of the city to destroy the machine, but one of these, more destructive than the rest, was broken after a few discharges, and remained useless; they did not however cease their

efforts but sent forth frequent and destructive showers of stones. The first ship attached to the machine was placed at the foot of the tower, in no small danger; for the Greek fire which was hurled therefrom fell on it like lightning, and caused no small alarm to the crusaders, but by means of vinegar, gravel, and other extinguishing matter, the fire was subdued. Then a fierce assault was made by those who managed the machine, whilst the patriarch lay prostrate on the ground before the cross, and the clergy standing barefooted cried aloud to Heaven. The enemies of the cross and defenders of the tower stretched forth their lances and sprinkled oil on the foremost part of the scaling ladder, and then applying the Greek flame, set fire to it; the crusaders, who were inside, rushing forward to extinguish the fire, by their weight so depressed the head of the ladder, that the turning bridge placed against the front of the tower sank downwards. The standard-bearer of the duke of Austria fell from it, and the pagans seized on the duke's standard amidst much derision; then, thinking themselves victorious, they raised a shout which shook the air. But the Christians, on seeing this, prostrated themselves in prayer, and with clasped hands continued to call on the Lord. At this devotion and upraising to heaven of the hands of the people of Christ, the divine love raised the scaling ladder, and the tears of those of the faith extinguished the fire; and then the crusaders, regaining courage, bravely contended with the defenders of the tower with lances, swords, spikes, arrows, and other weapons of war. A brave young man of the diocese of Liege was the first to climb the tower; a young Frieslander then ascended it, holding in his hand an iron flail used for threshing grain, but made into a weapon for fighting, with which he boldly cut down the enemies of the faith on the other side of the ramparts to the right and left, and amongst others he slew a Saracen who carried the yellow flag of the soldan, which he carried off; then one after another followed in the ascent, although they met with great resistance from their fierce and cruel enemies. The pagans however were at length overcome, and the weeping and lamentation of the Christians was succeeded by joy and triumph; for the Saracens not being able to endure the pressure of numbers in the tower, endeavoured to escape by

throwing themselves from the windows, and many of them were drowned, the water being too much for them; about a hundred of them were taken alive and reserved for ransom. The Saracens, who had retreated inside the tower, then set fire to the roof of it, on which the victorious Christians, unable to endure the heat, returned to their scaling ladder; they then let down the bridge, which was placed in the lower part of the machine, to the foot of the tower, which was narrow by reason of the waters which flowed round it; they however attacked the door of the tower with iron mallets while the Saracens inside defended it. The double machine was still firmly fixed to the tower, but the wood of the scaling ladder was broken in many places. The walls of the machine, although pierced in many places by the missiles from the engines, continued immoveable from the ninth hour on the sixth day of the week till the tenth hour of the following Saturday. At length the Saracens entirely failing in their defence of the tower, asked for a truce, and surrendered themselves to the duke of Austria on condition of their lives being spared. The tower being thus reduced, the crusaders supplied themselves with provisions and with fresh soldiers, hoping next to subdue the city as they had the tower.

Of the death of Saphadin, and the destruction of the walls of Jerusalem.

After the capture of the tower in the river Nile, Saphadin, who had grown old in days of wickedness, the disinheritor of his nephews, and the wicked usurper of the kingdom of Asia, being overcome, as was said, with grief, died and was buried in hell; he was succeeded by his son Coradin, a fierce and cruel man, who, in revenge for the siege of Damietta, utterly destroyed the famous city of Jerusalem, and reduced to a heap of ruins the walls and towers of that city, except the temple of the Lord and the tower of David. They then held council as to destroying the noble sepulchre of our Lord, which they had threatened to do in letters, which they sent to the citizens of Damietta for their consolation. However, on account of the reverence in which the place was held, no one of them dared to lay hands on it; for in their book, the Alcoran, it is written, that our Lord Jesus Christ was conceived and born of the virgin Mary, whom they confessed to

have lived without sin amongst men, and to have been a prophet, and more than a prophet; they also asserted in addition, that he restored sight to the blind, cleansed lepers, and brought the dead to life; they also believed that the word and spirit of the living God had ascended to heaven. On this account, when during the truce, their wise men went to Jerusalem and demanded to be shown the book of the gospels, they worshipped it, and admired the purity of the law which Christ taught, and especially the gospel of Luke, "The angel of the Lord was sent," which their learned men often discoursed on and repeated. But their law, which, at the instigation of the devil and by the agency of the apostate and heretic monk, Sergius, Mahomet had written in Arabic and delivered and taught to the Saracens, commenced with the sword, was kept by the sword, and is ended by the sword. This Mahomet was an illiterate man, as he himself proves in his Alcoran; for he himself preached what the above-named heretic dictated, and, being a powerful man and a chief of the Arabs, he by his threats caused that law to be observed. He was moreover a luxurious and warlike man, and so from uncleanness and vanity he gave a law, which his carnal followers observe to the gratification of their own pleasures; and as purity and truth confirm the law of Christ, so worldly and human fear and carnal pleasure support their erroneous doctrine.

Of the arrival at Damietta of the legate Pelagius and other pilgrims

After the tower of Damietta was subdued as above related, a great number of pilgrims came from various quarters to assist in the crusade then being carried on; and amongst others came Pelagius bishop of Albano, a legate of the apostolic see, together with master Robert de Courçon, and several Romans. A number of bishops also came with the count of Nevers, who when danger threatened, departed, to the confusion of the Christians. At the same time too there arrived from the kingdom of England the illustrious Ralph earl of Chester, with the earls Sayer of Winchester, and William of Arundel, the barons Robert Fitz-Walter, John, constable of Chester, and William de Harcourt, with large retinues, and Oliver, son of the king of England. There came also the earl of March, the earl of Bar with his son, as well as

William de Carnot, Iterius de Tocce, Hervey d' Urson, and many others.

Of the two attacks made by the Saracens on the Christians at Damietta.

After this, on the feast of St. Dionysius, the Saracens came unawares with vessels and troops, and attacked the outskirts of the camps where the Romans had pitched their tents; they were however repulsed by a small body of Christians, and made a hasty retreat to their vessels; but they could not escape the swords of their pursuers and the torrent of the river, for, as the Christians afterwards learned from the pagans, about five hundred were drowned in the Nile. Again on the feast of St. Demetrius, at early dawn, the enemy attacked the camp of the templars, but did little injury to the Christians; for they were put to flight by some cavalry sent against them, and driven to the bridge which they had built at a distance off, and there about five hundred of them were slain by the crusaders.

Of an inundation of the river Nile, by which the Christians suffered great loss.

On the following feast of St. Andrew the apostle, in the middle of the night the waves of the sea rose and made dreadful inroads, even up to the camp of the crusaders, whilst an inundation of the river took them unawares on the other side. Tents were floating about, provisions were lost, the fishes from the sea and river were carried into the tents of the crusaders, who, although they caught them by hand, would rather have been without those dainties; and had it not been for the ditch, which by a prudent plan had been sometime before made, although for a different purpose, the united force of the sea and river would have carried away men and horses, and ships loaded with provisions and arms, into the power of the enemy. This fate was not indeed escaped b the four cogs on which the ramparts had been built for attacking the tower; for these, together with a fifth ship which was jammed between them, were all driven in a heap on to the opposite bank and there destroyed by the Greek fire before the eyes of the crusaders. God indeed spared the machine of the Frieslanders and Germans,

by which the tower had been taken; but the transports in the harbour parted their cables and were lost.

Of a disease which attacked many of the Christian army.

About that time many in the army were assailed by a disease for which the physicians could find no remedy in their art; for the pain suddenly attacked the feet and legs, on which the skin appeared corrupt and black, and in the gums and teeth a hard black substance took away all power of eating, and numbers who were attacked, after suffering thus for a long time, departed to the Lord; some however who struggled against it till the spring, were by the beneficial warmth of that season preserved from death.* In this same year by the intervention of Walo, legate of the apostolic see, Richard de Marisco, a clerk who had been one of the household and intimate friends of king John, was appointed bishop of Durham, and was consecrated on the 24th of July.

The death of William Marshall.

A.D. 1219. King Henry in the fourth year of his reign was at Winchester at Christmas, where Peter, the bishop of that place, provided the necessary entertainment for him. In this year too died William Marshall, the king's guardian and regent of the kingdom; and after his death king Henry remained in the guardianship of Peter bishop of Winchester.†

* C. inserts, "In the same year a church was dedicated at Worcester to St. Mary, and on the same day the body of the renowned bishop Ulstan was translated in the presence of the bishops and nobles too numerous to mention; this took place on the 7th of June, Dominical letter G, namely the Sunday in Whitsun week; and bishop Silvester, formerly prior and monk of the said church, was appointed to preside over it, and the relics of St. Ulstan were divided in order to be the more reverenced. One rib was given to the church of St. Alban's, which William abbat of that place reverently enclosed in silver and gold. About the feast of St. Andrew, Walo left England on his way to Rome, and was succeeded in his legateship by Pandulf, bishop elect of Norwich. King Henry the Third took the royal seal into his own possession."

† ——— "And was buried with honours in the church at the New Temple, on Ascension-day, the 16th of March, and after his death the said king remained in the care of Peter bishop of Winchester. The following epitaph is said to have been written on the said William:—

'Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.'

Of the siege of Damietta and the sufferings of the Christians.

About this same time Pelagius, the legate of the apostolic see, in his ardent desire to besiege the city of Damietta, after the taking of the tower, advised the Christians to cross the Nile. They therefore, although with much danger, proceeded with their ships up the river between the city and the captured tower, but were much obstructed by the engines of the city and by the Greek fire; one of the ships of the templars, being driven by the force of the current was forced towards the bank near the city, and being thus thrown in the enemy's reach, they attacked it for a length of time with barbottes and iron grapnels, hurling Greek fire on it from the city towers; and not being able to accomplish their purpose on account of the bravery of its defenders, the infidels climbed on board and impetuously attacked the templars, when, after fighting for a length of time, the ship was bored through, either by the infidels, or, as was rather believed, by the crusaders themselves, and went to the bottom of the river with Christians and infidels together, leaving only the top of its mast above water; and like Sampson who slew more enemies when dying than during his life, so these martyrs for Christ took more enemies with them into the abyss of waters than they could destroy by their swords. The pagans then repaired the bridge and left but a narrow opening, so that the ships of the crusaders could not come up without danger from the force of the river; however the Frieslanders and Germans, inflamed with just indignation, bravely attacked the bridge with the largest ship, by means of which the tower had been taken; and, having no other aid but that of Heaven, less than ten men of the aforesaid nations, opposed by all the strength of Babylon, reached the bridge, and broke it in sight of all the Christian host, who were lost in admiration of their boldness; and then taking possession of the four ships on which the bridge was placed, they returned with them in triumph, and thus left a free and open passage for the

For he was obnoxious to the Irish on account of subduing them; he was the honour and glory of England; a trader with the Normans, for he purchased many places in that country; and to the French he was warlike and invincible. In this year in the time of Hugh the second bishop of Lincoln, and William abbat of St. Alban's, an amicable arrangement was made between the churches of Lincoln and St. Alban's."

Christians to sail through. When this had been effected, the Saracens, seeing the danger which threatened them, fortified the bank of the river facing the Christians with trenches, mounds of earth, wooden ramparts, and other defences, and then placing their petrariæ there, they thus deprived the Christians of all hopes of passing that place. From Casale, which is nearly a mile from the city where this new fortification terminated, they had also sunk ships across the river, and driven stakes under water in the bed of it; but the soldiers of Christ and their cogs, with their forts and bulwarks, and filled with armed men, followed by the galleys and other ships, under the guidance of Christ, entirely escaped all these hidden snares. The enemies of the faith, however, laying aside all fear, drew up three ranks of troops to oppose the naval station of the Christians; one of foot soldiers, drawn up in order or the bank of the river with targets, the second rank behind the first, and of the same kind; and the third, a long and imposing array of horse-soldiers, who severely harassed the crusaders with showers of stones and weapons. But the true God, who does not permit his people to be tried beyond what they can bear, looked on the camp of his servants, and turned the grief and sorrow of the crusaders into exultation and joy; for on the night of the feast of St. Agatha the martyr, when the army of Christ was arranged in order for crossing the river on the following day, the winds and rain caused much distress to the Christians; but on the same night, by the interposition of God, the soldan of Babylon and his army were so terror-struck, that they left their tents, unknown even to the pagans, whom he had ordered to oppose the crusaders, and consulted their safety by flight. On this, a certain apostate, who, having transgressed the law of the Christians, had for a long while fought under the soldan, came to the bank of the river and cried out in the French language, "Why do you delay? what do you fear? The soldan has fled:" and after saying this, he asked to be taken on board a Christian ship, and thus inspiring the Christians with confidence, he urged them to cross the river. At early dawn then, when the service of the mass, "Let us all rejoice in the Lord," had been performed, the king and the legate were informed of this by the prayers of the Christians.

The crusaders, therefore, on the flight of the Saracens, crossed the river without bloodshed and free from all opposition; but so muddy and difficult of approach was this hostile land, on account of the deep water, that horses could with difficulty climb the bank. The templars, who were the first to ascend the bank, hurried to the city, striking down the infidels, who boldly came out of the gates to oppose the approaching Christians; but they being driven back into the city, the army of Christ took possession of the tents of the soldan and the spoils of the fugitive pagans. They also plundered a number of targes, galleys, barbottes, and other vessels, which were found below Casale as far as the city; and on account of the unexpected crossing of the river by the Christians, a multitude of infidels fled from Damietta, leaving their wives and children behind them. Damietta was then blockaded all round, for the troops extended by means of a bridge to both banks of the river.

Of the first attack made by the Saracens on the Christians after the siege commenced.

After the city was thus blockaded, the enemies of the faith regained their courage, and with the soldan and the troops of Aleppo, took possession of the place from which the Christians had so unexpectedly crossed, and had it not been for the divine counsel and aid, and chiefly by the bravery of the Germans, the first camp, which was between the sea and the river would have been regained by them, and the cause of Christ would have been in great danger; for the Saracens, being full of deceit had become so rash, that at dawn of the sabbath before the Sunday on which is chanted, "My eyes are always on the Lord," they, unknown to the crusaders, threw themselves in an immense mass as far as the trench, but, by the bravery of the troops, both horse and foot, they were repulsed; for the Christians had made a broad and deep trench in their rear, as a protection, that if the enemies of the faith should make an attack on them they might be safe behind this trench.

Of the second attack made on the Christians.

On Palm Sunday, the enemy, having collected a large and powerful force, again attacked the trench of the crusaders in

all quarters, and especially the bridge of the templars and the duke of Austria, which the latter, in conjunction with the Germans, bravely defended; the Saracen knights with their picked troops dismounted from their horses and fought desperately with the Christians. Numbers lay dead and wounded in all directions, but the infidels at length gained ground so much that they gained the bridge and burnt a part of it. The duke of Austria then ordered his followers to retreat from the bridge and allow the enemy to cross it, which they did not however dare to do; the women all this time intrepidly supplied the Christian soldiers with water, wine, bread, and missiles; the priests, too, assisted with their prayers, blessing God and binding up the wounds of the wounded. On that holy day the Christians were not allowed an opportunity of carrying any other palms than cross-bows, bows, lances, swords, shields, and arrows; for their enemies, in their desire to free the city from its besiegers, kept up their attacks so incessantly, that, from sunrise till the tenth hour of the day, they allowed the crusaders no rest; but, being at length wearied themselves they retreated from the place of battle with great loss. Again on Ascension day the infidels in their usual way attacked the Christians by land and water, and after repeated assaults they could not gain their ends, but insulting them near their camp each party did much injury to the other.

Of the third fierce attack made by the infidels on the Christians.

After this the enemies of the faith on the 31st of July collected all the forces which they could muster, and, after protracted assaults, crossed the trench notwithstanding the troops of the templars, and, forcing their lines, put the Christian infantry to flight, so that the whole army was in imminent danger. The knights, with the secular horse and foot soldiers three times endeavoured to repel them, but without effect; the insulting Saracens then raised a shout, and the alarm of the Christians increased. But the spirit of wisdom and bravery inspired the templars, for their grand master, with the marshal and others of the brotherhood, made a sally through the narrow opening, and by their bravery put the enemy to flight. The Germans and Frieslanders, counts and barons, and knights of various nations, seeing the soldiers of the Temple in danger, burst through the places

of egress nearest to them to assist them; a hundred of the foot soldiers of the infidels throwing away their shields were slain, besides those who fell into the trench and died there. The Christian foot soldiers next sallied out, and the enemy retreated a short distance; the Christian troops then stood to their arms until the dusk of the evening put an end to the conflict; the Saracens retreated before that time. Numbers of slain lay near the ditch, and besides them many mortally wounded were brought into the camp. By the grace of God, and owing to the bravery of the templars, but few of the crusaders were killed or made prisoners. Whilst these things were passing at this place almost all the engines of the crusaders, which had been erected against the city, as well as the scaling ladders, were burnt by the garrison of the place, to the great injury of the Christians. After the soldan had made these attacks he did not again dare to give battle to the Christians, but pitching his camp near the besieging army he there remained in ambuscade.

Of a pitched battle between the Christians and Saracens.

When the army of Christ had for a long while endeavoured to destroy the walls of the city by their petrarias, trebuchets, and other engines of war, but without effect, the wiser part of them plainly discovered that Damietta would not be taken unless by the interposition of God; on this a murmuring arose amongst many in the camp, for the punishment of their sins and discord; for it was the opinion of some, that they ought to give battle to the soldan who remained in his camp near the Christians in ambuscade, so that by subduing him they might also reduce Damietta. On the other hand, it was the opinion of the king of Jerusalem, and many others besides him, that the siege, having been so long carried on, should be continued until, either by the interposition of God or by hunger, the garrison should be compelled to yield; for all, who escaped either by way of the postern gate or let themselves down from the walls, by their swollen and famished condition plainly showed the sufferings of their fellow citizens. The party who were determined to give battle to the Saracens at length prevailed, and on the day of the beheading of St. John the Baptist, they all, although disagreeing amongst themselves, marched in a body against the

camp of the Babylonians, and with difficulty could men be found to remain and carry on the siege. They therefore marched and discovered the enemies of the faith in their camp between the sea and the river, where no fresh water could be found to drink, but the enemy, on their approach, struck their tents and feigned flight; and when the crusaders had proceeded far enough to see that they would not give them open battle, the chiefs of the army held a long council as to whether they should proceed or return. Opinion was so divided amongst them, that the different bodies broke up without coming to any determination, except those who were kept together by discipline and military obedience; the cavalry of Cyprus, who were placed on the right flank of the army, first showed signs of fear, when the Saracens attacked the flank; the Roman foot soldiers were the first to fly, and after them the knights of various countries, and some of the hospitallers of St. John, although the legate, and the patriarch, who carried the cross, entreated them, although in vain, to withstand the enemy. The heat of the sun was very great and the foot soldiers were overpowered by the weight of their armour; the heat increased the toil of the march, and those who had brought wine with them in the agony of thirst drank it pure, for want of water, and these fled after the first fugitives till they were out of breath and fell dead without being wounded. The king of Jerusalem, however, with the templars, and the Teutonic order, and the hospitallers of St. John, and the earls of Holland, Wiche, Salisbury, and Chester, Walter Bertold, Reginald de Pont, and the French, Pisans, and knights of various countries, sustained the attack of the pagans, and were as it were a wall for the fugitives whenever the enemy showed their faces; the king of Jerusalem indeed was almost destroyed by the Greek fire. In this conflict were made prisoners of the Christians the bishop elect of Beauvais, and his brother Andrew de Nantes, the sheriff of Beaumont, Walter chamberlain to the French king, and his son John of Arc, and Henry of Ulm. Thirty-three templars were slain and made prisoners, besides the marshal of the hospital of St. John, and some brothers of the same order; and the Teutonic order did not escape without loss. Many others besides were slain and taken prisoners. The knights of the temple, who were always first in attack, were

last in the retreat; therefore although they were the last of the Christians to reach the trench, they bravely opposed the enemy till all those before them had entered the fortifications; the Saracens then returned to take away their prisoners and to collect booty; and, as the crusaders afterwards learned from the Saracens, the heads of five hundred Christians were presented to the soldan. It was very evident to the Christians that the infidels too had suffered heavy loss in their principal soldiery, for the soldan sent one of his prisoners to the Christians to treat for a truce or for peace, and during this treaty the Christians properly repaired their trench and engines of war

How several pilgrims left Damietta without permission.

About that time some sailors, traitors to Christianity, and several Christians with them, before the time of the usual passage, left the army of Christ in its greatest danger, and by their departure added to the sorrow of the Christians and the boldness of the Babylonians; therefore, the infidels breaking off the treaty, on the eve of St. Cosmas and St. Damian,* and the following day, attacked the Christians with their accustomed rage and barbarous ferocity, with galleys and armed barbottes, by sea and by land, with mangonelles, targes, and faggots for filling up the trench, and by this sudden attack slew numbers of them; but the triumphant One of Israel, the Omnipotent God, provided for the safety of his camp, for Savaric de Maulion arrived by sea with armed galleys and a great number of soldiers. The Christians then seeing this, in their eminent peril cried out to heaven, giving praise to God, and became encouraged, and bravely giving battle to the enemy, compelled the infidels to retreat by the favour of Him who preserves those who trust in him.†

* 26th September.

† C. inserts here, "About this time, St. Elizabeth, the daughter of the king of Hungary, and wife of the Landgrave of Duringen, a woman renowned for miracles, distinguished above all her sex for her miracles and sanctity of life, flourished in Germany. At her exhortation, her husband, the landgrave, by name Louis, joined the crusade, and died at Damietta, when he was received into heaven through the prayers of his most holy wife. After his death, St. Elizabeth, now a widow, received the habit of a nun from Master Conrad, a religious man, and thus she proceeded from virtue to virtue, till the whole of Germany, before she died, became renowned by her virtues. It should also be known that this Elizabeth was

Of the mortality amongst the garrison of Damietta.

We will now relate some of the events which happened in the city. The people of Damietta having suffered during its long siege from attacks, hunger, and disease, more than can be described, placed their confidence only in the hope that the sultan, as he had promised, would, if their case was imminent, make terms with the Christians, that they might thus escape death; indeed, at this time famine was so prevalent in the city that the besieged were without provisions, for the corn of Egypt is not durable on account of the soft land in which it grows, except in the higher parts near Babylon, where it is kept* nearly a year. The infidels then blocked up the gates that no one might get out to tell their sufferings to the crusaders, for every day they suffered dreadfully; the stock of provisions amongst the army of the sultan, which surrounded the crusaders outside, began to fail them, and to such a degree that one fig was sold for twelve bezants. Amongst other sufferings endured day and night by these wretches, they were attacked by a complaint, and could see nothing even with their eyes wide open. Besides this, the Nile, which usually overflows and waters the plains of Egypt from the feast of St. John the Baptist till the elevation of the cross, did not this year rise as usual, but left a great part of the land dry, and they could not either sow or plough in that part; the soldan, therefore, in dread of a famine, and being desirous of retaining Damietta, endeavoured to make arrangements for peace with the Christians. His intention of making arrangements was strengthened by the wonderful capture of the tower, and by the firmness in battle of the Christians, who with only a small force of those of the true faith had so often bravely attacked the whole pagan force, and put them to flight, besides slaying many thousands of them.

the daughter of the queen of whom a certain person was accused of having used the following ambiguous sentence, 'Reginam interficere nolite timere; bonum est: et, si omnes consenserint, ego non contradico.' [Fear not to slay the queen; it is commendable so to do; if all agree, I do not oppose.] But pope Innocent put a more favourable interpretation upon it, thus, 'Reginam interficere nolite, timere bonum est; etsi omnes consenserint, ego non, contradico.' [Do not kill the queen; to hesitate is commendable; though all consent to it, I do not, but oppose it.]

* The author of "Captio Damiettæ" adds the word "artificiose."

How the soldan offered the kingdom of Jerusalem to the Christians, on condition of their retiring from Damietta.

The soldan, therefore, thus troubled in mind, convoked a council of his nobles and faithful counsellors, and addressed them as follows: "The God of the Christians," said he, "is great, and a faithful and powerful ally in battle, which we have all found out, and especially in the present emergency, in which he plainly fights for our enemies against us, and undoubtedly, all that we can do will be of no effect as long as they have his assistance. The capture of Damietta is at hand, which is the key of all Egypt; and should it be taken, great loss will ensue to us and our law, for although it has been often besieged by the Christians, it has not yet been subdued by them. Therefore, I think it will be to our advantage to restore to the God of the Christians all that belonged to him, that he may not, in regaining his own, take from us what is our own; and inasmuch as he is a just God, and does not covet the possessions of others, if the Christians refuse these just terms of peace, which will be most honourable to them, they will thus provoke their God to hatred against them, on acount of their wicked covetousness, and he, despising their pride, will depart from them, and they will find an enemy in him, who formerly gave them his merciful assistance." Although this advice was displeasing to many, he however sent messengers to the Christians, and offered to restore to them the true cross, which had been some time before taken by Saladin, and also to release all the prisoners that could be found alive, throughout the kingdom of Babylon and Damascus, and to pay the necessary expenses for repairing the walls of Jerusalem, and restoring the city to its former state. He also offered entirely to give up the kingdom of Jerusalem, except Crach and Mount Royal, for the retention by him of which two places he offered to pay a yearly tribute of twelve thousand bezants as long as he held them. These are two castles in Arabia, having seven strong fortifications, and situated on the road by which the pagan merchants and pilgrims usually travel to and from Mecca, and whoever held these places would be able to do much injury to Jerusalem, and the vineyards and fields. The king of Jerusalem, the earl of Chester, and all the French and German chiefs resolutely asserted that these

terms ought to be accepted, and would be advantageous to Christianity; nor is it to be wondered at, as the Christians would have been contented with much less advantageous terms of peace, which had been offered them before this, if they had not been prevented by wise counsel. The legate, however, in his desire of gaining possession of Damietta, and owing to him, the patriarch and all the clergy, opposed these terms, constantly asserting that Damietta above all other places ought to be taken possession of; this difference of opinion caused disagreement, at which the soldan's messengers departed much pleased. When the soldan was told of this, he secretly sent a large force of foot soldiers through the marshes to Damietta; two hundred and forty of these, when the Christians were sleeping on the Sunday night after All Saints' day, attacked their camp, but by the shouts of the sentries the army was roused, and they were taken prisoners or slain, and the captives amounted to a hundred or more.

Of the miraculous capture of the city of Damietta.

After these events, the Christian army having made fierce assaults on the city of Damietta, they at length saw that the ramparts were destitute of defenders, on which the crusaders with all haste applied their scaling-ladders to the walls and eagerly entered the city; and thus by the interposition of the Saviour of the world, on the fifth of November the city of Damietta was taken without opposition, without noise, and without pillage; so that the victory is to be ascribed to the Son of God alone; and although the city was taken in sight of the king of Babylon, he did not dare as usual to attack the Christians, but fled in confusion and burnt his own camp. Under the guidance of Christ then his soldiers entered Damietta, and found the streets strewed with the corpses of the dead, and were met by an intolerable stench from them and the most squalid-looking human beings. The dead had killed the living; husband and wife, father and son, master and servant, had perished from the stench of one another. And it was not only the streets which were full of the dead, for corpses were lying about in houses and bed-chambers; boys and children had asked for bread, and there was no one to break it for them; infants hanging at the

breasts of their mothers were rolling over the bodies of the dead; the pampered rich died of hunger though surrounded with heaps of corn. From the commencement of the siege eighty thousand persons had died in that city, except those whom the crusaders found there healthy and sick, who amounted to three thousand and more; of these three hundred of the higher ranks were kept by the Christians alive to exchange for their countrymen who were prisoners of the infidels, except those who had believed in Christ and were baptized. This city was first besieged by the Greeks, who failed in capturing it; it was next besieged by the Latins under Almeric king of Jerusalem, but they did not succeed; on this, the third time, the King of kings and Lord of lords delivered it to his servants, even our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever.

Of the costly spoils of Damietta.

The crusaders found in the city great quantities of gold and silver, silk, cloth, costly garments, with worldly ornaments, and various kinds of goods in great abundance. They all swore in common that the spoil should be carried away, and given up to be equally divided amongst the conquerors. This had been ordered by the legate under pain of excommunication, but the greediness of the eyes made many thieves. They took for the general use a great portion of the wealth of Egypt in gold and silver, pearls, fruit, amber, gold thread, phylacteries, and costly cloths, which were distributed amongst the army of the Lord, together with the corn found in the city. The bishop of Acre baptized all the children who were found alive in the city, thereby giving to God the first fruits of souls. The legate also, out of the great mosque in the city, constructed a church in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary and all the apostles, to the glory and exaltation of the faith of the Trinity. The city of Damietta, besides the natural position of the place by which it is defended, is surrounded by three walls, having a low wall outside to protect the outer ditch, a second higher than the first, and the third higher than the second. The middle wall had twenty-eight principal towers, with double and treble breastworks, which all remained uninjured, except one, which had been somewhat battered by the frequent

missiles from the trebuchets of the templars, for God wished to deliver that city to his servants entire, as the key and outwork of all the land of Egypt. The city lies between Ramesses and the plain of Tannis in the land of Gersen, which, as the Christians conjectured, was the pasture whither the children of Israel fled from Pharaoh at the time of the famine, as is related in the Old Testament.

Of the capture of the castle of Tannis.

Damietta being thus taken, about a thousand men were, on the feast of St. Clement,* sent as scouts in boats up a small river called Tannis, to seek for provisions from the fortresses and towns, and carefully to note the situations of places. On their approaching a castle called by the name of the river the Saracens who garrisoned it, on seeing the Christians, thought that the whole army was approaching, therefore they secured the gates and took to flight, and the Christians with only Christ as their leader eagerly entered the castle. The crusaders, on their return, declared that they had never seen a stronger castle on a plain; for it had seven strong towers, and breastworks above it all round; it was surrounded by a double ditch, walled on both sides, and had an outwork; a lake spread itself around it to a distance, and on this account it was difficult of access to horse-soldiers in winter, and in summer so inaccessible that it could never be taken by siege by any army. This lake greatly abounded in fish, for from the sale of fish from it four thousand marks were paid to the soldan yearly. The place also abounded in birds and salt-pits. Many castles around were subservient to this one, for the city before the castle was once a well-known place, and larger than Damietta, but was afterwards a heap of ruins. This is the Tannis of which the prophet David has made mention in the psalm, as also Isaiah, "The foolish chiefs of Tannis," &c. In this city Jeremiah is said to have been stoned, as you are told in the Old Testament. Tannis is a day's journey distant from Damietta, on the way by sea towards the land of promise, so that it would be easy to place a garrison there, and to send provisions either by land or sea from Acre or Damietta. It had done much injury to the Christians during the siege of Damietta, when their

* November 23rd.

ships, in going to or coming from the army had gone near that place, for the beach before Tannis is sandy, and there is no harbour there, but there is a wide bay, and ships which are driven into it cannot clear it without a fair wind. In this year, the noble Ralph earl of Chester, after fighting for nearly two years in the service of God, obtained permission of the legate, and returned home with his blessing and the good wishes of all the army.*

How Louis attacked Toulouse, but was obliged to retreat in confusion.

About this time Louis, eldest son of Philip king of the French, at the instigation of his father, collected a large army to attack the heretic Albigenses, and marched with all his forces to lay siege to the city of Toulouse, whose inhabitants were said to have been long tainted with heresy. After disposing their engines round the city, the French kept up continued assaults on it, but the citizens on seeing this prepared for defence, and erected engine against engine; and after the siege had been carried on for a long time without effect, a great famine arose amongst the French army, which was followed by dreadful mortality both of men and horses. Simon earl of Montfort, the commander of the besieging army, was wounded before the gate of the city by a stone hurled from a petraria, and, his whole body being crushed, he died on the spot; his brother too, at the siege of a castle near Toulouse, was in the same way wounded by a stone, and died to the great grief of many. Louis therefore, after a great mortality in his army from famine, as has been mentioned, and having suffered great loss of all his property, returned in confusion to France with the remains of his troops.

Of the second coronation of king Henry.

A. D. 1220. At Christmas king Henry was at Marlborough, being still under the guardianship of Peter, bishop of Winchester. In this year, on Whit-Sunday, which was the seventeenth day of May, the said king, in the fifth year of his reign, was again crowned at Canterbury by

* Paris adds here: "In this year about Easter, Hugh de Maneport bishop of Hereford died, and was succeeded by Hugh Foliott, who was consecrated at Canterbury on the feast of All Saints."

Stephen, archbishop of that place, in the presence of the clergy and people from all parts of the kingdom. On the following feast of St. Barnabas* the apostle, Henry king of England, and Alexander king of Scots, had an interview at York, where treaty was entered into for the contracting a marriage between Alexander king of Scots and the king of England's sister, and the contract having been confirmed, the king of Scots returned home.

Of the canonization of St. Hugh bishop of Lincoln.

In this same year, St. Hugh bishop of Lincoln was canonized by pope Honorius, and admitted into the number of saints, an inquisition of his miracles having been first held by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury and John abbat of Fountain's abbeys, which circumstance was set forth in the following warrant of our lord the pope: "Honorius, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all his beloved and faithful children in Christ, to whom these presents shall come, health and the apostolic benediction. The divine mercy assigns a place of felicity in heaven to its saints and elect, and whilst they are on earth honours them with miracles, that the devotion of the faithful may be thereby excited to ask for their intercession. Whereas, we have enrolled in the number of saints, Hugh bishop of Lincoln, of sacred memory, whom, as it is plainly evident to us, the divine goodness has rendered illustrious by the number of his glorious miracles, as well during his life as after he had put off the garb of mortality, we command, and in the name of the Lord exhort the whole brotherhood of you, devoutly to implore his mediation with God; and in addition to this, we order, that from the day of his death a feast in honour of him shall be solemnly observed each year thenceforth. Given at Viterbo, this seventeenth of February, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

The capture of the castles of Sanney and Rockingham.

In the same year, on the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul,† king Henry suddenly took possession of the castles of Rockingham and Sanney, against the will of William earl of Albemarle. When the said king arrived at the castles to

* 11th of June. † June 29th.

attack them he found them destitute of all kinds of provisions, for they had not so much as three loaves of bread in both of them.*

Translation of St. Thomas archbishop of Canterbury.

In the same year, on the day after the octaves of the apostles Peter and Paul, the body of St. Thomas the archbishop and martyr was taken out of its marble tomb by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the king and almost all the bishops, abbats, priors, earls, and barons of the kingdom. It was then placed with due honours in a coffin elaborately worked with gold and jewels. At this translation were also present archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and numbers of others of the French kingdom, and various other countries, who eagerly assembled to be present at this great solemnity; for they considered it a most proper duty to honour and worship this holy martyr in Christ's cause, who shed his blood for the universal church, and had unflinchingly fought for it to the last.

Of the siege of the castle of Biham, and the troubles in the kingdom.

A.D. 1221. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Oxford, at which the earls and barons of the kingdom attended. At this place, when all the royal services had been discharged with success and peaceably, he liberally distributed to all what was due, according to the old custom of the kingdom. William de Foret,† however, wishing to disturb the peace of the kingdom, went away without leave on the following night, and proceeded in all haste to the castle of Biham, where after a few days he collected some troops, and attacked and plundered the town of Tenham, and carried away the corn belonging to the canons of Bridlington to Biham castle; he also plundered the town of Deping and other places in the same county, made prisoners of the inhabitants, and, after torturing them severely, obliged them to ransom themselves. He was instigated to these acts, as was said, by Falcasius, Philip Marc, Peter de Mauleon,

* Paris adds: "In this year a new chapel dedicated to Saint Mary was begun at Westminster, of which king Henry was the founder, he himself laying the foundation stone."

† The earl of Albemarle before-mentioned.

Engelard d'Athie, and many others, who privately sent him soldiers to disturb the peace of the kingdom. During these disturbances the inhabitants of that part of the country flew to the churches for safety, carrying all their property into the cemeteries. In the meantime, the nobles of England assembled before the king at Westminster to discuss the affairs of the kingdom; but the earl, who had been summoned amongst the rest, although he pretended that he would come there, like a cunning traveller, changed his purpose and went to the castle of Fotheringay. That castle was then in charge of Ralph earl of Chester, but almost destitute of knights and soldiers; and when the aforesaid earl found this out, he applied his scaling ladders to it, and gained admission to it with his soldiers, and soon subdued it, making prisoners of the few guards he found there. Then putting some of his own soldiers in charge of it, he made all haste to the town of Biham. He next plundered the whole of the adjacent county with his soldiers, and supplied his own castle from the spoils of others. But when this piece of audacity became known to the king and his council, he soon assembled an army, and on the sixth day after the purification of St. Mary, he surrounded the castle with his troops; and in short, they placed their engines round the castle, and in a short time destroyed the walls and buildings, so that the besieged had no place of safety to lay their heads in; they, therefore, having no other resource, all left the ruins of the castle, and on the eighth day of February went before the king, who ordered them to be imprisoned till he should consult as to what ought to be done with them. The earl of Albemarle, in the meantime, came, under the conduct of Walter archbishop of York, to the king, who at the recommendation of Walo the legate pardoned him, on account of his having bravely and faithfully served the said king and his father in their wars; all the knights and soldiers also were released without punishment or ransom by the king, who thus gave a bad example to others to rebel against him with confidence in a like case.

Of a disagreement which arose between Richard bishop of Durham and the monks.

About this time a great dispute arose between Richard

de Marisco bishop of Durham and the monks of that church, about some ancient rights and customs which the monks had enjoyed for a long time past. The bishop fraudulently sent word to the monks aforesaid to come to him with their privileges and the writings of their church, in order that if anything was deficient in them, it might be supplied by his decision: the prior, however, and the monks, who had suspicions of the bishop's deceit, would not on any account show their writings to him. The bishop, therefore, not being able to get sight of their writings, swore that he would convert all their property to his own uses, adding also, that if he found any one of them outside the gate of his convent, he would accept no other ransom from him than his head; he also swore that as long as he lived the church of Durham should have no peace. Not long afterwards, the followers of the bishop dragged a monk by force from a church, and on the latter laying his complaint for this treatment before the bishop, that prelate replied, that his servants would have done better if they had killed him; and from that time the said bishop was so hostile, and inflicted such injuries on the aforesaid monks, that, out of necessity, they appealed to the pope, and placed themselves and all their property under his protection; they then sent clerks and some of the monks to Rome, who laid many accusations against the bishop, in answer to which they obtained the following letter from his holiness: "Honorius, bishop, to the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, and others, greeting, &c. So seemly is it for us to take pleasure in the good opinion of our brothers and colleagues, that we will not connive at the vices of the pestilent, since it does not become us, out of regard to our order, to support sinners, whose sin makes them worthy of death, in proportion to the examples of sin which they set to their people, who imitate only such crimes as they behold with their own eyes. Hence it is that when things have often been intimated to us concerning our venerable brother the bishop of Durham, which are entirely at variance with the episcopal dignity, we were at length so excited by the appeals which are forced on our notice, that we could not suffer the said bishop to continue any longer unchecked in his enormities; for a glaring accusation has been made against him, that since his elevation to

the pontifical dignity, he has been guilty of bloodshed, simony, adultery, sacrilege, robbery, perjury, and manifold offences, of audaciously oppressing clerks, orphans, and religious men, of obstructing the testaments of dying people, of defending the rights of the king in opposition to the learning of our beloved son, Pandulph, bishop elect of Norwich, and, although under the ban of excommunication, of interfering in the performance of divine services. Also, according to the appeals laid before us he does not pay deference to the church of Rome, he does not observe the statutes of the general council, he never preaches the word of God to his people, and in his discourse and by the practice of his life, he sets a bad example to those under him. In the presence of a great many people he has sworn that the church of Durham shall have no peace during his life. When a certain monk of Durham complained to him that he had been dragged from a church by his the bishop's servants, and beaten till his blood was shed, he replied that it would have been better if his servants had killed the monk. He has, moreover, in all respects entirely trodden under foot the apostolic rule, which sets forth what sort of a person a bishop ought to be. That we may not therefore increase the fault of another, which we should do if we were to pass over the great and numerous offences of the said bishop, since such an outcry has reached us in this matter, that we can no longer dissemble matters, we have thought proper to descend from the dignity of our office to see whether these complaints are true or not. Wherefore, we, by these apostolic letters, command the brotherhood of you to make inquiries on these matters, and when you have found out the exact truth, to send the result of your inquiries enclosed under your own seal to us, that, by God's assistance, we may determine what ought to be done in the matter. Given at Viterbo, in the fourth year of our pontificate."

How the bishop of Durham went to Rome to answer the monks.

When the letters of our lord the pope came to the hands of his agents, they, in compliance with the duty enjoined on them, summoned the bishop of Durham, together with the abbats, priors, archdeacons, and deans to their consistory

court at Durham, as well as all others of the laity and clergy of that province, whom they believed to be cognizant of this matter. When they had all appeared at a fixed time and place before these agents, the letters of the pope were read in the hearing of all of them for the clear and distinct information of every one; and after they had been read and were understood, the clerks of the bishop of Durham rose up and set forth some frivolous and fallacious excuses in reply to the said agents, and, that they might not proceed in the said inquisition, they appealed to the presence of the pope; and having made this appeal, the bishop departed with his clerks after appointing a day for his accusers to appear against him in the presence of the pope. Having thus interposed his appeal, the aforesaid bishop went to the court of Rome, after sending his clerks before him to procure favour for him with the pope against his arrival; so that, before the monks of Durham arrived at Rome, the aforesaid clerks had greatly weakened their cause; therefore after much altercation on either side in the pope's presence, the bishop as well as the monks, after spending a great deal of money, were sent back to England to the aforesaid agents, for them to determine definitely what was right. This disagreement, having once arisen amongst them, continued for a length of time, until the death of the bishop put an end to the strife, as he had himself declared.

Of the building of a new castle at Montgomery.

In the same year, about the nativity of St. Mary, Llewellyn king of Wales, with a large army, laid siege to a castle called Buet (Builth); Reginald de Brause, whose town it was, earnestly besought assistance from the king that by his means the siege might be raised, as he was not able to effect this by his own means. The king, therefore, as he ought not to desert his nobles, marched thither with a large army, and raised the siege, the Welsh, as was their custom, taking to flight. The king then marched towards Montgomery with his army, ordering all the property of the Welsh which they met with, and their cattle, to be collected for the support of his followers who were with him. On their arrival at Montgomery, after roving through the country there, the commanders of the army thought that it was a fit place to build a castle as the

position of it seemed impregnable. The king, therefore, for the security of that district ordered a castle to be built there, on account of the well-known incursions of the Welsh; and then all, having obtained permission, returned home, the nobles being allowed to depart on payment of two marks of silver for each scutcheon.

Of the condition of the Holy Land after the capture of Damietta and Tannis.

[About this time the master of the knights of the temple sent the following letter on the state of affairs in the Holy Land:]—"To our reverend brother in Christ N., by the grace of God, bishop of Elimenum, Peter de Montacute, master of the knights of the temple, greeting. How we have proceeded in the business of our Lord Jesus Christ since the capture of Damietta and the castle of Tannis, we by these present letters set forth to your holiness. Be it known to you then that, in the first passage after the aforesaid captures, such a number of pilgrims arrived at Damietta that, with the rest of the army which remained, they were sufficient to garrison Damietta and to defend the camp. Our lord the legate and the clergy, desirous to advance the cause of the army of Christ, often and earnestly exhorted the people to make an attack on the infidels, but the nobles of the army, as well those of the transmarine provinces as those on our side of the water, thinking that the army was not sufficient for the defence of the aforesaid cities and castles, and at the same time to proceed further for the advantage of Christianity, would not consent to this plan; for the sultan of Babylon, with an innumerable host of infidels, had pitched his camp near Damietta, and on each arm of the river had built bridges to obstruct the progress of the Christians, and was there waiting with such an immense army that the crusaders, by proceeding further would incur the greatest danger. Nevertheless we fortified the said city and camp and the coast round with trenches in all directions, expecting to be consoled by the Lord with the assistance of those who were coming to help us; the Saracens, however, seeing our deficiency, armed all their galleys and sent them to sea in the month of September, and these caused great loss

amongst the Christians who were coming to the assistance o
the Holy Land. 'In our army there was such a great defici
ency of money that we could not maintain our ships for an
length of time. Therefore, knowing that great loss would b
incurred by the Christian army by means of these sai
galleys of the Saracens, we immediately armed our galleys
galliots, and other vessels to oppose them. Be it als
known to you that Coradin the sultan of Damascu
assembled an immense army of Saracens, and, finding tha
the cities of Acre and Tyre were not sufficiently supplie
with knights and soldiers to oppose him, continually di
serious injury to those places both secretly and openly
besides this he often came and pitched his camp before ou
camp which is called the Pilgrims', doing us all kinds o
injury; he also besieged and reduced the castle of Cæsare
in Palestine, although numbers of Pilgrims were staying i
Acre. I have also to inform you that Seraph, a son o
Saphadin, and brother of the sultans of Babylon an
Damascus, is with a powerful army fighting against th
Saracens in the eastern parts, and has prevailed much agains
the more powerful of his enemies, although not against all
for, by God's favour, he will not be able easily to conquer all
of them; for if he could bring that war to a conclusion, th
county of Antioch or Tripoli, Acre or Egypt, whichever o
them he might turn his attention to, would be in the greates
danger, and if he were to lay siege to any one of our castles
we should in no wise be able to drive him away; this sai
dissension amongst the pagans however gives us pleasure an
comfort. Moreover we have long expected the arrival of th
emperor and other nobles by whom we hope to be relieved
and on their arrival we hope to bring this business, whic
has commenced by the hands of many, to a happy termina
tion; but if we are deceived in our hope of this assistance i
the ensuing summer, which I hope will not happen, botl
countries, namely Syria and Egypt, and that which we have
lately gained possession of as well as that which we have
held for a long time, will be placed in a doubtful position
Besides, we and the other people on our side of the water are
oppressed by so many and great expenses in carrying on this
crusade, that we shall be unable to meet our necessary
expenses, unless by the divine mercy we shortly receive

assistance from our fellow Christians. Given at Acre the 20th of September."*

Of the pilgrimage of Philip de Albeney to the Holy Land.

A.D. 1222. King Henry spent Christmas at Winchester, where Peter bishop of that place provided the necessary entertainment for him. In this year too, Philip de Albeney, a brave and honest knight, and who had been a faithful instructor of the king of England, set out on his way to Jerusalem, and arrived there after a prosperous voyage without suffering any loss of property; and as soon as he found out the state of affairs at the Holy Land, he sent the following letter to Ralph earl of Chester:—

Of the loss of Damietta.

"To his worshipful lord and friend R. earl of Chester and Lincoln, his ever faithful P. de Albeney, health and sincere affection. I have to inform your excellency that on the day of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary we sailed from the port of Marseilles, and on the Monday before the Nativity of the same virgin we arrived before Damietta, and there we saw many ships leaving the town, and I spoke with a certain vessel, and made presents to the crew, on which they came to speak to us, and brought us very sad reports. These were that our people at Damietta and the nobles in that city, namely, the king of Jerusalem, the legate, the

* Paris here adds:—"In this year too, William of the church of St. Mary, bishop of London, of his own accord resigned his bishopric on the day after the conversion of St. Paul. On the 25th of February Eustace de Falconborg, then treasurer of the exchequer, was elected bishop of London; his election was confirmed by the legate Pandulph, and on the 25th of April he was consecrated at Westminster. In the same year ended the legateship of Pandulph, who returned to Rome. King Henry gave his elder sister, Johanna, in marriage to Alexander king of Scots; she was betrothed to him on the day after St. John the Baptist, at York, and the nuptials were solemnized in the presence of both kings; in the same city of York, Hubert de Burgh espoused the sister of the king of Scotland. In this year William de Albeney earl of Albemarle, died on the continent when on his return from Damietta, and his body was brought into England by Thomas a monk of St. Alban's, and was buried at Wymondham, a priory of St. Alban's, of which the earl was patron. Eustace bishop of London, demanded from abbat William and the conventual assembly of St. Alban's the right of procession, procuration, visitation, and general jurisdiction; owing to which demands an appeal was made to the pope."

duke of Bavaria, the templars and hospitallers, with many others, amounting to about a thousand crusaders and five thousand other knights with forty thousand foot-soldiers, had all gone on an expedition towards Babylon, against the wish of the king of Jerusalem, as was said, having set out on the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula;* that they had been now absent on that expedition three weeks or more, and were about half way between Damietta and Babylon. The sultan of Babylon and his brother Coradin, then came with all the forces they could muster, and often attacked our people, and often lost some of their own men; and when our people wished to return to Damietta, the river became swollen, and for several days overflowed its banks, and our people were between two branches of the river; the Saracens then made a canal from one branch to the other in the rear of our army, whilst the river increased so in height, that our people were in water up to their legs and waists, to their great misery and suffering, and thus might have been either slain or taken prisoners if the sultan of Babylon wished it. In this condition our people agreed to a truce for eight years with the sultan, on the condition that they should give up Damietta and all the prisoners whom they held in captivity. For the due observance of this truce, the king of Jerusalem, the legate, the duke of Bavaria, and other influential people, remained as hostages; and the sultan had given twenty hostages for the due observance of the truce on his part. When we heard these reports we were much grieved, as all Christians must need be; we therefore thought it best, as we did not wish to be present at the surrender of Damietta, to make our way to Acre, where we arrived on the day after the Nativity of the Virgin Mary; on the day following Damietta was given up to the sultan, and he himself set free all the prisoners in it. I have also to inform you that his majesty the king of Jerusalem is about to go to your country; therefore I beg of you that you afford him assistance according to promises made towards the king and other nobles, for it is difficult to describe his great and admirable merits."

Another letter about the same matters.

"Brother P. de Montacute, humble master of the knights of the temple, to his well-beloved brother in Christ, A.

Martel, holding the office of preceptor in England, greeting. —Although we have from time to time informed you of the prosperity which attended us in the affairs of Jesus Christ, we now by this present letter relate to you in the order they have happened the reverses which we, owing to our sins, have met with in the land of Egypt. The Christian army after the capture of Damietta having remained quietly at that place for a long time, the people of our side of the water, as well as those of the transmarine provinces, cast reproofs and reproaches on us on that account; and the duke of Bavaria having arrived, as lieutenant of the emperor, explained to the people that he had come for the purpose of attacking the enemies of the Christian faith. A council therefore was held by our lord the legate, the duke of Bavaria, the masters of the templars and hospitallers, and the Teutonic order, the earls, barons, and all the rest, at which it was unanimously agreed by all to make an advance. The illustrious king of Jerusalem also, having been sent for, came with his barons, and with a fleet of galleys and armed ships to Damietta, and found the army of the Christians lying in their camp outside the lines. After the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, then his majesty the king and the legate, with the whole Christian army, proceeded in order both by land and water, and discovered the sultan with an innumerable host of the enemies of the cross, who however fled before them; and so they proceeded without loss till they arrived at the camp of the sultan; this was surrounded by the river which they were unable to cross; the Christian army therefore pitched its camp on the bank, and constructed bridges to cross over against the sultan, from whose camp we were separated by the river Tannis, which is a branch of the great river Nile. Whilst we made some stay there, great numbers left our army without leave, so that it was decreased by ten thousand men or more. In the meantime the sultan, by means of a trench constructed previously, when the Nile rose, sent galleys and galliots into the river to obstruct our ships, that no supplies might come from Damietta to us, we being then destitute of provisions; for they could not reach us by land, as the Saracens prevented them. The road both by sea and land, by which necessary supplies could reach us, being thus

blocked up, the army held council as to returning; but the brothers of the sultan, Seraph and Coradin, the sultans of Aleppo and Damascus, and other sultans, namely, of Camela, Haman, and Coilanbar, with many pagan kings, and a countless host of infidels, who had come to assist them, had cut off our retreat. Our army however departed by night by land and water, but lost all the provisions in the river, besides a great many men; for when the Nile overflowed, the sultan turned the water in different directions by means of hidden streams, canals, and rivulets, which had been made some time before to obstruct the retreat of the Christians. The army of Christ therefore, after losing amongst the marshes all its beasts of burden, stores, baggage, carriages, and almost all their necessaries, and being destitute of provisions, could neither advance nor retreat, nor had it any place of refuge, neither could it give battle to the sultan on account of his being surrounded by the river, and it was thus caught in the midst of the waters like a fish in a net. Being therefore in this strait, they, although unwillingly, agreed to give up to the sultan the city of Damietta, with all the prisoners which could be found in Tyre and Acre, in exchange for the true cross and the Christian prisoners in the kingdoms of Babylon and Damascus. We therefore, in company with other messengers deputed by the army in common, went to Damietta, and told the people of the city the terms which were imposed on us; which greatly displeased the bishop of Acre, the chancellor, and Henry count of Malta, whom we found there: for they wished to defend the city, which we should also have much approved of, if it could have been done with any advantage, for we had rather been consigned to perpetual imprisonment, than that the city should be given up by us to the infidels to the disgrace of Christianity; we therefore made a careful search throughout the city of all persons and effects, but found neither money nor people wherewith it could be defended. We therefore acquiesced in this agreement, and bound ourselves by oath and by giving hostages, and agreed to a confirmed truce for eight years. The sultan, till the arrangement was made, strictly abided by what he had promised, and supplied our famished army with loaves and flour for about fifteen days. Do

you therefore, compassionating our sufferings, assist us as far as you are able. Farewell." *

Of a wrestling match and disturbances in the city of London.

In the same year, on the apostle St. James's day, the inhabitants of the city of London met at the hospital of queen Matilda, outside the city, to engage in wrestling with the inhabitants of the district round the city, to see which of them was possessed of the greatest strength. After they had contended for a length of time amidst the shouts of both parties, the citizens having put their antagonists into disorder, gained the victory. Amongst others, the seneschal of the abbat of Westminster was defeated, and went away in deep deliberation as to how he could revenge himself and his companions. At length he fixed on the following plan of revenge; he offered a prize of a ram on the day of St. Peter *ad vincula*, and sent word throughout the district for all to come to wrestle at Westminster, and whoever should prove himself the best wrestler should receive the ram for a prize. He in the meantime collected a number of strong and skilful wrestlers, that he might thus gain the victory; but the citizens being desirous of gaining another victory, came to the sport in great strength, and the contest having been commenced by both parties, they continued for

* Paris adds: "In this year, a few days before the council held at Canterbury by Stephen archbishop of that place, a man was discovered with five wounds like those of Christ when crucified, on his body and limbs, namely, in his side and in his hands and feet; and at the same council, together with him a man of both sexes, or an hermaphrodite, was brought before the council, accused of the same crime as the former one; and being convicted of the crime, they made a public confession, and were punished by the decision of the church An apostate Jew was likewise brought before them who had become a Christian, and afterwards a deacon, and he was likewise punished judicially, for Faulkes had him seized and hung. And in the same year also died Hugh de Neville, who, during his whole youth, in king Richard's time, had been a familiar friend of that king. Amongst other examples of his prowess and daring, when he was in the Holy Land he slew a lion, first transfixing him with an arrow, and afterwards with his sword; hence we have the following rhyme:

'Viribus Hugonis vires periere leonis.'
['Before Hugh's strength, so goes the tale,
A lion's strength was found to fail.']

His body was buried in the church at Waltham, in a handsome carved marble vault."

some time to throw each other. The seneschal, however, with his suburban companions and fellow provincials, who sought revenge rather than sport, without any reason, flew to arms, and severely beat the citizens, who had come there unarmed, causing bloodshed amongst them. The citizens, shamefully wounded, retreated into the city in great confusion. After they had got into the city, a tumult arose amongst the populace, and a general signal having been given, the citizens of all ranks assembled, and the circumstances of the matter having been told, they all proposed different plans of revenge. Serlo, the mayor of the city, however, a wise and peaceable man, gave it as his opinion that the abbat of Westminster should be summoned to answer for this insult, and if he would give proper satisfaction for himself and his followers, this would satisfy them all. In reply to this, a great man of the city, named Constantine, amidst the acclamations of the populace, gave it as his opinion that all the buildings of the abbat of Westminster, as well as the house of the aforesaid seneschal, should be razed to the ground, and when he had done speaking, the edict went forth, that the plan of Constantine should be carried into effect. What more is to be said? The irrational populace, with others of the city, went forth in disorder, Constantine at their head, and entered upon a civil war, destroyed numerous buildings, and did no small injury to the abbat.* But this circumstance, as it could not be long a secret, having come to the knowledge of Hubert de Burgh, justiciary of England, he collected a force, and proceeded to the tower of London; thence sending messengers into the city, he ordered the older inhabitants to come with all haste to him. On their appearing before him, he inquired of them who were the chief authors of this sedition and disturbers of the king's city, and who had dared to break the king's peace. Then Constantine, who was bold in his sedition, was more bold in his answer, declaring that he would answer for what had been done, and in the hearing of all complained that he had done less than he ought. The

* Paris adds: "The said Constantine calling out in a loud voice, as a sort of watchword, 'Mountjoy, Mountjoy; may the Lord assist us, and our lord Louis!' And this cry chiefly exasperated the friends of the king, and provoked them to take the vengeance below related."

justiciary, however, on hearing this admission, without any noise detained him and two others besides; and in the morning sent Falcasius with a body of soldiers by way of the Thames, who took Constantine away to be hung. When the rope was placed round his neck, and he had lost all hope, he offered fifteen thousand marks of silver for his life to be spared, but to no purpose. He was then hung, as well as his nephew Constantine, and one Geoffrey, who had proclaimed the edict of Constantine in the city; and thus, as the citizens did not know of it, the sentence pronounced on him was carried into execution without any tumult. After this, the justiciary went into the city with Falcasius and a body of soldiers, and seized on all who were discovered to be guilty of the said sedition, and committed them to prison, and after cutting off the feet of some and the hands of others, he permitted them to depart; on this account numbers fled from the city and never afterwards returned. The king, as a greater punishment, deposed all the magistrates of the city, and appointed new ones.

Of thunder-storms and other tempests.

On the eighth of February in the same year, dreadful thunderings were heard, and the lightning darting forth at their collision set fire to the church of Graham in the county of Lincoln, from which there proceeded such a stench that many who were in the church, being unable to endure it, took to flight; at length, however, by lighting the holy taper, and sprinkling holy water, the fire was after some trouble extinguished, but the traces of the conflagration still remain in that church. In the same year, too, at the exaltation of the holy cross,* there was much thunder throughout all England, and this was followed by deluges of rain, with whirlwinds and violent gusts, and this tempestuous weather, together with an unseasonable atmosphere, continued till the Purification of Saint Mary, doing great damage to numbers of people, and especially the farmers; and in the following summer a measure of corn was sold for twelve shillings In the same year also, on the feast of St. Andrew the apostle,† thunder was again heard throughout England in

* September 14th. † November 30th.

general, which destroyed churches and church-towers, houses and other buildings, walls and ramparts of castles. In a town called Pilardeston, in the county of Warwick, the storm destroyed the house of a certain knight, burying his wife, and eight persons of both sexes, to the great awe of numbers who saw the calamity. After this, the storm gaining power in its rage, in the same town fell on a turf-pit surrounded by a lake of deep water, and in an instant dried it up so that it left neither grass nor earth in it, and only the dry stones remained. Again, on the eve of St. Lucy* the virgin, a strong and sudden storm of wind arose, which raged more fiercely than the before-mentioned tempest, for throughout England in general it threw down buildings, as if they were shaken by the breath of the devil, levelled churches and their towers to the ground, tore up by the roots the trees of the forest and fruit trees, so that scarcely a single person escaped without suffering loss.†

* December 13th.

† Paris here adds: "In the same year, master Stephen de Langton held a general council at Oxford, when a number of statutes were made for the reformation of the church and monastic orders in England, as is elsewhere more fully mentioned in the said council. On the twentieth of May in the same year, William de Humeto abbat of Westminster died; he was succeeded by Richard Berking, prior of that church, who, on the eighteenth of September in the same year received the benediction from Peter lord bishop of Winchester, in the church of Westminster. In this year, too, Ralph bishop of Chichester, formerly an official and afterwards prior of Norwich, went the way of all flesh, and was succeeded by Ralph Neville, who had before this been the keeper and bearer of the royal seal; he was a faithful chancellor of the king, and he accepted of this see by the assent of the whole kingdom, on the condition that he should not be deposed from his office unless with the wish and consent of the whole kingdom, so he still continued chancellor after he became a bishop. He was elected about the feast of All Saints, but was not confirmed till the following year. In the same year, died William of Ely, treasurer of England. In this year too the controversy between Eustace bishop of London and the chapter of St. Paul's of the one part, and abbat William and the monks of Westminster of the other part, was settled by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury; the bishops, P. of Winchester and R. of Salisbury, and the priors, Thomas of Merton and Richard of Dunstable, whom both parties had agreed on as arbiters and to arrange the terms of agreement, and these umpires declared the monastery of Westminster to be entirely exempt from all subjection to, and jurisdiction of, the bishop of London, and they decreed that the church of Staines with its appurtenances should be converted to the proper uses of the church of West-

How Stephen archbishop of Canterbury demanded the rights of the charter from the king.

A.D. 1223. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Oxford. Afterwards, in the octaves of the Epiphany he came to London to a conference with the barons, and was there asked by the archbishop of Canterbury and other nobles to confirm to them the rights and free customs, to obtain which the war had been entered on against his father; and as the archbishop plainly proved, the said king could not avoid granting this, since, on the departure of Louis from England, he and all the nobles of the kingdom with him swore to observe all the aforesaid liberties, and to cause them to be observed by all. William Briwere, one of the king's counsellors, on hearing this demand, made reply for the king and said, "The liberties which you demand, since they were extorted by force, ought not by right to be observed." The archbishop becoming angry at this reply rebuked him saying, "William, if you loved the king you would not disturb the peace of the kingdom." The king then seeing the archbishop excited to anger, said, "We have sworn to observe all these liberties, and what we have sworn we are bound to abide by;" he then immediately held a council and sent letters to each sheriff of the kingdom, ordering them to cause an inquisition to be made on oath by twelve knights or liege men of each county, as to what liberties there existed in the time of king Henry his grandfather, and to send the particulars of the inquisition to him at London within fifteen days after Easter.

Of a dispute between the Welsh and William Marshall.

In the same year whilst William Marshall earl of Pembroke was in Ireland, Llewellyn king of the Welsh, with a strong force, seized on two castles belonging to the said William, and beheaded all the people he found in them, and then went away leaving his own Welsh followers in these castles. This circumstance, however, after a few days reached the ears of William Marshall, and he returned in all haste to England, where he collected a large force, and then

minster, and the manor of Sumnebus to the possession of the bishop of London, and the church belonging to the same manor should be ceded to the proper use of the church of St. Paul for ever.

besieged and retook the two castles; and, because all his followers who had been taken in these castles by Llewellyn had been beheaded by him, so William Marshall, in retaliation, now beheaded all the Welsh he took prisoners; and afterwards, the further to revenge himself, he invaded Llewellyn's territory and ravaged the country wherever he went with fire and sword. Llewellyn, on hearing this, came to oppose Marshall with a large force; but he having fortune on his side, boldly attacked the enemy, and, after slaying numbers of the Welsh, put all the rest to flight, and hotly pursuing them slew them without mercy; nine thousand of them were computed to have been slain and made prisoners, only a very few having escaped by flight. In the same year about the time of the feast of our Lord's Ascension, William Mauclerc was consecrated bishop of Carlisle by Walter archbishop of York. About the same time in the great church at York, a clear oily liquid flowed from the tomb of St. William, formerly archbishop of that church. In the same year it rained blood-coloured earth at Rome for three days, to the great wonder of numbers of people.

Of the death of Philip king of the French.

In the same year about the feast of St. Peter *ad vincula*, died Philip king of the French, whose death was indicated by a fiery-tailed comet, which had appeared a short time before; and on his death being made public, Henry the English king sent the archbishop of Canterbury with three bishops to Louis his son, as soon as he was crowned, asking him to restore Normandy and the other transmarine provinces to him, as he had sworn to do with the consent of all his nobles on his departure from England, when peace was made between him and the said king of England. To this demand Louis replied that he held possession of Normandy and other lands as his right, as he would be prepared to prove in his own court if the king of England would appear to support his claim there. He also added that the oath, which had been made on the part of the king of England, had been violated, inasmuch as his followers, who had been made prisoners at Lincoln, had been compelled to pay a heavy ransom; and with regard to the liberties of the kingdom of England, to obtain which war had been made, and which

had been granted at his departure and sworn to be observed by all, the king of England had acted in such a manner, that not only were the bad laws brought into force again in their old state, but others had been made even worse than they, throughout England in general. The archbishop and bishops on this reply, being unable to obtain any other returned home and told the king.

An antipope elected by the Albigenses.

About that time the heretic Albigenses in the provinces of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, chose for themselves an antipope in the person of one Bartholomew, whose erroneous doctrines gained such force in those districts that he enticed bishops and many others of those countries to join in his depravity; and to oppose him the bishop of Portus, the legate of the apostolic see in those provinces, wrote as follows to the archbishop of Rouen: "To our venerable fathers, by the grace of God, the archbishop of Rouen and his suffragan bishops, greeting in our Lord Jesus Christ. Whilst we are compelled to ask your assistance on behalf of the spouse of the true crucified One, we are afflicted to sighs and tears. However what we have seen we will tell you, and what we know we will bear witness to. That lost man, who is elevated beyond everything which is worshipped or which is called God, has now a forerunner in his infidelity in the person of that arch-heretic, whom the heretic Albigenses call their pope, and who dwells on the confines of Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, near the people of Hungary. The heretic Albigenses flock to him to obtain from him answers to their questions; this vicegerent of that antipope, Bartholomew by name, a bishop of the heretics, was born at Carcassone, and pays most impious reverence to that man; he has given up his abode and dwelling in the town called Porlos, and has betaken himself to the district near Toulouse. This Bartholomew, in his letters which are sent about in all directions, at the commencement of them thus intitules himself, 'Bartholomew, servant of the servants of the holy faith, to such a one, greeting.' Amongst his other enormities he creates bishops and wickedly presumes to ordain churches. We, therefore, by the authority of the apostolic see, whose vicegerent we are in this district, earnestly beg and beseech

you by the blood of Jesus Christ, to come in the octaves of the apostles Peter and Paul to Sens, at which place the other prelates of France will, under God's favour, assemble to give your advice on the above matter, and, together with others, who will be there, to take precautions against this heresy of the Albigenses; otherwise we shall inform the pope of your disobedience. Given at Planium the 2nd of July." The death of the above named antipope however soon put an end to this disturbance.

How some of the barons endeavoured to cause a quarrel.

In the same year loud murmurs arose amongst the nobles of England, who wished to disturb the peace of the kingdom, against Hubert de Burgh the justiciary; for they said amongst themselves that he exasperated the king against them, and did not act impartially in his government of the kingdom. Besides this their ill-will was increased by the arrival of the king's messengers, whom he had sent to Rome, who brought with them a bull from our lord the pope to the archbishops of England and their suffragan bishops, which contained a decree, that his holiness the pope had adjudged the king of England to be of full age, thenceforth to take the chief management of the affairs of the kingdom with the advice of his councillors. The pope too in these letters gave orders to the aforesaid agents, by the apostolic authority, to order the earls, barons, knights, and all others, who held charge of castles, honours, and towns, which were under the king's authority, at sight of these letters to give them up to the king at once, and to compel all gainsayers to give satisfaction under penalty of the censure of the church; therefore a large party of the barons, whose hearts were full of greediness, were indignant at these commands and assembled together to endeavour to get up a war, and as conspiracy is blown abroad without bellows, they laid hold of the aforesaid matters as excuses for disturbing the peace of the kingdom; they refused on the orders of the archbishops and bishops to deliver up their charges as above mentioned, preferring to resort to arms rather than to give satisfaction to the king in the aforesaid matters. But of this hereafter.

The cross of our Lord brought to Bromholm.

In the same year divine miracles became of frequent

occurrence at Bromholm, to the glory and honour of the life-giving cross, on which the Saviour of the world suffered for the redemption of the human race; and since Britain, a place in the middle of the ocean was thought worthy by the divine bounty to be blessed with such a treasure, it is proper, nay most proper, to impress on the mind of our descendants by what series of events that cross was brought from distant regions into Britain. Baldwin count of Flanders, was from a count made emperor of Constantinople, at which place he reigned with vigour for many years; it happened at one time that he was dreadfully harassed by the infidel kings, against whom he marched without deliberation, and on this occasion neglected to take with him the cross of our Lord and other relics, which always used to be carried before him by the patriarch and bishops whenever he was about to engage in battle against the enemies of the cross, and this carelessness he found out on that day by dreadful experience: for when he rashly rushed on the enemy with his small army, paying no regard to the multitude of his enemies, who exceeded his own army tenfold, in a very short time he and all his men were surrounded by the enemies of Christ, and were all slain or made prisoners, and the few who escaped out of the whole number knew nothing of what had happened to the emperor, or whither he had gone. There was at that time a certain chaplain of English extraction, who with his clerks performed divine service in the emperor's chapel, and he was one of those who had the charge of the emperor's relics, rings, and other effects. He therefore, when he heard of the death (for all told him he was killed) of his lord the emperor, left the city of Constantinople privately with the aforesaid relics, rings, and many other things, and came to England; on his arrival there he went to St. Alban's, and sold to a certain monk there, a cross set with silver and gold, besides two fingers of St. Margaret, and some gold rings and jewels, all which things are now held in great veneration at the monastery of St. Alban's; the said chaplain then drew from his mantle a wooden cross and showed it to some of the monks, and declared on his oath that it was undoubtedly a piece of the cross, on which the Saviour of the world was suspended for the redemption of the human race; but as his assertions were disbelieved at that place, he departed, taking

with him this priceless treasure, although it was not known. This said chaplain had two young children about whose support and for the preservation of whom he was most anxious, for which purpose he offered the aforesaid cross to several monasteries on condition that he and his children should be received amongst the brethren of the monastery; and having endured repulse from the rich in many places he at length came to a chapel in the county of Norfolk, called Bromholm, very poor and altogether destitute of buildings; there he sent for the prior and some of the brethren, and showed them the above-mentioned cross, which was constructed with two pieces of wood placed across one another, and almost as wide as the hand of a man; he then humbly implored them to receive him into their order with this cross and the other relics which he had with him, as well as his two children. The prior and his brethren then were overjoyed to possess such a treasure, and by the intervention of the Lord, who always protects honourable poverty, put faith in the words of the monk; they then with due reverence received the cross of our Lord, and carried it into their oratory, and with all devotion preserved it in the most honourable place there. In this year then, as has been before stated, divine miracles began to be wrought in that monastery to the praise and glory of the life-giving cross; for there the dead were restored to life, the blind recovered their sight, and the lame their power of walking, the skin of the lepers was made clean, and those possessed by devils were released from them, and any sick person, who approached the aforesaid cross with faith, went away safe and sound. This said cross is frequently worshipped, not only by the English people, but also by those from distant countries, and those who have heard of the divine miracles connected with it.*

* Paris inserts here; "On the eleventh of August, as has been before stated, died Philip, the wise king of the French, and was buried at St. Denis; he had received the crown of the kingdom during his father Louis's lifetime, when he was fifteen years old, and reigned forty-four years; he was succeeded by his son Louis; but how dissimilar were the father and son! About the octaves of the apostles Peter and Paul, John of Brienne king of Jerusalem, and the grand master of the hospitallers at that place, came to England to ask assistance in the cause of the Holy Land. In the same year, about the feast of the exaltation of the holy cross, master S. of Apuleia, bishop of Exeter, died, and near about the same time William de Cornhill

How the king of England took into his own hands the castles of the crown, against the wish of the barons.

A. D. 1224. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Northampton, the archbishop of Canterbury being with him, as well as a great number of knights; the earl of Chester, however, with his fellow conspirators, kept that festival at Leicester, blustering and uttering threats against the king and the justiciary, on account of the king's requiring him to give up the custody of his castles and lands. On the following day, after the solemnization of mass, the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, clad in white robes, and with lighted tapers, excommunicated all the disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, and the invaders of the holy church and church property; the said archbishop then sent special messengers to Leicester to the earl of Chester and his accomplices, informing each and all of them that, unless by the following day they resigned into the king's hands all the castles and honours pertaining to the crown, he and all the bishops would assuredly excommunicate them by name, as they had been ordered to do by the pope. The earl of Chester then, and his accomplices, were in great consternation, having been informed by their spies that the king had a larger force than they, for, if they had sufficient means, they would make war against the king on account of the justiciary; but, knowing their deficiency, they were afraid to enter upon a doubtful struggle, and moreover, they were afraid that the archbishop and bishops

bishop of Chester. In this year too, during each successive month deluges of rain fell, causing the rivers to burst forth, attended also by an unhealthy atmosphere, so that owing to the inclemency of the season, the crops were so late in ripening, that in November there was scarcely any corn stored away in the barns. In the month of January the towers and walls of the churches, together with the trees of the forest, were shaken and fell by the conflict of the winds. About the same time too, Llewellyn prince of North Wales and some English, namely, Hugh de Lacy and his followers, uniting together out of hatred to the king, and giving up all hopes of good fruit coming from an evil tree, that is, despairing of a good heir from king John, made frequent expeditions against some of the barons of the king, and amongst the first against William Marshal the elder, and afterwards against the younger Marshal, and some others; but the whole country was excited to arm against them, and they themselves were irreverently driven to the same course, and those who became enemies in chief fell under the hands of their enemies, never to rise again.

would excommunicate them unless they desisted from their purpose; therefore, following the wisest plan, they all went to the king at Northampton, and each of them, commencing with the earl of Chester, resigned to the king the castles and towns, honours and charges, which pertained to the crown. Their ill-will against the king, however, still remained because he would not dismiss the justiciary. The promoters of this disturbance were the earl of Chester, the earl of Albemarle, John, constable of Chester, Falcasius with his castellans, Robert de Vipont, Brian de L'isle, Peter de Mauleon, Philip Marc, Engelard de Athie, William de Cantelo, William his son, and many others, who were all using their utmost endeavours to disturb the peace of the kingdom.

How Louis the French king subdued Rochelle and the rest of Poictou.

In the same year, Louis the French king led a large army to Rochelle, to subdue it by force or by bribery; and on his arrival there he offered the inhabitants a large sum of money to give up the city, make their allegiance to him, and obey him for the future. They, thinking that they were abandoned by the king of England, and being overcome by the entreaties and bribes of Louis, delivered Rochelle up to him. He then placed his knights and soldiers in the city and castle, and, having taken security from the whole of Poictou, he returned home peaceably without bloodshed. Rochelle is a port in Poictou, where the kings of England and their knights usually landed for the defence of those districts; but now the way was closed against the king, owing to the plots which were being prepared against him by his barons in England.*

Of the siege of Bedford castle and the council of Northampton.

In the same year, in the octaves of the Holy Trinity, the king, the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and many others,

* Paris adds here: "Oh, innate treachery of Poictevins! There was only one citizen who put himself forward for the defence of his lord the English king, and he was afterwards discovered to have hidden the standard of the king where he could produce it when that monarch was again restored, and he was seized by his treacherous fellow citizens, and hung; but as he died for a just cause, it is clear that he was a glorious martyr; his son, named William, was promoted to the government of the church of St. Julian at St. Alban's."

assembled at a conference at Northampton to discuss the affairs of the kingdom; for the king wished to have the advice of his nobles about the transmarine possessions, which Louis had seized on by degrees, but other matters occurred which he did not expect. There were at that time at Dunstable some of the king's justiciaries, whom we call "itinerants,"* namely, Martin de Pateshulle, Thomas de Muleton, Henry de Braibroc, and others, who were there holding the king's pleas for this new act of disseizin; and there Falcasius, amongst others, who had robbed numbers of people, was thrown on the mercy of the king for more than thirty pairs of letters, for each of which he was liable to the payment of a fine of a hundred pounds to the king. When Falcasius was informed of this, he was greatly enraged, and in a most unadvised manner, ordered the knights who composed the garrison of the castle of Bedford, to proceed to Dunstable with a body of soldiers, seize on the aforesaid justiciaries, and, after securing them prisoners, to bring them to Bedford castle, and place them in close confinement there. The justiciaries, however, found this out, and departed in haste wherever chance led them; of this number, Henry de Braibroc, flying without due caution, was taken prisoner by the above-mentioned knights, and after being most cruelly treated, was imprisoned in the castle of Bedford. A report of this being spread abroad, the wife of the said Henry went to the king at Northampton, and with tears laid a complaint of the detention of her husband, in the hearing of the whole council. The king was highly incensed at this deed, and asked the advice of the clergy and people assembled as to what ought to be done to punish such an offence. They all unanimously gave it as their opinion that they should without delay, putting off all other business, proceed with a strong armed force to the aforesaid castle, to punish such audacity; this opinion meeting the king's views, he gave the order, and they all flew to arms, and, clergy as well as people, marched to the castle of Bedford. The king, on his arrival there, sent messengers to the chief castellans, asking admission, and demanding the restoration of Henry de Braibroc, his justiciary. William de Breaute, however, brother of Falcasius, and the others of the garrison, told the mes-

* Justices in Eyric.

sengers in reply that they would not give up the castle unless they had orders to do so from their lord Falcasius, especially as they were not bound by homage or allegiance to the king. When this answer was brought back to the king, he was very indignant, and in his anger, ordered his troops to surround the castle; the besiegers, too, prepared to oppose them, and defended the walls and ramparts in all parts. Then the archbishop and all the bishops, with tapers lighted, laid the ban of excommunication on Falcasius, and all the garrison of the castle. The castle was laid siege to on the 16th of June, which was the Thursday next after the octaves of Trinity. By orders of the king, the engines of war, such as petrariæ and mangonelles, were brought up, and, being disposed round the city, the besieging army made constant fierce assaults on the castle; the besieged, however, bravely defended the walls, and sent forth showers of deadly missiles on the besiegers. To be brief, many were wounded and slain on both sides. The king, whilst the siege was being carried on, sent a body of soldiers to search for Falcasius, and when found, to bring him into his presence; the latter was, however, forewarned of this by his spies, and fled into Wales, and the king's messengers returned, acknowledging that their labour was vain. The king being roused to anger, swore, by the soul of his father, that if the garrisons were made prisoners by force he would hang them all; they, however, being provoked to do further wrong by the king's threats, forbade the messengers of the king to speak to them again on the subject of giving up the castle. This deadly hatred increased from the numbers of the slain, so that brothers spared not brothers, nor fathers their children. At length, after great slaughter on both sides, the king's workmen constructed a high tower of wood, built on geometrical principles, in which they placed cross-bow men, who could watch every proceeding in the castle; and from that time no one in the castle could take off his armour without being mortally wounded. The besieged, however, did not on this account, cease to strike down their enemies; for, to the confusion of the king's army, they killed two knights of his, who exposed themselves to death too rashly, thus provoking the anger of their enemies against them by all the means possible.

The capture of the castle and hanging of the knights.

In the mean time the king ordered the corn and cattle on the manors and lands of Falcasius throughout the kingdom to be seized and confiscated, that by these means he might during this lengthened siege obtain supplies at the expense of his enemy. At length the king's soldiers brought up, though not without much loss, two penthouses, which the French call *brutesches*, and, attacking the castle in all directions, forced the besieged to retire. The king's troops then entered the castle, and gaining possession of horses, arms, provisions, and innumerable other things, returned in triumph; the victors then attacked the tower, and destroyed a great portion of the walls. After this, the besieged seeing that they could hold out no longer, on the eve of the assumption of St. Mary, sent some of the garrison from the castle to entreat the king's mercy; but the king ordered them to be kept in close confinement till he reduced the rest to subjection. On the following day all the rest came out of the castle dreadfully bruised and wounded, and were taken before the king, who ordered them all to be hung; of the knights and soldiers of the garrison, twenty-four were hung, who could not obtain mercy from the king on account of the audacity which they had showed to him in the late siege. Henry de Braybrook came to the king safe and sound and returned him his thanks. Falcasius, in his false sense of security, believed that his followers could defend the castle from capture for a whole year; when however he learned for certain that his brothers and the rest of his friends were hung, he came under the conduct of Alexander bishop of Coventry, to the king at Bedford, and, falling at his feet, begged him to show mercy to him in consideration of his great services and expensive undertakings on behalf of him, the king, and his father, in times of war. The king then having taken advice on the subject, deprived him of all his castles, lands, and possessions, and delivered him into the custody of Eustace bishop of London, till he should determine what ought to be done with him; and thus, as it were in a moment, this Falcasius, from being the richest became one of the poorest of men, and would afford a good example to many,

and especially to the guilty. Concerning this change of fortune, some one thus writes:—

> "Thus in a month fierce Falco lost
> What he had gained by years of strife;
> Fate stripped him now of what had cost
> Him all his former life."

The wife of the said Falcasius came before the king and the archbishop, and said that it was not with her own consent that she had been married to him; she therefore, as she had been seized by force in time of war, and been married to him without her consent, asked for a divorce from him. The archbishop then appointed a day for her to come to him, that he might in the meantime determine what ought to be done. The king however granted her all her lands and possessions throughout England, and placed her under the care of William earl Warrenne. The king, for the great labour and expense he had been at, was granted a tax on ploughed land throughout England, namely two marks of silver for each plough; and he granted a scutage to the nobles, namely two marks of sterling money for each scutcheon; and then they all returned to their homes. The king ordered the castle to be pulled down and reduced to a heap of stones, and gave the houses and all other buildings to William Beauchamp.*

* Paris adds:—"In the same year the following bishops were consecrated: Master Alexander de Stavensby to the see of Chester by his holiness the pope at Rome, on Easter-day; and William, nephew of William Briwere the elder to the see of Exeter, and Ralph de Neville to that of Chichester, by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury: of these, Ralph bishop of Chichester was the king's chancellor, and in many dangers afterwards he was found faithful and conspicuous in the king's business, and was a firm pillar of fidelity and truth. About this time there was one Faulkes de Breaute, a native of Normandy, a bastard by his mother's side, who had lately come on a scurvy horse, with a pad on his back, to enter the king's service, and had fortified Bedford castle, although on the land of another, when John had given it to him in the time of the war. This man trusting in his castle, his money, and some friends he had amongst the king's courtiers, all of which turned out to be no better than a reed to support him, began to seize on the lands and property of his free men and neighbours; above all he dispossessed, without judgment, thirty-two free men in the manor of Luyton of their tenements, and appropriated some common pastures to his own use. When a complaint on the matter was laid before the king, the latter appointed Henry de Braibroc and some other justiciaries, to take recognizance of the disseizing of the complainants; and when after hearing the case and the aforesaid premises which had been

The fifteenth portion of all moveables is granted to the king.

A.D. 1225. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Westminster, at which were present the clergy and people

taken from them, were restored to them by the decree of the judges. the said Faulkes was condemned in a fine for damages and loss. Faulkes, annoyed at this and carried beyond himself, in violation of the peace of the kingdom, seized by force on Henry de Braibroc and imprisoned him in his castle of Bedford. On hearing this, the king, who was at Northampton holding a council about giving assistance to Poictou, changed his intentions at this circumstance, and turning off to the castle of Bedford, where the said Henry was confined, laid siege to it; for three successive days he sent summonses to the knights in the castle to surrender it, and S. archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops, abbats, and other prelates, who were present excommunicated Faulkes and those who were united with them, and declared them to be outlaws. The royal troops fiercely assailed the castle by engines and by assault, and some of the king's knights fell by the arrows of the besieged cross-bow men, amongst others a distinguished knight named Giffard fell pierced by an arrow. After they had continued the siege for about nine weeks the castle was at length taken, and all the followers of Faulkes found there with their commander Mantel de Breaute, Faulkes's brother, were made prisoners, besides several English and Norman nobles, who were all condemned to be hung, as had been fully declared to them.

Count Baldwin the emperor returns into Flanders.

"After a long imprisonment of some years and a repentant pilgrimage, Baldwin count of Flanders and emperor of Constantinople, returned into Flanders, and, on being recognized by a great many people who formerly knew him, although he was much altered, he received homage and fealty from many of the cities and towns of Flanders. His daughter, however, hating him, excited the king against him, declaring that he was not her father, and the person he made himself out to be, and caused him to be hung ignominiously, for when he was hung she caused two old dogs to be hung one on each side of him. Many, to whom he made confession, assert that he deserved this fate for his sins, for he and his imprisoned followers, who had been taken in battle with him, escaped from their prison by the assistance of a certain noble lady, on condition that she should be baptized as soon as the liberated prisoners arrived in a Christian country; but Baldwin on arriving with his companions and the lady herself, amongst the Christians, caused her, whom he had promised to marry, to make a Christian, and to instruct in Christian customs, to be secretly slain before the font of regeneration, for which, whenever he reflected in himself, he did penance so as scarcely to be known by his followers, for the pope enjoined such severe penance on him, because he had slain the lady before she was baptized. All who gave their consent to this wicked crime perished by a shameful death; one of them on reaching his wife, and being recognized by her, was by her orders thrown into a well, because she had taken another husband, and had children by him; and so also the rest perished, each as it happened, through the anger of God, who does not choose evil to be returned for good. Nor did their chief escape punishment, for he did not continue his repentance, did not persevere in his humility and contrition, nor give forth fruit worthy of repentance."

and the nobles of the district. After the feast had been kept with due solemnity, Hubert de Burgh the king's justiciary, on the said king's behalf, set forth in the presence of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all the rest, the losses and injuries which the king had suffered in the transmarine provinces; by which, not only the king, but also many earls and barons besides him had been deprived of their inheritances; and since many were concerned in the business, the assistance of many would be necessary. He therefore asked the advice and assistance of all as to the means by which the English crown could regain its lost dignities and old rights; in order to effect this properly, he believed that it would be sufficient if the fifteenth part of all moveable property throughout England were to be granted to the king, alike from clergy and laity. This proposal having been made, the archbishop and all the assembly of bishops, earls, barons abbats, and priors, after some deliberation, gave for their answer, that they would willingly accede to the king's demands, if he would grant them their long-sought liberties. The king therefore was induced by covetousness to grant their request, and charters having been drawn up under the king's seal, one was sent to each of the counties of England, and to those counties which were situated in a forest, two charters were sent, namely, one of the common liberties, and the other of the liberties of the forest; the contents of these charters have been before written, in the history of king John's reign, and the charters of the two kings do not differ in any point. Then a day was determined on in the Easter month for twelve knights and liege men to be chosen from each county of the kingdom, who should on their oath distinguish the new from the old forests, in order that all those which should be discovered to have been afforested since the coronation of the present king's grandfather Henry, should be immediately deforested; and thus the council broke up, and the charters were sent each to their proper county, where, by the king's command, they were ordered under oath in writing to be observed by all.

How the English king sent his brother Richard into Gascony.

In the same year, on the day of the purification of St. Mary, Richard the king of England's brother, was made a belted

knight, and ten others with him, who were appointed to attend him. In the spring following, on Palm Sunday, the said Richard was sent by the king into Gascony, accompanied by William earl of Salisbury, Philip de Albeney, and forty knights, and after a prosperous voyage they all arrived safely at the city of Bourdeaux; and on their arrival being made known to the archbishop and citizens, they were received with honours by all. Richard then, having called the citizens together in presence of the archbishop and the king's messengers, showed them his brother's letters, in which he humbly begged that all his faithful subjects in those districts would receive his brother amicably, and would give him advice and assistance, by which he would be able to recover his lost territories; all parties therefore received him on friendly terms, and made their submission to the king of England through him. A number of knights and soldiers then came to him from those provinces, and remained in his service on receiving sufficient pay from him; for the king, before he sent him into the transmarine provinces, had given him the county of Cornwall, with the whole of Poictou, for which reason he was called count of Poictou. Count Richard then with his uncle William, earl of Salisbury, and Philip de Albeney, attended by a large body of knights, marched through the towns and amongst the castles of that district, and wherever they found any opposers who would not do homage and give their allegiance to the king, they besieged their castles and towns and reduced them to subjection by force of arms; he after a long siege took the castle of Rieux, together with the town, obtained possession of the city and castle of St. Macaire, and besieged the castle of Bregerac, and brought the lord of it back to his allegiance to the king. But whilst he was besieging the castle of Rieux, and continually making assaults on it, Louis the French king sent orders to the count of Marche and other nobles of Poictou to march to the aforesaid castle, raise the siege, and bring count Richard a prisoner before him. The count de la Marche then, being joined by some barons and knights in arms, marched with a strong force to raise the siege of the above castle; count Richard however with his friends, being informed by their scouts of the approach of the enemy, laid an ambuscade for them, and leaving part of his army to carry on the siege, he,

with a tried body of troops, proceeded to a wood which was near, and there awaited their arrival, and when the latter were passing the ambuscade, count Richard and his followers rushed on them amidst the sound of trumpets, brandishing their lances; a severe conflict then took place between the two parties, but the enemy were at length put to flight, on which count Richard hotly pursued them, and after slaying numbers of the fugitives, captured their carts, baggage-horses, silver vessels, and other spoil, and thus he in a short time reduced the whole of Gascony to subjection. In this same year John bishop of Ely died, and was succeeded by Geoffrey de Burgh, archdeacon of Norwich.

Of the banishment of the traitor Faulcasius.

About this time, namely in the month of March, the king of England and his nobles assembled in council at Westminster, at which the king ordered them to come to a final determination as to what was to be done with the traitor Falcasius. The nobles agreed with the king, that as he had for many years faithfully served his father, he should not be deprived of life or limb, but all unanimously agreed in condemning him to be for ever banished from England; the king then ordered William earl Warrenne to conduct him in safety to the coast, and having placed him on board a ship, to send him at once to sea. When they arrived at the coast and Falcasius was embarking on board ship, he begged of the earl with tears to carry his greeting to his lord the king, and declared on his oath, that the disturbances which he had caused in England, he had excited at the instigation of the nobles of the kingdom. He then set sail with only five retainers for Normandy, and immediately on his arrival there he was made prisoner by the French king's agents, and taken before Louis; but as he bore the sign of the cross, they set him free, and he went to Rome, where, in company with Robert Paslew his clerk, he appeared before the pope, as will be related in its proper place.

Of the inspection of the forests, as to which ought to be exempt from forest laws.

In the same year, about the month of Easter, Hugh de Neville and Brian de L'isle, with other appointed persons,

were sent throughout England for the purpose of choosing, in each of the forest districts, twelve knights or free and liege men, to perambulate the bounds of the forests, and to determine, on their oath, what forests ought to remain in their present state, and which ought to be deforested. The king's commands being very soon fulfilled, not, however, without great opposition from many, each and all put these liberties in practice, selling the produce of their own woods, making essarts, hunting game, and ploughing the land which was before uncultivated, so that all did as they chose in the deforested woods; and not only men, but dogs also, who used formerly to be footed, enjoyed these liberties. In short, the nobles, knights, and free tenants took advantage of these liberties, so that not one iota contained in the king's charter was omitted.

Of the collection of the fifteenth part of property for the king's use.

About this same time a moiety of the fifteenth part of all moveable property was collected for the king's use, a respite being granted for the payment of the other portion till Michaelmas. In this year too, Hugh Bigod earl of the East-Anglians, paid the debt of nature, and the king consigned all his possessions and dignities to the charge of the justiciary.

Of the concubines of priests.

In the same year, a warrant was issued by the archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragan bishops, to the following effect. The concubines of priests and clerks, who are in holy orders and endowed with benefices, shall not receive church burial, unless they truly reform their lives, or show such repentance in their last days as will entitle them to a dispensation. Moreover, they shall not be admitted to the kiss of peace, nor shall they partake of the consecrated bread in the church, as long as their paramours keep them in their houses, or openly elsewhere. Also, if they bring forth children, they shall not be purified, unless they shall previously give to the archdeacon or his official, sufficient security that they will make proper reparation at the next chapter after their purification. Moreover, all priests in whose parishes the concubines of such persons dwell, unless they give notice of it to the archdeacon or his official, shall be suspended; and before they are absolved, they shall be

subjected to severe penance. Also, any woman who shall be convicted of having been carnally acquainted with a priest, shall do public and solemn penance, as though she were convicted of adultery, even though she may have been absolved; but if a betrothed woman be convicted of an offence of this kind, she shall be punished as if for twofold adultery, lest impunity for such an offence shall lead others to commit that fault.

How the earl of Salisbury was preserved from shipwreck.

About this same time, the earl of Salisbury, who had been fighting with count Richard in the transmarine provinces, embarked to return to England; but being exposed to great danger at sea, and being driven in different directions by the violence of the winds for several days and nights, in common with his sailors and all the rest of those on board his ship, gave up all hopes of safety, and therefore, committed to the waves his costly rings, and all his property in silver, gold, and rich garments, which he had on board, in order that as he had entered naked into mortal life, so he might pass to the regions of eternity deprived of all earthly honours. At length, when they were in the last state of despair, a large and brightly shining light* was seen at the top of the mast by all on board the ship, and they also saw standing near the light a female of great beauty, who kept the light of the taper, which illumined the darkness of the night, alive, notwithstanding the force of the winds and rain which beat upon it; from this vision of heavenly brightness, the count himself, as well as the sailors, conceived hopes of safety, and felt confident that divine help was at hand. And though all the rest of the people in the vessel were ignorant what this vision portended, the aforesaid earl William alone assigned the honour of this mercy to the blessed virgin Mary; for the aforesaid earl, on the day when he was first made a belted knight, had assigned a wax taper to be kept constantly burning before the altar of the blessed mother of God, during the mass which was usually chanted every day at the hour of prayer, in honour of the said virgin, and that he might receive an eternal in exchange for a temporal light.

* Sailors often see lights at the mast-head just after a storm, but the Virgin Mary no longer interferes on such occasions.

How the said earl escaped the snares of his enemies.

When the next morning broke, the earl and his companions were driven by the force of the storm towards the isle of Rhé, about three miles from Rochelle, and, having got into their small boats, made their way to the island. In that island was a convent of the Cistercian order, to which the earl sent messengers, asking leave to hide himself from his enemies, till a more favourable breeze should arise; the abbat of the place willingly granted this, and received him and his fellow voyagers with all honour. This island was then in the charge of Savaric de Mauleon, who was then fighting under Louis, the French king, and was watching several of the islands, with a large body of soldiers: two followers of his who knew the earl well, and who had been appointed with several others to guard this island, went in a friendly manner to the earl, after he had lain hid there for three days, and told him that, unless he left the island before daylight of the following day, he would be taken prisoner by their companions, who with them were watching the islands and seas round. The earl then made the two soldiers a present of twenty pounds of sterling money, and at once embarked, and put to sea, where he was tossed about on the waves for three months before he landed in England.

How Master Otho came to England on the business of his holiness the pope.

In the same year, Master Otho, a legate of the pope, arrived in England, and presented letters to the king on urgent business connected with the Roman church; but the king, on learning the purport of the letters, replied that he could not and ought not of himself to give a definite answer on a matter which concerned all the clergy and laity of the kingdom in general. Therefore, by the advice of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, a day was appointed by the king, in the octaves of the Epiphany, for all the clergy and laity to assemble at Westminster, then to discuss the aforesaid matter, that whatever seemed right to all might be determined on.

How the said Otho endeavoured to make peace between Fulcasius and the king.

Shortly afterwards, Master Otho, on behalf of the pope,

humbly begged the king of England to become reconciled to Faulkes, and to restore to him his wife and all the possessions which he had lost, and to receive him again on terms of friendship, as he had so faithfully served his father and himself in time of war. To this the king replied, that, for his open treachery he had, by the decision of his court and with the consent of all the clergy and people of the kingdom, been banished from England, and although the care of the kingdom belonged especially to him, yet he ought to observe the laws and established customs of the kingdom; and when Otho heard this, he ceased to ask anything further of the king on behalf of Faulkes. Otho then took two marks of silver from all the conventual churches of England, under the name of procuration-money. It should also be known, that when Master Otho came to England, the pope sent messengers throughout the world, making unjust exactions, as will be hereafter told.

Of a certain girl who gave up the world and retired to the order of the Minorites.

About this time there was a certain girl of noble extraction in the province of Burgundy, whom her parents had appointed heiress to large possessions, and wished to give in marriage to a man of illustrious descent; but the girl, who from her early years had been imbued with a liberal education, had in the secret purity of her heart dedicated her virginity to God. She therefore left her parents' abode disguised in the habit of a pilgrim, the more easily to escape their sight, and betook herself to a convent of some brothers of the order of Minorites; there, at her own request, she in accordance with the rigorous rules of that order, laid aside her shoes, clothed herself in sackcloth, and contemptuously cut off her luxuriant hair, thus endeavouring, by all the means in her power, to transform her natural beauty of person into every kind of deformity. After she had attempted to do this but ineffectually, since she could not, against the will of God, deform the beautiful arrangement of her body, which was incomparable in all its proportions, she made it her only endeavour to consecrate to the eternal Spouse, who is in heaven, that purity of flesh which was internal; and, the more easily to carry this purpose into effect, she of her

own will chose a life of poverty, took on herself the office of holy preaching, clothed herself in rough garments, had a mat on a pallet to lie upon and a stone for a pillow, and punishing the flesh by continual watchings and fastings, she in urgent prayer employed herself in the contemplation of heavenly things. At length when she had for many years, in all perfection and sanctity of life, studied to please God and to preach the gospel of peace through cities and castles, and especially to the female sex, the enemy of the human race became envious of her perfection, and for seven months surrounded her with so many and great temptations, that, unless she had been supported by divine assistance, she would have lost all the virtuous aspirations of her former life; for day and night the devil brought back to her mind the abundant possessions of her parents which she had left, the produce of the fruitful vineyards, the pleasant meadows adorned with various kinds of flowers, the delightful sound of the gushing fountains and pleasantly murmuring rivulets, the lofty trees of the forests, fertility in offspring, the embraces of a husband and the enjoyments of love, the soft beds of the rich, the mirth of jesters, the splendour of rings and jewels, and the sweet taste of fish, poultry, and venison. Amidst these and other similar temptations the girl was almost in despair and frequently indulged in divers reflections, as to whether she should return to what she had left, or persevere in the pursuit of religion, and in this state of torture both of body and mind she passed days and nights; but the merciful God, who does not permit those that trust in him to be tempted beyond endurance, restored to the girl the eye of reason, that she might discover how great and how full of care are all temporal things and the pleasures above-mentioned, what disgrace in carnal intercourse, with how much toil temporal wealth is gained and with what sorrow it is lost, of how much importance virgin purity is with God, who wished his own mother to be productive and yet to remain in virginity, the reward which follows good works, the pleasure there is in holy and divine contemplation, the union of the inhabitants of heaven, how sweet and delectable is the enjoyment of holy spirits to reign with Christ, where cold affects not, where hunger and thirst afflict no one, and where none are oppressed by anger, quarrels, vain glory, envy, pride, animosity, avarice,

covetousness, or drunkenness. This blessed virgin often entertained these and the like thoughts, and amidst all this whirl of temptation she still preserved her former virtues, and being armed with the weapons of God, she happily defeated all the deceitful wiles of the devil and sent him in confusion to hell.

How this girl was released by a devil from a ravisher.

After a few days, when this girl had been altogether freed from these attacks of the devil, he returned to her and saluting her, said, "Save you mistress of mine, and virgin well beloved of the God of heaven; I am that Satan, who have for seven months lately led you, although to no purpose, into so many temptations, in order to recall you from your intentions and to ensnare you in those toils; but since I have been overcome by you and failed in my deceitful arts, a punishment has been imposed on me by the Lord of heaven, which is, that I shall never henceforth be allowed to tempt any race of beings or to hinder any one from good works. Moreover I am commanded by the Lord, whom I must obey, at once to perform whatever you order me, and also to undergo any punishment you may impose on me." The girl on hearing this, said to the devil, "May God preserve me from any intercourse with you and from any attendance of yours, for He knows that I never liked such a servant." Soon after this, the said girl, happening to go to a certain city to obtain a lodging, entered the house of a woman and procured a lodging with her. In the evening a young man, the son of the aforesaid woman, returned from his accustomed business, and when he saw the young woman to whom his mother had given a lodging out of charity, he began to admire the natural disposition of all the girl's limbs which were covered by such humble clothing, though she was pale and thin; for in her the work of nature was so perfect, that from the soles of her feet to the top of her head there was no defect, but by the disposition of her whole body she plainly showed the nobility of her race. The young man was fired with desire for the virgin, and approached her asking her to grant his wish. She in reply firmly refused the young man's request, and declared that she had from her youth consecrated her virginity to the Lord; and she more-

over declared, that as chastity was imposed on her by the vow of religion and of her order, it would be wicked to break that vow; and with these words she went away to take her nightly repose in a corner of the house where, according to the strict rules of the order, she placed a mat under her for a bed and a stone under her head for a pillow. The young man, inflamed with lust, determined in his heart that if he could not obtain the girl's voluntary consent he would effect his purpose by force, he therefore went to her and told her his determination. The religious woman then was in great agony of mind lest her virgin purity should be destroyed by the youth's burning desire, but calling to mind what the devil had told her, namely, that he would immediately fulfil any wish of hers, she raised her voice and said, "Demon, where art thou?" The devil immediately replied, "Mistress, here am I. What is your will?" The girl then said, "Free me from this villain who disturbs me, and does not permit me to sleep." The demon immediately took the young man forcibly by the feet and threw him to a distance from the young woman; three times during that night was she freed by the devil from the violence of the young man, and in the morning she left the city a virgin as she entered it. What became of the girl in the end is unknown to me, therefore what I have related must content those who love piety and chastity.

Of a certain recluse who took no food for seven years.

In the same year there died in the city of Leicester a certain recluse, who for seven years before her death had taken no food of any kind, except when on Sundays she partook of the communion of the body and blood of our Lord; and when this miracle reached the ears of Hugh bishop of Lincoln, he put no faith in the truth of the story, but disbelieved it entirely; he however ordered the said recluse to be closely confined and watched by his priests and clerks for fifteen days, when it was proved that during the whole of that time she partook of no bodily nourishment. Her complexion was always white as a lily and tinged with a rosy red colour, as an indication of modesty and virgin purity.

How the countess of Salisbury refused to marry.

About this time news was brought to the king of England

that William earl of Salisbury, his uncle, had been drowned when on his return from the transmarine provinces, and whilst he was indulging in grief at the event, Hubert justiciary of the kingdom came to him, and asked him to give the wife of the said earl William in marriage to his nephew Raymond, to whom the honour of that earldom belonged by hereditary right. The king having granted his request on condition that he could bring the countess herself to consent to the match, the justiciary immediately sent the aforesaid Raymond in his knightly apparel to the countess, to endeavour to gain the affections of that lady. But when the said Raymond by soft speeches and great promises endeavoured to gain her consent, she with great anger replied, that she had lately received letters informing her that her husband was safe and well; she also added that if her husband had indeed been dead, she would not on any account accept of him as a husband, because the nobility of her family prevented such a marriage. "Seek elsewhere," said she, "for a wife, because you will find by experience that you have come here to no purpose." Raymond on receiving this reply went away in confusion.

How his holiness the pope demanded prebends for his own use.

A.D. 1226. King Henry kept Christmas at Winchester in the company of some bishops and several nobles. After this festival had been duly observed, he went to Marlborough, where he was seized with illness and lay for many days in a hopeless state. In the meantime the period fixed on for holding the council at Westminster at the feast of St. Hilary was now come, at which the king, the clergy, and nobles of the kingdom were bound to appear to hear the pope's message. Many bishops therefore, with others of the clergy and laity, assembled at the above place, and master Otho the messenger of our lord the pope, of whom mention has been before made, read the pope's letters in the hearing of them all. In these letters the pope set forth a great scandal and old abuse of the holy church of Rome, namely, an accusation of avarice, which is said to be the root of all evil, and especially because no one could manage any business at the court of Rome, without a lavish expenditure of money and large presents. "But since the poverty of the Roman

church is the cause of this offence and evil name, it is the duty of all to alleviate the wants of their mother and father as natural sons: because unless we received presents from you and other good and honourable men, we should be in want of the necessaries of life, which would be altogether inconsistent with the dignity of the Roman church. In order therefore utterly to destroy this abuse, we, by the advice of our brethren the cardinals of the holy Roman church, have provided certain terms, to which if you will agree, you may free your mother from insult, and obtain justice at the court of Rome without the necessity of making presents. Our provided terms are these: in the first place we require two prebends to be granted to us from all cathedral churches, one from the portion of the bishop and another from the chapter; and from monasteries in the same way where there are different portions for the abbat and the convent; and from convents the share of one monk, on an equal distribution being made of their property, and the same from the abbat."

After making these proposals, Master Otho, on behalf of our lord the pope advised the prelates to consent, setting forth the above-mentioned advantages contained in the letters. The bishops and prelates of the church who were present in person, then moved apart to consult on the matter, and after having deliberated on the proposals for some time, they deputed John archdeacon of Bedford to give their answer, who went before Master Otho, and gave the following reply to his demands: "My lord, the things which you set forth to us refer to the king in particular, and to all the patrons of the church in general; they refer to the archbishops and their suffragans, and to numbers of the prelates of England. Since, therefore, the king on account of illness, and some of the archbishops and bishops and other prelates of the church are absent, we cannot, and ought not in their absence, give you an answer; for if we were to presume so to do, it would be to the injury of all who are absent." After this, John Marshal and other messengers of the king were sent to all the prelates who held baronies in chief of the king, strictly forbidding them to engage their lay fee to the church of Rome, by which he would be deprived of the service which was due to himself. Master Otho, on hearing this, appointed a day in the middle of Lent for those who

were then present to meet, when he would procure the presence of the king and the absent prelates, that the affair might then be brought to a conclusion; they, however, would not agree to the before-mentioned day, without the consent of the king and the others who were absent, and in this way all returned home.

Of the glorious death of William earl of Salisbury.

The king of England, in the meantime, had entirely recovered from his illness at Marlborough, and at that place there came to him William earl of Salisbury, who, after being long exposed to the dangers of the sea, had with much difficulty landed in Cornwall at Christmas. He was received with great joy by the king, and at once laid before him a serious complaint against the justiciary, namely, that while he had been in foreign parts on the king's business, he, the justiciary, had sent some man of low birth, who endeavoured to form a criminal connexion with his wife during his life-time, and to contract an adulterous marriage with her by force; he also added, that unless the king would make the justiciary give him full satisfaction, he would himself take revenge for this great offence, to the serious disturbance of the peace of the kingdom. The justiciary then, being present, confessed his fault, and made peace with the earl by presents of expensive horses and other large gifts; and having thus made friends with the earl, the justiciary invited him to his table, where, it is said, he was secretly poisoned, for he went to his castle at Salisbury, and took to his bed, seriously indisposed. The disease gaining power, and as he felt certain symptoms of death, he sent for the bishop of the city to come to him, that he might receive the rites pertaining to the confession and the viaticum of a Christian, and also make a legal statement as to his property. When the bishop entered the room where the earl lay, with no other clothing than his trousers, the latter leaped from his bed in front of the bishop, who was carrying the body of our Lord, and fastening a rough cord round his neck, he threw himself on the floor, and with incessant lamentation confessed himself a traitor to the supreme king, and would not allow himself to be raised till he had made confession and partaken of the communion of the life-giving sacrament, to

prove himself a servant of his Creator; and thus he continued in the greatest state of repentance for some days, until he resigned his spirit to his Redeemer. When his body was being carried from the castle to the new church, about a mile distant, to be buried, the tapers, which, according to custom, were carried, lighted with the cross and censors, continued, notwithstanding showers of rain and the violence of the wind, to shed a light during the whole journey, thereby plainly showing that the earl being thus sincerely penitent, belonged to the number of the sons of light.*

How Master Otho endeavoured to reconcile the king to Faulkes.

About this same time, Master Otho the pope's messenger came to the king of England, requesting him on behalf of his holiness to receive Faulkes into favour, and to restore to him his wife, lands, and possessions, and all other property which had been taken from him; but the king replied, that Faulkes had, for open treachery, been condemned to perpetual banishment by all the clergy and people, which sentence he could not invalidate without acting in opposition to the old-established customs of the kingdom. Master Otho, on receiving this reply, desisted from making further requests in the matter. He then sent his letters to all the cathedral and conventual churches throughout England, demanding of them the procuration-money due to the messengers of the Roman church, and limited the amount of each procuration to forty shillings.

Of the council at Bourges, at which Romanus the legate to the French presided.

About this same time Master Romanus was sent by our lord the pope into France, to discharge the functions of legate there; on his arrival, he summoned the French king, the archbishops, bishops, and the Gallic clergy, together

* His epitaph is thus given by Paris :—

"Flos comitum, Willelmus obit, stirps regia, longus
Ensis vaginam cæpit habere brevem."

When William, flower of earls, resigned
His princely breath,
His long sword was content to find
A shorter sheath.

with the count of Toulouse, to attend at a council, for which purpose he had been sent to that country, as the following narrative will show. The council therefore assembled at Bourges, at which were present the archbishops of Lyons, Rheims, Rouen, Tours, Bourges, and Auxienne; the archbishop of Bordeaux was at Rome, and the church of Narbonne was without one. About a hundred suffragans from the nine provinces assembled, together with abbats and priors, and proxies from each of the chapters, to hear the pope's message; but as the archbishop of Lyons claimed supremacy over the archbishop of Sens, and the archbishop of Rouen over those of Bourges, Auxienne, and Narbonne, and their suffragans, fears were entertained of disagreement, therefore they did not sit as it were in council, but only as if in consultation. When they were all seated, and the pope's letters had been read, there came before them the count of Toulouse on the one part, and Simon de Montfort on the other, the latter of whom demanded the surrender to him of the lands of Raymond count of Toulouse, which lands the pope and Philip the French king had conferred on him and his father, and he produced the writings both of the pope and Philip concerning the said gift; he, moreover, added that count Raymond had been abjudicated at the general council at Rome, on account of heresy, at least of the greater part of the land which he now possesses. Count Raymond in reply set forth that he would do whatever he ought towards the French king and the Roman church to retain his inheritance. The adverse party then asked him to abide by the judgment of twelve peers of France, to which Raymond replied, "Let the king receive my homage, and then I shall be ready to undergo the trial, otherwise they will not perhaps recognize me for a peer." After much altercation on both sides, the legate ordered the archbishops and bishops then present, each of them to convoke his suffragans to a separate place, to deliberate on the aforesaid matter, and to deliver to him the result of their deliberations in writing; he then excommunicated all who should disclose his plans on this matter, saying that he wished to explain them to the pope, and to tell them to the French king himself.

How the legate deceitfully gave the proxies permission to depart.

After this council, the legate deceitfully gave leave to the proxies of the chapters to return home, but detained the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and common prelates; for this reason the latter were afraid, and not without cause, that, in the absence of those of greater skill and experience, and on account of their numbers, more able to oppose the legate, some determination would be come to detrimentary to the absent prelates. The said proxies, therefore, after long deliberation, sent proxies from the metropolitan churches to the legate, who thus stated their business to him: "My lord, we have heard that you hold letters from the court of Rome concerning the maintenance of prebends in all churches conventual as well as cathedral; wherefore, we are much astonished that you did not at the late consultation make them public in the hearing of us whom they especially concern. We, therefore, beseech you in the name of the Lord not to let that scandal arise in the French church by your means, inasmuch as we know that such a plan could not be carried into effect without great offence and inconceivable harm; because, supposing any one person should agree to it, his assent would be of no avail in a matter which concerns all of us, when almost all the elders and the people in common, as well as the king himself and all the nobles, are prepared to gainsay and oppose it, even to the danger of their lives and the loss of all their dignities, especially as by their offensive demand the ruin of the kingdom and the church in general would be imminent. The reason for our fear is, that you have not discussed this matter with other kingdoms, and have ordered some bishops and abbats, whenever the prebends are vacant, to reserve them for the benefit of the pope."

How the legate demanded two prebends of the prelates for the use of the church of Rome.

On receipt of the above message, the legate, who was endeavouring to induce all to agree to his demand, then for the first time showed the pope's warrant, in which he demanded two prebends from each of the cathedral churches, one from the chapter and another from the bishop; and in the same way in monasteries, where there were different portions, namely that of the abbat and of the convent, he

demanded two prebends, one from the abbat and another from the convent; from the convent he demanded the share of one monk, when an equal distribution of property was made, as the legate himself interpreted it, and the same also from the abbat. He then set forth the advantages which would arise from it, namely, that it would remove from the Roman church, which is the mother of all churches, the charge of avarice which is the root of all evil, as no one would be obliged to offer any presents for transacting business at the court of Rome, and no one would receive presents when offered.

The objections of the proctors to the above demands.

The proxy of the archbishop of Lyons, in reply to this demand, said, "My lord, we by no means wish to be without friends at your court, or to fail in bestowing of presents." The other proxies in like manner set forth the disadvantages which they would labour under, such as loss of property, advice, assistance, and other attentions, in this way: "For there will be continually in each diocese, or at least in a province, a messenger, a Roman agent, who will live not on his own means, but will make heavy exactions and procurations from the larger churches, and perhaps from the lesser ones, so that no one will remain with impunity, and the person called a proctor will discharge the duties of the legateship." They also said that disturbances in the chapters would ensue, for perhaps the pope would if he chose, order his proctor or some other person to be present on his behalf at the elections, who would disturb them; and thus, in course of time, the election would devolve on the court of Rome, which would appoint Romans, or those who were most devoted to them, in all, or at least in most of the churches; and thus there would be no party of native prelates or chiefs, inasmuch as there were many ecclesiastics who would pay more regard to the court of Rome than to the king or kingdom. They also added, that if a proportionate distribution of property was to be made, all that court would become rich, since they would receive more than the king himself; and thus the elders would become not only rich, but the richest of men. And since the worm of the rich is pride, the superiors would scarcely listen to complaints, but

would put them off without end, and their inferiors would write them unwillingly; the proof of which is evident, for even now they prolong business, after receiving presents and taking security; and thus justice would be endangered, and complainants would be obliged to die at the doors of their sovereign masters, the Romans. Also, since it is hardly possible for the fountain of avarice to be dried up, what they now do themselves they would then do by means of others, and would procure much larger gifts for their agents then than now, for small gifts are of no weight with avaricious rich men. Moreover, great wealth would put the Roman citizens beside themselves, and thus, such great seditions would arise amongst the different cliencies, that fears would be entertained for the destruction of the whole city, from which it is not altogether free even now. They also said, that although they who were present might pledge themselves to this, they would not bind down their successors, nor would hold the obligation as ratified. Lastly, they thus wound up the matter: "My lord, may the ardent affection of the whole church and of the holy Roman see move you, because, if this general oppression were to be carried into effect, we should fear that a general secession would be imminent, which may God avert." The legate, on hearing this, as though he were moved to good-will towards them, replied, that he had never agreed to this demand when at the court of Rome, and that he had received the letters after he had come to France, and that he was very sorry for these things; he also added, that he understood all his orders in this matter to be on the tacit understanding that the empire and other kingdoms should consent to it; he also said that he would make no further attempts in the matter till the prelates throughout the other kingdom should give their consent, which he did not believe could happen.

How master Otho returned unwillingly to Rome.

In Lent of the same year, Master Otho, the pope's messenger, was on his way to Northumberland to levy the aforesaid procuration-tax, and had reached Northampton, at which place there were brought to him letters from the pope, granted on the application of the archbishop of Canterbury; these letters contained an order for the said Otho imme-

diately at sight of them to come to Rome, as his influence there was entirely destroyed. After having glanced at these letters, he dejectedly threw them into the fire, and at once changing his plans, he left England in confusion, having ordered Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, as was expressed in the letters of the pope, to convoke the king and all the prelates of the kingdom, and to send to the pope their answer on the matter for which he, the said Otho, had been sent into England. When therefore he had turned his back on England, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury summoned all concerned in the business to a council at Westminster after Easter, and there he, in the presence of the king and the prelates of England who had all assembled at his summons, read the above-mentioned letters concerning the gift of presents to the Roman church; after they had heard the letters read and understood their purport, they all laughed amongst themselves at the greediness of the Romans who did not understand the moral—

> "It is not wealth but virtue that will make a man content;
> Nor needy is the man who's poor, but who on gain is bent."

The king then called the prelates and some of the nobles apart, and they gave the following answer to the archbishop: "These grants, which the pope advises us to agree to, concern the whole Christian community; and as we are situated in an extreme corner of the world, we will see how other kingdoms act in regard to these demands, and when we have their example our lord the pope shall find us more ready in our acquiescence with his demands than others." And with these words all were allowed to depart.

Of the great movement made against the count of Toulouse.

About the same time a crusade was preached throughout the French provinces in general by the Roman legate, that all who could carry arms, should assume the cross against the count of Toulouse and his followers, who were said to be infected with the foul stain of heresy. At his preaching, a great number of prelates as well as laity assumed the cross, being induced to do so more by fear of the French king or to obtain favour with the legate, than by their zeal for justice; for it seemed to many to be a sin to attack a true Christian, especially as all were aware that,

at the council lately held at Bourges, the said count had with many entreaties begged of the legate to go to each one of the cities in his territory to inquire into the articles of their faith, and had declared that if he, the legate, should find the inhabitants of any city to hold opinions contrary to the catholic faith, he himself would exact full satisfaction from them; and if he found any city in a state of disobedience, he would, as far as lay in his power, compel that city and its inhabitants to make atonement; and as for himself he offered, if he had sinned in any way, which he did not remember to have done, to give full satisfaction to God and the holy church, as a faithful Christian; and if the legate wished it, he would undergo a trial of his faith. All these offers the legate refused, nor could this catholic count find any favour with him without abandoning and forswearing his inheritance for himself and his heirs after him. The French king at the preaching of this legate assumed the cross, but would not proceed in this expedition unless he first obtained letters from the pope to the king of England, forbidding him, under penalty of excommunication, to annoy him the French king, or to make war against him concerning any territory he at present held, whether justly or unjustly, as long as he was engaged in the service of the pope and the church of Rome, in exterminating the heretic Albigenses, and their abettor and accomplice the count of Toulouse, but should aid him with assistance and advice in forwarding the cause of the faith. After this the French king and the legate appointed our Lord's ascension-day for all those who had assumed the cross to assemble, under penalty of excommunication, at Lyons, equipped with horses and arms, to follow them on the proposed expedition.

How the king of England altered his intention of crossing the sea.

The king of England in the meantime, who was ardently longing to invade the transmarine provinces, assembled his counsellors and read to them the letters of the pope which had been sent to him, and asked their advice as to what he ought to do in such a prohibition. All the prelates and nobles gave it as their opinion that the wished-for expedition should be put off until they should see the result of this difficult and expensive undertaking of the French king.

The English king was at that time very anxious about his brother Richard, who was then in Gascony carrying on the war, and longed for him to return home; but whilst the king was thus anxious about his brother and was wishing to assist him, messengers from his said brother came to him telling him that he was safe and well, and that every thing went on favourably with him. Amongst the king's counsellors at that time was one master William, surnamed Pierepunt, an astronomer, who boldly declared before the king that if the French king attempted to fulfil the expedition he had entered upon, he either would not return alive, or would suffer great loss of his property and of his followers. The king was overjoyed at hearing this, and agreed to the plan of his counsellors.

Of the death of Richard bishop of Durham.

In the same year Richard de Marisco, bishop of Durham, when hastening with a great number of noisy lawyers to be at London on the appointed day to carry on the disgraceful cause against the monks, lodged in the convent at Peterborough, where, after a rich repast, he retired at night to his couch; and early in the morning, just as the sun was rising, his clerks entered his room for the purpose of waking him, when they found him dead; they were all in the greatest consternation and kept his death a secret till the evening of that day, because he had died without confession and the viaticum; they then told the dreadful event to the prior and monks of the convent, and then hastily constructed a litter and carried his body away to the church at Durham for burial. This prelate died on the first day of May, after holding his bishopric about nine years.* A circumstance connected with him we think ought not to be passed over in silence, which was, that about two years before his death, the late king John appeared one night in a vision to a certain

* Paris inserts his epitaph as written by a monk of Durham :—

"Culmina qui cupi tis, laudes pompasque siti
Est sedata si si me pensare veli
Qui populos regi memores super omnia si
Quod mors immi tis, non parcit honore poti tis."
Vobis præposi similis fueram bene sci
Quod sum vos eri ad me currendo veni

monk of St. Alban's, who was then staying at Tynemouth; this monk was a familiar of the kings Richard and John, and in performing their business had been sent sometimes to Rome, sometimes to Scotland, and to a great many other places, and by his ready services had gained the favour of the said kings. Whilst this monk then was sleeping on his pallet, the before-named king stood before him in his royal robes of the cloth called imperial; the monk at once recognized him, and, recollecting that he was dead, asked him how he was. The king replied, "No one can be worse than I am, for these robes of mine, which you see are so burning and heavy that no living being could touch them on account of their heat or wear them on account of their weight without being killed; but I nevertheless hope, by the clemency and unspeakable grace of God, at some time to obtain mercy. I therefore earnestly beg of your brotherhood, to tell Richard Marsh, now bishop of Durham, that unless, before his death, he alters his wicked life, and amends it by proper repentance and atonement, a place is prepared for him in hell; and if he refuses to put faith in your words and my message, let him lay aside all doubt by these tokens, namely, that when we were alone together in a place well known to him, he proposed to me a plan, prejudicial alike to me and to himself, which was, that I should take from the Cistercian monks their crop of wool for a year, and that he proposed to me many other wicked designs, for which I now suffer unspeakable torments, which also await him. And if he should still hesitate to believe my message, let him recollect that at the same place and the same time he gave me a precious stone, which he had purchased at great expense." With these words the king disappeared, and the monk awoke in astonishment.

On the death of Richard bishop of Durham, the prior and monks of the convent asked leave of the king to elect a pastor, on which he proposed to them his chaplain Luke, and begged them to receive him as their pastor. The monks however replied that they would receive no one unless canonically elected; on which refusal the king declared with an oath that they should remain without a bishop for seven years, unless they would admit the aforesaid Luke to the pontifical dignity. The monks however, not thinking him a

person worthy of such a high station, by the common consent of the community, elected their clerk William, archdeacon of Worcester, a learned and honourable man, and presented him to the king; the latter however made some frivolous objections and refused to receive him, on which the monks sent some of their order to Rome, to obtain a confirmation of the election by the authority of the supreme pontiff. The king, when he heard of this, sent the bishop of Chester and the prior of Lantony to Rome, to oppose the monks and to frustrate their intentions; and as they continued the dispute for a long time, the matter continued undetermined.

Of the siege of Avignon by Louis the French king.

In the meantime our Lord's ascension arrived, on which day all the French crusaders had been ordered by the king and the legate to assemble without fail. The king, having made all the necessary preparations for the expedition at Lyons, proceeded on his journey with, as it seemed, an invincible army, followed by the legate, the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the churches; the army was computed to consist of about fifty thousand knights and horse-soldiers, besides foot-soldiers, who could hardly be counted. The legate then publicly excommunicated the count of Toulouse and all his abettors, and laid all his territory under an interdict. The king, as we have said, set out with shields and standards glittering, and his march was so awful that it looked like an army of castles in motion, and at length entered the province of the count of Toulouse. On the eve of Whit-Sunday they all reached Avignon, which was the first city in the count's dominion that they came to, and they determined to commence their attacks there, and thus to subdue the whole of the count's territory with the inhabitants of it from beginning to end. The king and the legate on their arrival there deceitfully asked leave of the inhabitants to pass through the city, saying that they had come thither with peaceable intentions, and asked a passage through the city only to make a short cut in their march. The citizens, however, after deliberating on this request, put no faith in their assertions, and said that they wanted to get into the city with treacherous intentions rather than to make a short cut. The king then becoming enraged, swore that

he would not leave the spot till he had taken the city, and immediately ordered his engines to be arranged round the place and a fierce assault to be made. A severe attack was then commenced, and petrariæ, cross-bows, and all other kinds of military weapons were now put in constant use. On the other hand the city, till that time unattempted by hostile troops, was well defended by trenches, walls, turrets, and ramparts outside, whilst within it was well garrisoned with knights and thousands of soldiers, and well supplied with horses, arms, collections of stones for missiles, engines and barriers, and was well stored with provisions, and did not therefore fear the assaults of the besiegers; for the defenders of the city bravely hurled on them stone for stone, weapon for weapon, spear for spear, and dart for dart, inflicting deadly wounds on the besieging French.

Of the mortality and famine amongst the besiegers.

After the siege had been carried on for a length of time, the provisions of the besiegers failed them and numbers of the troops died; for the count of Toulouse, like a skilful soldier, had, before the arrival of the French, removed out of their way all kinds of provisions, together with the old men, women, children, and the horses and cattle, so that they were deprived of all kinds of sustenance. And it was not only the men who suffered, but also the horses and cattle of the army perished of hunger; for the count had caused all the fields throughout the district to be ploughed up, so that there was no supply of fodder for the cattle except what had been brought from the French provinces; therefore large bodies of troops were obliged to leave the camp to seek for provisions for the men and food for the horses, and on these excursions they took many towns which opposed them, and they often suffered great loss from attacks by the count of Toulouse, who with his troops lay in ambuscade for them. At this siege the French were exposed to death in many ways, from the mortality which was raging dreadfully amongst their men and horses, from the deadly weapons and destructive stones of the besieged who bravely defended the city, and from the general famine which raged principally amongst the poorer classes, who had neither food or money. In addition to the other miseries, which assailed the army without inter-

mission, there arose from the corpses of the men and horses, which were dying in all directions, a number of large black flies, which made their way inside the tents, pavilions, and awnings, and affected the provisions and liquor; and being unable to drive them away from their cups and plates, they caused sudden death amongst them. The king and the legate were in dismay, for if such a great and powerful expedition were to return, with their purpose unaccomplished, the French as well as the Romans would incur much taunting. The chiefs of the army, then, to whom the delay seemed long on account of such numbers of deaths, begged the inferior ranks as well as their chiefs to attack the city; on this such a multitude of troops marched against the city, that, in marching over a bridge which was built over the Rhone, the bridge was broken, either by the citizens, or by the weight of the troops who were fighting there, and about three thousand men were precipitated into the rapid stream. Then there arose a cry of exultation from the citizens, but dismay and confusion pervaded the French army. After this the citizens, watching their opportunity, sallied from the city one day in great force when the French were sitting at table eating and drinking, and rushing on them when unprepared for them, slew two thousand of the French, and then returned into the city without loss to themselves, and these sallies they continually made against them. The French king was in dismay, and ordered the slain to be thrown into the Rhone, to avoid the stench, for with such a number of dead bodies they had no other burial place. They then made a wide deep trench between them and the city, and the operations of the siege were carried on at a greater distance from it. The legate and the whole assembly of prelates during this time, having no other means of punishment, excommunicated the count of Toulouse, the citizens, and all the inhabitants of the province.

The death of Louis the French king.

At this time Louis king of the French, to escape the pestilence which was committing great ravages in the camp, retired to a monastery called Montpensier, near the besieged town, to await the capture of the city; at that place Henry count of Champagne came to him, having been employed forty days in the siege, and, according to the French custom, asked

leave to return home, and on the king's refusing his permission, he said that having served his forty days of duty he was not bound to, nor would he, stay any longer. The king then, roused to anger, declared with an oath, that if the count went away in this way he would ravage his territory with fire and sword. The count then, as report goes, being in love with his queen, caused some poison to be administered to the king, and being urged on by the impulses of desire he could not abide longer delay. After the departure of the count, as he had said he would, the king was taken dangerously ill, and, the poison working its way to his vitals, he was reduced to the point of death; some however assert that he died not by poison but of dysentery. On the death of the king, Roman the legate of the apostolic see, who was present at the siege, and the prelates his secret advisers, who were also there, concealed the death of the king until the city should be surrendered; for if the siege were to be now raised, a great reproach would be cast on them. The legate and the prelates, therefore, who were at the siege, pretended that the king was detained by severe illness, but said that in the opinion of his physicians he would soon be convalescent, and then exhorted the chiefs of the different battalions to attack the city with all their power. They preserved the king's body with large quantities of salt, and, burying his entrails in the convent, they ordered his body to be wrapped in waxed linen and bulls' hides; it was then placed in safe custody in the convent, and the legate and the prelates then returned to the siege. However finding that they gained no advantage, but were entirely failing owing to different misfortunes, the legate, by the advice of the elders in the camp, sent a message into the city asking them, on receipt of security, for safe conduct to and from the city, to send twelve of the elders of the city to the legate as soon as possible to make terms of peace.

How the city of Avignon was taken by the French by treachery.

After hostages had been given for their safety, twelve citizens came out to a conference with the legate, when, after a long discussion about peace, he earnestly advised the citizens to surrender themselves saving their persons, their property and possessions, and all their liberties, to the utmost

extent that they had ever enjoyed them. To this the messengers replied, that they would on no account surrender themselves to live under the dominion of the French, whose pride and fierce insolence they had often experienced. After much disputing on both sides, the legate at length asked permission to go into the city with the prelates who were present, to put the faith of the inhabitants to the test, declaring on oath that he had prolonged the siege only to provide for the safety of their souls; he also added, that the cry of infidelity, which had gained power in the city, had reached the pope, and he therefore desired to know whether they supported this cry by their actions. The citizens then, trusting to the promises of the legate, and having no suspicions of treachery, after an oath had been taken on both sides, on the above-named condition, gave permission to the legate and the prelates to enter the city without any others, and in company with them. But, as had been pre-arranged, as soon as the gates were open, the French treacherously, and in disgraceful disregard of the oath which had been made by the legate, forced their way into the city and made prisoners of the inhabitants, and having thus treacherously gained a victory they destroyed the towers and walls of this noble place. The legate then consigned the city to the charge of the French, and raising the siege he ordered the body of the king to be carried to Paris by the priests assembled, to be buried amongst his ancestors as was the custom with kings. The king died, as they say, in the month of September, but they concealed his death for a month or more. Of those who went to the siege with the king, twenty-two thousand died at the place, including those who were slain and drowned, as well as those who died of the pestilence or by natural death, and thus left great cause of tears and sorrow to their wives and children; hence it seems clearly evident that an unjust war had been undertaken, of which covetousness was the cause rather than the wish to exterminate heresy.

Of the coronation of Louis king of the French, son of the late Louis.

On the death then of Louis the French king, his queen the lady Blanche, summoned the archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of the churches, as well as the nobles who owed allegiance to the crown, to assemble at Paris on the

thirtieth of November to crown Louis the son of the late king. The principal party of nobles before the appointed day asked, according to the French custom, for the release of all prisoners, and especially Ferrand count of Flanders, and Reginald count of Boulogne, who, for subverting the liberties of the kingdom, had been now kept in close confinement for twelve years. Some moreover demanded the restoration to them of their lands, which Louis the father, and Philip the grandfather, of the young king, had for a long time unjustly retained possession of. They also added that no one in the French kingdom ought to be deprived of his rights unless by a decision of twelve peers, and no one ought to be made war on without a year's previous notice; and as soon as all these amendments had been made, they would not then delay coming to the coronation. The queen, however, fearing that delay would cause danger, by the advice of the legate, summoned the clergy of the kingdom and the few nobles that she could muster, and on the day of St. Andrew the apostle, caused her son, a boy scarcely ten years old, to be crowned king. The duke of Burgundy however absented himself from the coronation, as did also the count of Champagne, the count de Bar, the count of St. Paul, and the count of Brittany, and, in short, almost all the nobles who owed duty to the crown, and they made ready for fighting more than for peace and good fellowship.*

The English king, on hearing of this disagreement amongst the aforesaid nobles, sent Walter, archbishop of York, and the knight Philip de Albeney to the transmarine provinces, together with other special messengers, to the nobles of Normandy, Anjou, Brittany, and Poictou, who were bound to be under allegiance to him, and demanded admission amongst

* Paris adds, "In the meantime an unmentionable and sinister report was spread abroad that the legate had behaved in an improper manner to the lady Blanche; but it is wicked to believe this, because his rivals spread this report, but a good disposition alway puts the best interpretation on doubtful circumstances. On Sunday, the 4th of October in this year, St. Francis took his flight to heaven at the city of Assise where he was born, at St. Mary de Portiuncula, where he himself founded the order of Minorites, having passed twenty years, from the time when he became a perfect follower of Christ, following the mode of life and the steps of the apostles; and after having thus gained the glory of God, and receiving the reward of his good works, he was buried in the said city, and in the following year, namely 1227, his life, morals, and rule, are more fully set forth.

them; at the same time making large promises if they would receive him in good faith.

Of the death of Falcasius, and the presage of that event.

In this same year Falcasius, who had been banished from England, when on his return there, after arranging matters at the court of Rome, closed his wicked life at St. Cyr. This iniquitous robber, Falcasius, had, during his lifetime, cruelly pillaged the town of St. Alban's, slain some of the inhabitants, made prisoners of others, and had extorted a large sum of money from the abbat as well as from the town, to save the monastery, convent, and town from being burned by him; soon after this he happened to go to St. Alban's again, to have an interview with Pandulph bishop of Norwich; the latter, on seeing him, in the hearing of the abbat himself and many others, asked him if he had in any way offended St. Alban. On Falcasius replying that he had not, the bishop added, "I asked you the question, because one night lately, whilst sleeping on my couch, I in a dream saw myself in the church of St. Alban's, standing before the great altar, and, on turning round after paying my devotions, I saw you standing in the monk's choir, and on looking upwards I saw a large heavy stone fall from the tower on your head with such force, that your head and your whole body were crushed, and you disappeared suddenly as though you had sunk into the ground. Wherefore I advise you, if you have given the least offence to the martyr, to make proper amends to him and his followers, before the stone does fall on your head." But afterwards, that wretch when he asked pardon of the abbat and monks for his offences, expressly declared that he would not restore any of the property he had carried off; therefore it was evident that such an atonement as that was of no effect; for "the sin is not forgiven unless the stolen property is restored." He also felt the fall of the stone* on his head,

* Paris amplifies this passage as follows:—"Again when the abbat complained of the lake, which he had formed at Luiton, to his great injury and loss, because the water, which would fall on his crops in the coming autumn would be all drawn away from them, this wicked Falcasius replied that he was sorry he had not waited till all his corn was stored in the barns, so that the water, when it overflowed, might have destroyed it all. He did indeed feel the stone descend on his head when, after having beheld his brother and friends hung at Bedford a short time afterwards, he himself went forth into exile a poor man, and now closed his life by a miserable

when, a short time after this at Bedford, his brothers and friends having been already hung, he was himself sent into exile a poor man, and now closed his life by a wretched death. In the same year too died the bishops, Benedict of Rochester, and Pandulph of Norwich; Pandulph was succeeded by Thomas de Blundeville, a clerk of the king's treasury, who was consecrated by Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, on the Sunday next before Christmas.

Of the extortion of money by the English king.

A.D. 1227. King Henry kept Christmas at Reading, and in the same Christmas week, to the grief of many, died William earl of Essex, a brave young man, and one lavish in his generosity. The king then went to London and accused the citizens of having, to his loss, given five thousand marks of silver to Louis the lately deceased French king, on his departure from England; he therefore, by the advice of quarrelsome counsellors, compelled them to pay him the like amount. He moreover took from them the fifteenth part of their moveables as well as of their whole substance, the same as had been formerly granted to him by all throughout England. He also took from the inhabitants of Peterborough and the Northumbrians twelve hundred pounds, besides the fifteenth part, which all paid throughout the kingdom in general. Even the religious men and beneficed clergy were obliged to give up the fifteenth part of all their goods, as well of ecclesiastic as lay property; and an appeal to the pope was of no use, for, the order of things being changed, archbishops and bishops, by authority of the pope and the church's censure, compelled those to pay whom the lay power could not, and they were thus deprived of all relief.

How the king annulled the charters of liberties, at a council held at Oxford.

In the month of February in the same year, the king assembled a council at Oxford, and before all present he de-

death. And oh, that that formidable stone in hell may not still crush him! He died poisoned, having surfeited himself with strongly poisoned fish; after taking his supper he lay down to sleep, and was discovered dead, black, stinking, and rotten, and without receiving the viaticum, or any rites, and was at once ignobly buried; and thus reaping the fruits of his works, he miserably closed his sinful life, unlamented; or, if any tears were shed for him, they were dry ones.

clared himself of legitimate age to be released from wardship, and to take the chief management of the kingly duties. And thus the former pupil and ward of William Marshall during his life, and after his death of Peter bishop of Winchester, now, by the advice of Hubert de Burgh justiciary of England, freed himself from all counsel and restraint of the said bishop and his friends, who had formerly been, as it were, his school-masters, and dismissed them all from his court and from all connection with him. At the same council too the said king annulled and cancelled the charters of the liberties of the forests in all the counties of England, after they had been in practice throughout the whole of England for two years; and as a reason for this he alleged that the charters had been granted, and the liberties written and signed, whilst he was under the care of a guardian, and had no power over his own body or his seal, and therefore as it had been an unreasonable usurpation it could no longer stand good. On this a great murmur arose amongst the council, and all decided that the justiciary was the author of this trouble; for he afterwards became so intimate with the king that all the other councillors of the kingdom were thought nothing of. Orders were then given to the religious men and others, who wished to enjoy their liberties, to renew their charters under the new seal of the king, as they knew that he held the old charters to be invalid; and for this renewal a tax was levied, not according to the means of each of them, but they were compelled to pay whatever the justiciary determined on.

How the king's messengers who had been sent into France returned, without effecting their purpose.

In the same year, pope Honorius died on the eighteenth of March, and was succeeded by Gregory bishop of Ostia. In the same year about Easter, the archbishop of York, the bishop of Carlisle, and Philip de Albeney, the king's messengers, returned to England from the continent. They had been sent to the nobles of those countries, who by right of old owed allegiance to the king of England; and they had been ordered by the king to induce them by soft speeches and large promises to receive him the said king, and to acknowledge him as their natural lord. But, not to prolong the account uselessly, before the king's messengers had

arrived in those provinces, the French king, by the interference of his mother, had made peace with the barons there and received their allegiance, after lavishly distributing amongst them the lands and castles of the royal domain, thus making friends of the "mammon of unrighteousness." The count of Brittany, whose daughter the said messengers demanded in marriage for the English king, replied that he had made a treaty of peace with the king of the French, which he would not violate on any account. The messengers therefore returned and told king Henry what they had done. In the month of May of the same year, Richard the king's brother arrived in England, and was received with much joy by the king and nobles. And about the same time Henry de Sanfort archdeacon of Chester, who had been canonically elected bishop of Rochester, received consecration at the hands of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury. On the fifth of February in the same year Hubert, justiciary of England, was presented by the king with the sword of the county of Kent.

How the barons rose against the king.

On the ninth of July in the same year, a disagreement sprang up between the king of England and his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the cause of which was as follows; king John, the father of the present king, had, during his lifetime, given to Walleran, a German, then castellan of Berkhamstead, a certain manor belonging to the earldom of Cornwall. Earl Richard, who had lately arrived from the continent, on hearing that that manor belonged to his earldom, ordered the town to be seized on his behalf, until he could find out what right Walleran had to it, and when Walleran was told of this he came with all haste to the king, and laid a complaint against his brother Richard. The king then sent letters to his brother, ordering him immediately on receipt of them to give up the manor to Walleran; Richard however, after reading the letters, hastened to the king, and without any advocate, pleaded alike reasonably and eloquently, that the manor belonged to his right, wherefore he was prepared to abide by the decision of the king's court and the nobles of the kingdom. The king and the justiciary were highly indignant at hearing him mention the nobles, and the king, in an imperious and indiscreet tone, ordered his

brother immediately to give the manor up to Walleran, or to leave the kingdom never to return. To this the earl replied that he would neither give up his right to Walleran, nor would he leave the kingdom without the decision of his peers, and with these words he directly proceeded to his own house. The justiciary then, fearing that the earl would disturb the peace of the kingdom, advised the king, as it is reported, to send some armed knights to seize his brother in his sleep on the next night, and to consign him to close custody, that he the king might enjoy lasting peace; earl Richard was, however, forewarned of this by a friend, and secretly hurried from the city with only one knight in his company, and did not draw rein till he arrived at Reading. His soldiers followed him in the morning, and found their lord safe and sound at a place agreed on with them; the earl then took his way towards Marlborough, at which place he met William Marshall, his friend and sworn ally, to whom he told all that had happened to him. The two together then went to the earl of Chester and duly related all these circumstances, they then swore to be true to one another, and sending letters abroad they collected a large army; and in a short time there assembled at Stamford, equipped with horses and arms, the earls Ralph of Chester, William Marshall, Richard the king's brother, Gilbert of Gloucester, William of Warrenne, Henry of Hereford, William earl Ferrers, and William of Warwick, besides a great number of barons and a large body of soldiers; they then with haughty threats gave the king notice at once to repair the injury he had inflicted on his brother; but the blame of this offence they imputed not to the king, but to the justiciary. They moreover insolently demanded that the king would, without delay, restore to them, under his seal, the charters of the liberties of the forests, which he had lately annulled at Oxford; otherwise they would by force of arms compel him to give them adequate satisfaction in these matters. The king on receiving this message, ordered them to meet him at Northampton the 3rd of August, that he might then grant due justice to them. The parties then assembled at the above city on the appointed day, and the king, at the urgent request of the nobles, gave to his brother, earl Richard, the whole of his mother's dowry, adding to it all the lands which belonged to the domain of the count of

Brittany in England, and all the possessions of the lately deceased count of Boulogne; and after this they all returned peaceably to their homes.

In this same year, a certain hermit dwelling in the Alps beyond sea was one day, as was his custom, reading his psalter, and on his coming to the psalm commencing with "Let God arise," he found that psalm erased, and in the place of it these words written:—"Roman shall rise against Roman, and Roman shall be put in the place of Roman; the rods of shepherds shall become light, and there shall be comfort in rest; the diligent shall be disturbed and shall pray, and in the tears of the multitude shall there be rest; the lowly shall sport with the madman, and extinguishing favour shall be soothed; a new flock shall creep to the tomb, and those who are cleansed in the woods shall be fed with slight nourishment; the hope of the confident and the rest of the consolers is frustrated in the assurance on which they depended; those who walk in darkness shall return to the light, and the things which were different shall be consoled by things different; no small cloud shall begin to rain, because the changer of the age is born; favour shall arise against the simple, and simplicity shall breathe attenuated; honour shall be turned to dishonour, and the joy of numbers into grief." The interpretation of this prophecy, ensuing events will declare more clearly than the light, if they are carefully searched into.

How a great stir was made at this time to assist in the crusade.

In the same year at the end of June, a great stir was made to aid the cross by all the crusaders throughout the world, who were so numerous, that from the kingdom of England alone forty thousand tried men were said to have marched, besides women and old men. This was declared by master Hubert, one of the preachers in England, who asserted that he had in fact set down as many as that in his roll. All these, and especially the poor, on whom the divine pleasure generally rests, entered upon the crusade with such devotion that they, without doubt, obtained favour with the Almighty, as was shown by manifest indications; for on the night of the nativity of St. John the Baptist, the Lord showed himself in the sky as when crucified; for on a most shining cross there appeared the body of our Lord pierced with nails and

with a lance, and sprinkled with blood, so that the Saviour of the world by this showed his faithful followers in the world that he was appeased by the devotion of his people. This vision was seen by numbers, and amongst others by a trader, who was carrying fish for sale near the town of Uxbridge; being struck with astonishment at the strange apparition, and awed by the brightness of it, he was, as it were, lost in ecstasy and stood in amaze, not knowing what to do. His son, however, who was his only companion, comforted his father, and asked him to stop his cart and give praise to God for having condescended to show them such a vision. On the next day, and indeed every day after, wherever he exposed his fish for sale, he publicly told every one of the heavenly vision he had seen, and added his son's evidence to his own; many put faith in their story, but some disbelieved it, till they were induced to believe it by the number of visions which appeared about the same time to many in various places; and in these the crucified One himself deigned to open the heavens and to show to the incredulous his wonderful glory with immense splendour. Amongst others who went from England to join in the crusade were the bishops Peter, of Winchester, and William of Exeter, who had now fulfilled their vow of pilgrimage for nearly five years.

Of the progress of the crusade at this time.

How the business of the cross prospered in this crusade will plainly appear by the following letter which pope Gregory sent to all the faithful followers of Christ; "Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all faithful Christians, greeting, &c. Be it known to the whole community of you that we have received letters from the country beyond sea to the following purport:—Gerald, by the divine mercy, patriarch of Jerusalem, P. archbishop of Cæsarea, the humble and unworthy legate of the apostolic see, and N. archbishop of Narbonne, P. bishop of Winchester, and W. bishop of Exeter, the masters of the hospitallers, of the knights of the temple, and of the Teutonic order of hospitallers, to all to whom these letters may come, health in our Lord Jesus Christ. We are compelled to inform the whole community of you of our most urgent necessities, and of our progress in the cause of Jesus Christ, who shed his

blood for all of the true faith. It is with much fervour of mind and shedding of tears, that his serene highness the emperor did not, as we all hoped, come into Syria in the month of August last past as he had promised. On this the pilgrims from those districts, hearing that the said emperor had not arrived in the aforesaid passage, amounting to more than forty thousand strong men, returned in the same ships as they had come, putting their trust in man rather than God. After their departure there remained here nearly eight hundred knights, who continued to cry with one consent, "Either let us break the truce or let us all depart together;" and they have been detained here not without great difficulty, because the duke of Limburg, a man of noble birth, has been appointed to command the army in the place of the emperor. A council was therefore held, especially of the hospitallers, templars, and of the German hospitallers, and it was agreed that the duke aforesaid should act as seemed most expedient for the cause of Christianity and the Holy Land; the duke then, having asked and received advice on these points, appeared on a day specially appointed for the purpose before us and some of the nobles of that country, and there openly declared that he wished to break the truce, and asked the assistance and advice of those present, as to how he could proceed most advantageously in that intention. And when the duke and his counsellors were told that it would be dangerous to break the truce, and, as it was confirmed by oath, dishonourable as well, they replied that his holiness the pope had excommunicated all those crusaders who would not join in this crusade, although he knew that the truce was to continue for two years more; and by this they understood that he did not wish the truce to be kept, and, besides this, the pilgrims would not remain there idle. There were also many who said that, if the pilgrims were to go away, the Saracens would, after their departure, attack them, notwithstanding the truce. Some also thought that Coradin was engaged in a fierce war with the rulers of Haman, Camyle, and Aleppo, and on that account was more than usually afraid of the truce being broken by the Christians; and if the truce were broken, they thought that Coradin, on seeing himself pressed by war on all sides, would probably offer terms of peace. At length after a long discussion on these matters, all unanimously agreed to march

to the holy city, which Jesus Christ consecrated with his own blood; and that the approach might be more easy, it was unanimously determined to fortify in the first place Cæsarea, and then Joppa, which they hoped undoubtedly to be able to do before the passage of the ensuing August, and then they would be able in the following winter to set out joyfully for the house of the Lord, under his protection. This determination was made public outside the city of Acre on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, in the presence of all the pilgrims, and there they were solemnly enjoined to be ready on the day after All Saints' day, to set out towards Cæsarea; the pilgrims, who did not know of the plan which the army had determined on, on hearing this, after strengthening the above-mentioned fortresses, were suddenly seized with such a great desire to proceed to Jerusalem that they wept abundantly, and they felt so strengthened by the grace of the Holy Spirit, that each man felt as if he could overcome a thousand enemies, and two could conquer ten thousand. We need not therefore use many entreaties in urging it on you, when such pressing necessity speaks for itself and demands immediate assistance; for delay brings danger, and speed will be productive of the greatest advantages. The blood of Christ calls from this country on each and every one; this small and humble, though devout, army entreats for speedy assistance, hoping and trusting in the Lord that this business, commenced in all humility, may be by his favour brought to a happy termination. Do you, therefore, each and all of you, exert yourselves to assist the holy land, since this may be considered the common cause both of your faith and of the whole Christian people. And we, under God's care and guidance, will not cease to promote the cause, confidently hoping, that it may prosper in the hands of the faithful who persevere with confidence. Given at the Lateran, the 23rd of December, in the first year of our pontificate."

How the crusade was impeded through the absence of the emperor.

In the mean time the emperor Frederic, who with other crusaders had, under penalty of excommunication by the pope in the before-mentioned passage, determined to fulfil his vow of pilgrimage, went to the Mediterranean sea, and embarked with a small retinue; but after pretending to make

for the Holy Land for three days, he said that he was seized with a sudden illness, so that he could not at the risk of his life any longer endure the roughness of the sea and an unhealthy climate, therefore he altered his course, and after three days' sail landed at the port where he had embarked; and on this, the pilgrims from different parts of the world, who had preceded him to the Holy Land in hopes of having him as a leader and protector in fighting the enemies of the cross, were struck with consternation at hearing that the emperor had not come, as he had promised in the passage of August, and therefore, embarking in the ships in which they had sailed to the Holy Land, they returned home to the number of about forty thousand armed men; and this conduct of the emperor redounded much to his disgrace, and to the injury of the whole business of the crusade. It was on this account, in the opinion of many, that the Saviour of the world showed himself, as above related, to the Christians suspended on the cross, pierced with nails and sprinkled with blood, as if laying a complaint before each and every Christian, of the injury inflicted on him by the emperor.

Of the death of the brother, who first instituted the order of the Minorites.

About that time a brother of the Minorite order, named Francis, who was said to be the founder and master of that order, departed this life at Rome. This said Francis was distinguished for the nobility of his birth, but more distinguished by the correctness of his morals. He from his boyhood began to reflect on the attractions of this life and the mutability of worldly things, and constantly to consider how vain and transitory are all temporal things; for he had learnt in books and by the theological studies which he had pursued from his childhood, till he had acquired perfect knowledge of it, how to despise the mutability of perishable things, and to pant after the heavenly kingdom. But, the more completely to carry out the resolves of his mind, he gave up his large paternal inheritance and all the pleasures of life, assumed the cowl and sackcloth, laid aside his shoes, mortified his flesh with watchings and fasting, and choosing a voluntary poverty, he determined to have nothing at all of his own; for bodily sustenance he only took what he received from those of the faith by way of charity, and, after partaking

of a slight meal, if any thing remained, he put nothing away for the morrow, but gave it to the poor. He slept in his clothes by night, having a mat for a bed, and a stone for a pillow, and for covering by night he used only the cowl and cloak in which he walked by day. In this manner walking barefooted in the preparation of the gospel, and embracing the life of an apostle, he fulfilled the duties of preaching on Sundays and feast days in the parochial churches and other religious assemblies of the Christians; and the more he refrained from satisfying the desires of the flesh and from good living, the more powerful impression he made on the minds of his hearers. This man of God, Francis, in order to carry his wholesome purpose into effect, had committed to writing the above mentioned articles with some others which are most strictly observed by the brothers of that order till the present time, and presented them to pope Innocent when sitting in the consistory court at Rome, asking at the same time for a confirmation of his petition by the apostolic see.

How the pope confirmed the aforesaid order by a privilege.

The pope gazed fixedly on the ill-favoured mien of the aforesaid brother, his mournful countenance, lengthened beard, his untrimmed hair, and his dirty, overhanging brow, and when he heard his petition read which it was so difficult and impracticable to carry out, despised him, and said, "Go, brother, go to the pigs, to whom you are more fit to be compared than to men, and roll with them, and to them preach the rules you have so ably set forth." Francis, on hearing this bowed his head and went away, and having found some pigs he rolled with them in the mud till he had covered his body and clothes with dirt from head to foot; he then, returning to the consistory, showed himself to the pope, and said, "My lord, I have done as you ordered me; grant me now, I beseech you, my petition." The pope was astonished when he saw what he had done, and felt sorry for having treated him with contempt, at the same time giving orders that he should wash himself and come back to him again; he therefore cleansed himself from his dirt, and returned directly to the pope. The pope, being much moved, then granted his petition, and, after confirming his office of preaching as well as the order he applied for, by a privilege from the church of Rome, he dismissed him with a blessing.

This servant of God, Francis, then built an oratory in the city of Rome, where he might reap the fruits of his contemplations, and, like a noble warrior, engage in battle against evil spirits and carnal vices.

Of the preaching of the aforesaid brother, and his wonderful death.

Francis then devoutly fulfilled the duties of his preaching throughout all Italy and other kingdoms, and especially in the city of Rome; but the Roman people, the enemies of all righteousness, so despised the preaching of this man of God, that they would not hear him or attend at his holy exhortations. At length, as they continued for a long time to despise his preaching, he severely rebuked their hardness of heart; "I much grieve," said he, "for your wretchedness, because you not only reject me as a servant of Christ, but also despise him in me, since I have preached the gospel of the Redeemer of the world to you; I therefore call on him to bear witness to your desolation, who is my faithful witness in heaven, and go forth from the city to your shame to preach the gospel of Christ to the brute beasts and to the birds of the air, that they may hear the life-giving words of God, and be obedient to them." He then went out of the city, and in the suburbs found crows sitting amongst the dead bodies, kites, magpies, and several other birds flying about in the air, and said to them, "I command you in the name of Jesus Christ, whom the Jews crucified, and whose preaching the wretched Romans have despised, to come to me and hear the word of God, in the name of Him who created you and preserved Noah in the ark from the waters of the deluge." All that flock of birds then drew near and surrounded him, and having ordered silence, all kinds of chirping was hushed, and those birds listened to the words of that man of God for the space of half a day without moving from the spot, and the whole time looked in the face of the preacher. This wonderful circumstance was discovered by the Romans passing and repassing to and from the city, and when the same had been repeated by the man of God to the assembled birds, the clergy, with a crowd of people, went out from the city and brought back the man of God with great reverence; and he then by the oil of his supplicatory preaching softened their fruitless and obdurate hearts and changed them for the better. His fame then began to be

spread abroad throughout all Italy, so that many of noble birth, following his example, left the world and its vices and desires, and submitted themselves to his teaching. This order of the brethren above mentioned soon increased throughout the world, and they dwelt in cities and castles, and went forth in those days by sevens and tens preaching the word of life through the towns and in the parochial churches, and even amongst the field labourers they planted the roots of virtue, and offered to the Lord abundance of fruit even with usury; and it was not only amongst the Christians that they scattered the seed of the word of God and the dew of the heavenly doctrine, but they also went to the provinces of the Gentiles and Saracens, bearing testimony to the truth, and, by their means many of those nations attained the glory of martyrdom.

Of the assembling of the people at the death of the aforesaid brother.

At length, after this friend of God, Francis, had, with his brethren, preached the gospel of peace for many years in the city of Rome and the adjacent country, and like a good usurer had restored the talent entrusted to him to the Giver with interest many fold, the hour came for him to depart from this world to Christ, and as a reward for his labours to receive the crown of life which God has promised to those who love him. On the fifteenth day before his death there appeared wounds in his hands and feet, continually emitting blood, such as appeared in the Saviour of the world on the cross when he was crucified by the Jews. His right side also was laid open and sprinkled with blood, so that the secret recesses of his heart were plainly visible. On this being known great crowds of people of both sexes flocked to him who were astonished at such a strange circumstance; amongst others cardinals came to him and inquired what the vision meant. To this he replied, "This vision is shown in me that you, to whom I have preached the mysteries of the cross, may believe in Him who, for the preservation of the world, suffered on the cross the wounds which you here see, and that you may know that I am a servant of him whom I have preached to you, crucified, dead, and restored to life, and that, all doubt being removed, you may persevere in this faith to the end; these wounds in me which you now see open and bloody, will, as soon as I am dead, become healed

and closed, so that they will appear like the rest of my flesh;" and immediately without any bodily pain or suffering he was released from the flesh, and resigned his spirit to his Creator. After his death no marks of the wounds appeared either in his side, hands, or feet. This man of God was buried in his oratory, and the Roman pontiff admitted him into the number of saints, and ordered the day of his death to be observed as a solemn feast.*

Of certain new laws made by the king of England.

A.D. 1228. King Henry kept Christmas with all due solemnity at York, and immediately afterwards set out by the direct road for London. In this journey he found a deficiency in the measures of corn, wine, and beer, on which he broke some and burnt others, and substituting larger ones, he ordered the bread to be made of heavier weight, and that those who broke this law should be heavily fined.

In the month of January of the same year Roger de Theoney, a brave knight of noble birth, closed his life near Reading; this noble's elder brother, Ralph, who was then absent, desired to converse with him before he died, and came with all haste to him; but before he arrived his much beloved brother was dead, and he found neither voice nor sense in him. Ralph, who was in great grief for the death of his brother, then began with tears and cries to adjure his brother although he was dead, out of brotherly affection to speak to him; and after reiterating his cries and entreaties in the presence of his soldiers and many others, he said that he would never take food again, unless he could converse with him. The dead man on this sat up in the bed, and severely reproached his brother for disturbing his spirit, and having recalled him to the body again. "I have already," said he, "seen the punishments inflicted on the wicked, and

* Paris gives some long letters of the pope as to how far the powers of the Minorite order were to extend; the method of receiving brothers into the order; stating their holy duties and how they are to live; forbids them to receive money; as to the manner of performing their duties; forbids them to have any property of their own; fixes the penance to be imposed on them; the election of a general minister and the chapter at Whitsuntide; forbids any of the brothers to preach without leave from the diocesan, and concludes with an admonition, and forbidding them to enter the convents of nuns, and instructs those who go amongst the infidels how they are to proceed.

the joys of the blessed, and with my own eyes have I also beheld the great tortures to which I, wretch that I am, am doomed. Woe, woe, is me, why did I employ myself in tournaments and love them so devotedly?" His brother then asked him, "And will you not be saved?" To this he replied, "I shall be saved, for I have done one deed in honour of the perpetual virginity of the blessed Mary, by which I shall obtain salvation." Ralph then said, "Cannot the torments to which you are doomed, as you tell me, be lessened by good works, masses, and alms?" To which Roger replied, "They can." "Then," said Ralph, "I faithfully promise you that I will, for the salvation of us and our ancestors, build a religious house, and, when I have filled it with monks, they shall continually call on the Lord to release your spirit as well as those of our ancestors." Roger then said, "I am in great need of what you promise, but I do not want you to promise any thing which you do not mean to fulfil;" and then, taking leave of his brother and the others who stood by, he again breathed forth his spirit. His brother Ralph then in the same year built a convent in the west of England, and placed in it some monks of the Cistercian order, and endowed the place with estates and large benefits.

Of the translation of Richard bishop of Salisbury to Durham.

In the same year, the election of master William Scott bishop elect of Durham having been annulled, Richard bishop of Salisbury was elected and translated to that bishopric; and on his promotion the canons of Salisbury elected master Robert Bingeham, their fellow canon, to be their bishop, and the pastor of their souls. In the same year a dispute between the monks of Coventry and the canons of Lichfield, about the election of a bishop, was decided by a definitive decree of the church of Rome, by which it was arranged that from that time they should elect the bishops alternately, the monks should elect the first, and on his death the canons should elect the next; on the condition, however, that the prior of Coventry should always have the first vote in the election. This decree seemed very much to lessen the privileges of the monks, who till this time had always elected the bishops without asking the consent of the canons. In this year too the emperor of Constantinople paid the debt of nature, leaving as his heir a young son who was not fit to assume the imperial dignity.

Of the sentence passed upon the emperor.

About that time, pope Gregory, who had, as it seemed to him, permitted the emperor's contumacy and contempt of Christ to go too long unpunished, at length, that he might not seem like a dog unable to bark, by the advice of his cardinals excommunicated the said emperor, and by apostolic letters ordered this sentence to be published in the various parts of the world. Amongst others whom he ordered to make it public was Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, to whom he wrote as follows:—"Gregory, bishop, to Stephen archbishop of Canterbury, greeting, &c. The large vessel of Peter is placed on the wide ocean, or rather is exposed to the storms and billows so continually, that it sometimes happens that its pilots and rowers can scarcely breathe amidst the violence of the deluging showers; for if at one time it is making for port with full sail before a fair wind, the wind suddenly rushes on it from an opposite quarter and, driven on by Him who breathes forth flames of fire, the ship is carried into deep water and to the wide ocean, where it is surrounded by the billows, and yet it is not overwhelmed, for the Lord, who sits in it, is awaked by the cries of his disciples, puts the stormy spirits to flight, commands the sea and the winds, and there is a calm. Four gusts are attacking this ship; for the infidel host of pagans impiously retain possession of the famous land which is rendered holy by the blood of Christ; the fury of tyrants, plundering worldly possessions, destroys justice and tramples under foot the liberty of the church; the madness of heretics endeavours to rend asunder the garment of Christ, and to subvert the sacrament of the faith; and the deceitful perversity of false brethren and sons shakes the bowels and rends the side of their mother. And thus, outside there is fighting, but fear within; the sword slays abroad, and in the houses death is likewise threatened; and thus it often happens that the church of Christ is overwhelmed with troubles; whilst she thinks she is cherishing sons, she is nourishing in her bosom fire, serpents, and cockatrices, which endeavour to destroy all things with their breath, their gnawing, and their flames. Hence it is, that, to destroy monsters of this kind, to defeat hostile bands, and to assuage the rough tempests, the apostolic see at this time, with much care, educated a certain pupil, namely the emperor Frederic, whom it received charge

of as it were from his mother's womb, suckled at its breast, carried on its shoulders, and whom it has frequently rescued from the hands of those seeking his life, whom it has brought up to perfect manhood at much trouble and expense, exalted to the honours of the kingly dignity, and finally advanced to the summit of the imperial station, trusting to have him as the wand of defence and the staff of its old age. And he, when he went into Germany to assume the reigns of government, presented to his mother's eyes what was believed to be a happy omen, but which might more truly be considered a dangerous one; for, of his own accord, not by our advice, and unknown to the apostolic see, he affixed the cross to his shoulders, making a solemn vow that he would go to the assistance of the Holy Land. He then obtained a decree of excommunication against himself and others who had assumed the cross, if they did not set out at a certain time; subsequently, however, he asked, and received absolution, having first given an oath to abide by the decision of the church in this matter. The apostolic see, shedding its overflowing grace on him, called him to the crown out of due order, that he might more speedily proceed with succour to the Holy Land, and he, not unwilling but invited thereto by many intercessors and magnificent messages, has used the banner of the cross till this time, for his own purpose. Afterwards, when he had received the crown from the hands of Honorius, our predecessor, of happy memory in the church of St. Peter, he re-assumed the cross from our hands, who were then holding an inferior station, and publicly renewed his vow. He induced several to assume the cross in the hopes of his support, and fixed on a time for crossing the sea. He afterwards held a conference with the Roman church at Veroli, when he publicly swore that he would set out with all honours and like an emperor, at a fixed time to be pre-arranged by the church of Rome. After this he, at a similar conference at Ferentino, fixed on a period of two years from that time to be the time for his sailing; he also promised on a solemn oath that he would cross the sea, and take in marriage the noble daughter of our well-beloved son in Christ, John king of Jerusalem, who was also the heiress of that illustrious monarch; he added, that by these means he should bind himself to the service of the Holy Land, not like the other pilgrims, but like the templars, and hospitallers,

for ever. When, however, the appointed time drew near, he began to make many excuses, declaring that he was not prepared to go; and he offered many advantages and presents that a delay of three years might be granted to him. But in order that the whole affair, which chiefly devolved on this prince next to the Roman church, might not be put an end to, and such great labour expended to no purpose, the apostolic see took counsel with several bishops and other men, omitting none of the circumstances of the case, and then sent our venerable brother P. bishop of Albano, and G. cardinal presbyter under the title of St. Martin, to confirm the promises, which the emperor had voluntarily made, of giving assistance to the cross. They therefore convened a council of several chiefs of Germany at St. Germain's, and there the emperor, of his own accord, swore, that in two years from that time, that is, in the passage of August last past, he would, laying aside all pretext for delay, set sail, and would keep there for two years at his own expense a thousand knights for the assistance of the Holy Land, and would, in the five passages next ensuing, send a hundred thousand ounces of gold to be paid to certain persons there. The cardinal priests then, with the consent of the emperor, and by the authority of the apostolic see, in sight of the chiefs and the surrounding people, publicly proclaimed the sentence of excommunication which the emperor would incur if he should fail in any one of the above-named promises. The emperor, moreover, bound himself to bring and to keep beyond sea a hundred chelanders and fifty galleys, and that, besides this, he would at certain times grant a passage to two thousand knights, swearing on his soul that he would fulfil these promises which we have mentioned, and willingly consenting to the fulfilment of the sentence against him and his kingdom, if they were not kept. But you are now to learn how he fulfilled these promises; for, at his pressing solicitation, many thousands of crusaders, under penalty of excommunication, had proceeded at the preconcerted time to the port of Brundusium; the emperor had withdrawn his favour from almost all the cities of the coast, and although he had been often warned by our predecessor and by us to make all the necessary preparations, and faithfully to fulfil all that he had promised, yet he disregarded those promises which both by

messengers and by his own letters, he had made to the apostolic see and to the crusaders, of sending provisions and other necessaries, and paying no heed to his own salvation, he detained the Christian army in the height of the summer heat in a foul and deadly climate so long, that not only great numbers of the common soldiers, but also a considerable number of the nobles and men of rank perished from disease, thirst, heat, and many other causes, and amongst them died the bishops of Anjou and Augsburgh, of good memory. The remaining part of the army, oppressed by sickness, retraced their steps, and great numbers of them died in the woods and plains, mountains and caves. Those who remained with difficulty obtained leave to depart, and although there were not sufficient vessels at hand to carry the men provisions and horses as had been promised, yet on the feast of the blessed Virgin, when the season for returning was at hand, they set sail, exposing themselves to danger for the name of Christ, and believing that the emperor would follow in their footsteps. He, however, evading his promises, and severing the bonds by which he was bound, casting aside all fear of God, paying no reverence to Jesus Christ, and little heeding the censure of the church, abandoned the Christian army, left the Holy Land exposed to the infidels, despised the devotion of the people of Christ, and, to the disgrace of himself and Christianity, was enticed away to the usual pleasures of his kingdom, and departed, making a frivolous pretence of bodily infirmity, as is said. Pay attention, then, and see if there is any grief like that of the apostolic see, your mother, who has been so often and so cruelly deceived in the son, whom she suckled, in whom she placed confidence that he would carry out this matter, and on whom she has heaped such abundant benefits. In the meantime he concealed his intention of abandoning the cause of the Holy Land when an opportunity offered, paying no attention to the banishments of priests, spoliations, captivities, and manifold injuries, which he had inflicted on the churches, religious professions, and clergy, and hearing the many complaints of the poor, both populace and nobles, who cry out against him, and whose prayers we believe have entered the ears of the Lord God of sabaoth. And although the church of Rome ought to protect a son brought up with such care and so highly exalted, it now mourns for him,

conquered without a battle, borne down without an enemy, and, to his utter disgrace, so ignominiously debased. It no less bewails the extermination of the Christian army, which has failed not owing to the swords of the enemy, or to want of valour, but has been wasted away by such a dreadful calamity. It also mourns that the remaining portion of the troops, exposed to the dangers of the sea, and to the tempestuous waves, without a guide, preceptor, or chief, are driven they know not whither, doing but little good to the cause of the Holy Land; and we are unable according to our vow to afford them consolation or assistance, owing to the stormy state of the sea, and the inclemency of the season. It moreover mourns for the ruin of the Holy Land, which we were hoping was now to be rescued from the hands of the pagans; which the Christian army would formerly, as it is reported, have recovered in exchange for Damietta, had they not been several times forbidden to do so by the letters of the emperor; and he himself would not have been a prisoner in the hands of the pagans, if a supply of ships had been provided as had been promised on his part, and as could have been done; for Damietta, which, as was said, was delivered into the charge of his messenger, and was decorated with the imperial eagles, was on the same day cruelly pillaged, and, after being shamefully damaged, was by them restored to the infidels. It also adds to our sorrow and losses aforesaid, when we recollect the labour and expense incurred at Damietta, as well as the mortality amongst the Christians, and the time spent, all which were expended to no purpose; and there is no one of all its children to comfort it, or to wipe the tears from its cheeks. Since therefore her voice has already sounded in Rama, and Rachel is with incurable grief mourning, not only for her children but for all these mishaps, what Christian can refrain from lamentation? Which of the sons, on seeing the floods of tears flowing from the eyes of the mother, will not shed tears? What one will not pity the sorrows of the mother, and share in her deep grief? What Christian will not, on account of these events, be inflamed with more ardent desire to assist the Holy Land, that the Christian youth may not seem to be entirely prostrated and panic-struck by these unexpected events? Ought not wise men, and the sons of Jesus Christ, to be the more encouraged to assist the Holy Land, the more they see that,

from unlooked-for calamities, disgrace rebounds on the Father and the Son, the Redeemer and the redeemed, on Christ and on the people of Christ? We therefore the more ardently long to take this business in hand again, and by more careful plans purpose to find remedies, in proportion to our necessities and the many sorrows we have endured; and thus when the Lord shows himself slightly angry with his people, and does not receive the sacrifice from their hands, yet the mercies of God are not yet expended, nor is his compassion entirely worn out. For we trust in the compassion of God, who shows us the way by which we may arrive at a successful issue in this matter, and he will send men after his own heart who will with pure hearts and clean hands lead on the Christian army. We, therefore, by these apostolic letters, beseech and order your brotherhood, faithfully to set these matters forth to the clergy and people entrusted to your charge, and to induce them to prepare their minds to carry out this business; and also by diligent exhortation to call on them to revenge this insult to Jesus Christ, so that when the apostolic see, after more mature deliberation, shall think proper to ask their aid, it may find them prompt and ready. However, that we may not be like dumb dogs unable to bark, and that we may not seem to give way to this man in disregard of God, without punishing him who has brought such great injury on the people of God, we, although unwillingly, publicly declare the said emperor Frederic to be excommunicated, inasmuch as he did not cross the sea at the appointed time, nor did he send thither the pre-arranged sum of money, neither did he bring there the thousand soldiers to be kept for two years at his expense for the assistance of the Holy Land, but failing in these three articles of his agreement, he has of his own accord involved himself in the net of the aforesaid excommunication; and we order him to be strictly avoided by all, and command you publicly to announce this sentence yourselves, and to cause it to be published by the other prelates of the churches, and we will proceed against him more severely if his contumacy calls for it. We, moreover, trust in the mercy of our holy Father, who wishes no one to perish, that the darkened eyes of his mind, when anointed with the salve of the church, will, if he be not rebellious in heart, be enlightened, so that he may see his nakedness, and may avert the disgrace which he is falling

into, may have recourse to the true Physician, and may return to the church his mother, and, by due humility and meet atonement, may receive salvation. For we do not wish his everlasting salvation in the Lord to be at stake, for we formerly loved him sincerely when we were in an inferior station. Given at the Lateran, in the second year of our pontificate."

How the emperor declared that he was unjustly excommunicated.

When the emperor learned that he was excommunicated he was greatly alarmed; and as the pope had by his letters ordered the sentence to be published in all the countries of Christendom, so the said emperor wrote to all the Christian kings and chiefs, complaining that the sentence was wrongfully passed on him. He also told each and all of them, that he had not abandoned the pilgrimage which he had entered upon on frivolous pretexts, as the pope lyingly charged him with, but on account of very serious illness, and in this he invoked the testimony of Him who is a true witness in heaven. He moreover declared that as soon as God should grant him bodily health, he would, with all due honour, fulfil to the Lord his vow of pilgrimage in a manner befitting an emperor. Amongst other catholic kings to whom he wrote, he sent letters sealed with gold to the English king, declaring in them that the Roman church was so inflamed with the passion of avarice and with such evident greediness, that, not being satisfied with appropriating the property of the churches at will, it dared even to disinherit emperors, kings, and princes, and to make them tributary to it. And the English king would himself find an example of what he had stated in the case of his father, king John, whom the said church had kept under excommunication for a length of time until he had made himself and his kingdom tributary to it. They also had an example in the case of the count of Toulouse, and many other chiefs whose lands and persons it contrived to keep under an interdict until it reduced them to a like state of subjection. And at the conclusion of his letter he advised all the princes of the world to guard against such iniquitous avarice in these words,

> "Give heed when neighbouring houses burn,
> For next perhaps may be your turn."

How the emperor aroused a spirit of persecution against the pope.

By these means of excitement the emperor aroused a severe persecution against the pope and the inheritance of the Roman church, and attacking cities and seizing the castles belonging to it, of which the pope informed Roman the legate in France in the letter which follows.

Complaints of the pope against the emperor.

"Gregory bishop to Roman legate amongst the French, greeting, &c. Give attention, we beg of you, and see if there is any sorrow like ours, for in the son whom the church of Rome has brought up and raised to a high station in the hopes of having in him a champion against the infidels, it now finds a cruel persecutor and active enemy. And, not to pass over in silence the atrocious injuries and dreadful damage which the said emperor Frederic has continually inflicted on the church and the ecclesiastics, he is now, by means of the Saracens and others, attacking the inheritance of the apostolic see, and, what is more detestable, he is making treaties with the sultan and other Saracens, and shows kindness to them, but open hatred to the Christians, to the extermination of the orders of the hospitallers and templars, by whom the relics of the Holy Land have been hitherto protected. For after the treaty between the Saracens and Christians was by his command broken off, the Saracens made an incursion into the territory of the above-mentioned orders, and when, after slaying and making prisoners of a great number of their followers, they had carried off a great quantity of booty, the templars attacked them and took from them some of the booty to the value of six thousand marks; but Thomas count of Aterræ, the emperor's minister, furiously attacked them as they were returning, and by force took from them this booty, they, in obedience to the rules of their order, not daring to raise an armed hand against Christians, and this booty the said Thomas restored to the Saracens with the exception of some of it, which he is said to have retained for his own use. And if the Saracens took booty from the Christians he not only did not endeavour to recover it, but even did not allow the Christians ever to take booty from the Saracens; and by these means they became more insolent and boldly attacked our people, and our people fearing treachery were less bold in resisting them, and thus

the effusion of Christian blood sometimes turned out unluckily to the gain of the emperor. And this said Thomas, or rather the emperor by his agency, is even now cruelly persecuting the above-named orders, and has by violence robbed them of their houses and possessions which they held, and, to the manifest subversion of the liberty of the church, is endeavouring to deprive them of the privileges of the apostolic see, and to bring them under the imperial jurisdiction; he also collected a hundred slaves which the hospitallers and templars had in Sicily and Apulia, and gave them up to the Saracens without making any recompence for them to the said orders; and thus, as is plainly shown from the foregoing circumstances, he takes more account of the servants of Mahomet than those of Christ. And you may believe it for a fact, that, although the said emperor is reported to have put to sea with a few knights, he has sent a large army of Christians and a host of Saracens to attack the inheritance of the church, hereby giving a manifest proof to all of his malignity. But, as I said, we have confidence in Him, who establishing his church on the rock of faith, will not allow it to be thrown down, however much the winds may vent their fury on it, or the waters overwhelm it. Since therefore we see that he is thus wickedly conspiring for the subversion of the Christian faith, and is venting his impious rage, we may well fear extreme peril; but however long the iniquity of this impious man may continue, he can never prevail in his sin, but will rather be lost in it. Since, therefore, by the duty imposed on us, unworthy though we are, we are compelled to prevent this agent of Mahomet from any longer venting his rage against the servants of Christ, but rather that he may be confounded in his rage, and the glory of the Christian name be exalted, we, by these apostolic letters command you to publish these matters throughout the land of your legation, that, the faithful people of Christ may stand up bravely for the faith in the observance of true religion, as if they were pursuing each his own interest, in accordance with the exhortation which you will employ. Given at the Lateran, this 5th of August, in the second year of our pontificate."

How the people of Rome seditiously rose against the Roman pontiff.

During the festival of Easter in the same year the people

of Rome rose in sedition against pope Gregory, and drove him from the city; they then pursued him to his castle of Viterbo, and there increasing in strength they drove him to Perusium. The pope, having no other means of punishing them, excommunicated them all. In the same year the French king sent a large military expedition into Provence against the count of Toulouse, to drive that noble from those districts. They, hearing that the count was then at a Saracen castle belonging to his domain, determined to besiege him there; he, however, was forewarned of their approach, and prepared an ambuscade against their arrival, and with a large force hid himself in a wood, by which the French would pass, and there awaited the arrival of his enemies. When the French arrived at the place of ambuscade the count with his troops rushed on them, and a severe conflict took place, in which five hundred French knights were taken prisoners and a great many were slain. About two thousand soldiers were taken prisoners, and after they had been all stripped to the skin, the count ordered the eyes of some to be torn out, the ears and noses of others to be slit, and the feet and hands of others to be cut off, and, after thus shamefully mutilating them, he sent them to their homes, a deformed spectacle to their fellow Frenchmen; and the captive knights he committed to close custody, after stripping them of all their property. This battle was fought on the 18th of May at the Saracen castle. And to speak briefly, expeditions were sent three times during that summer, and in each case the French were put to flight, or taken and imprisoned by the said count.

Of the death of Stephen archbishop of Canterbury.

On the ninth of July in the same year, Stephen archbishop of Canterbury closed his life at his manor of Slindon, and was buried at Canterbury on the 6th of the same month.* After he was buried, the monks of Canterbury obtained the king's permission, and on the third of August elected master Walter de Heinesham, a monk of their church; but, when they presented him to the king, he, after long deliberation, refused to receive him on certain grounds. The first objection which he stated to the monks was that

* I leave the reader to explain this absurd anachronism in the best way he can.

they had chosen a man who was useless to himself and to the kingdom; the second was that the father of their elected had been convicted of theft and been hung; the third was that he had taken part against king John, his father, at the time of the interdict. The suffragan bishops of the Canterbury church, moreover, objected to the election of the said Walter, because he had formerly violated a nun and had had children by her; and they also added that the election of an archbishop ought not to take place without their being present. The archbishop elect however firmly adhered to the election, and an appeal having been made, he took some of the monks of Canterbury with him and made his appearance in the presence of the pope, asking him to confirm his election; the pope, however, on hearing that the election was opposed by the king and bishops, postponed the business till he could learn the facts of the matter. The king and the bishops when they learned that the archbishop elect had gone to the court of Rome, committed the above-mentioned objections to writing, and sent them, under the seals of the king and the bishops, to the pope in the care of the bishops of Rochester and Chester, and appointed master John archdeacon of Bedford to manage this business. These messengers then went to Rome, and delivered the letters of the king and the bishops to the pope, who, after a careful inspection of them, by the advice of his cardinals fixed on the day after Ash Wednesday for the parties to appear, that he might then with due regard to justice definitively decide the dispute.

During the whole of the summer of this year dreadful storms of thunder and lightning happened, which set fire to numbers of buildings in various places, and destroyed men and cattle. In the following autumn constant deluges of rain fell, which did much harm to the farmers at harvest time.

Of the irruptions of the Welsh.

In the month of August of the same year the knights and soldiers of the garrison of the castle of Montgomery, situated on the Welsh borders, sallied forth with the inhabitants of the district, to widen and render more safe a road near the castle, on account of the Welsh banditti who robbed and murdered travellers there. They therefore marched to the place with swords, axes, staves, and other

weapons, and commenced cutting down the trees, hedges, and shrubs, to render the road wider for travellers. This circumstance having reached the ears of the Welsh, they came in great force and attacked them, forcing them to retreat into the castle, though not without some slaughter on both sides; they then laid siege to the castle, but the garrison immediately sent word to Hubert, the justiciary, to whom the king had lately given that honour together with the castle, on which the king marched in person with all haste to the place, and compelled the Welsh to raise the siege. The king, who had arrived with only a small force, expecting reinforcements, was soon after joined by them, on which he marched with a large body of soldiers to the above-mentioned wood, which as was said was very large, extending for about five leagues; but although it was large and very difficult to destroy on account of the thick growth of the trees, it was after much difficulty cut down and burnt. The king then led his army further into the country, and arrived at a place inhabited by some monks of the White order, called Cridia, which, as the king had been told, was a receptacle for the plunder taken by the Welsh. On the orders of the king these buildings were set fire to and reduced to ashes; and Hubert seeing the impregnable nature of the place, by the king's consent, ordered a castle to be built there. Before this was completed, however, numbers were slain on both sides, and the noble William de Braose, when on a foraging expedition, was seized by the Welsh and taken away a prisoner. A knight too, who had been lately belted by the king, had gone out with others to forage, and was with his companions cut off by the enemy, on which he boldly dashed into the midst of them; but, after slaying numbers who opposed him, he at length fell slain together with some other of the king's army. Amongst the chiefs of the king's army were many who were in confederacy with Llewellyn, although they pretended to adhere to the king; on this account, and as all kinds of provisions failed the army, he was obliged to make a disgraceful peace, by which he agreed that the castle, which was almost completed, and had cost great labour and expense, should be pulled down at the king's own cost, and that Llewellyn should give to the king, for his trouble and expenses, three thousand marks, and, this treaty having been ratified, each of them returned home. And thus the king of England

returned in shame, after having spent nearly three months in building this said castle, wasted an endless amount of money, and left the noble William de Braose a prisoner in the hands of Llewellyn. The ridicule of many was then aroused, because, when the building of the castle was commenced, the justiciary had given it the name of Hubert's Folly, wherefore, when, after so much trouble and expense, they saw it razed to the ground, they all said that the justiciary was not only a prophet, but even more than a prophet.

How the emperor Frederic arrived at the Holy Land and promoted the cause of the crusade.

In the same year the Roman emperor, Frederic, took ship at the Mediterranean sea, and on the feast of the blessed virgin Mary, landed at Acre, where the clergy and people of that place came to meet him, and received him with the honours due to such a great man; but when they found out that he was excommunicated by the pope they did not confer on him the kiss of peace, nor did they sit at table with him, but they advised him to give satisfaction to the pope and return to the community of the holy church. The templars and hospitallers, however, on his arrival, went on their knees and worshipped him, kissing his knees; and the whole of the Christian army which was present there gave praise to God for his arrival, being now in hopes that by his means there would be salvation in Israel. The emperor then complained bitterly to the whole army against the Roman pontiff, that the latter had unjustly pronounced the sentence against him, asserting that he had delayed marching to the assistance of the Holy Land on account of serious illness. The sultan of Babylon, when he heard of the emperor's arrival in Syria, sent him a number of costly presents of gold and silver, silks and jewels, camels and elephants, bears and monkeys, and other wonderful things which are not to be found in western countries. The emperor, on his arrival at Acre, found the Christian army under the command of the duke of Limburgh, the patriarch of Jerusalem, the archbishops of Nazareth, Cæsarea, and Narbonne, the English bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the masters of the hospitallers, templars, and of the Teutonic order of hospitallers, who had under their joint command about eight hundred red pilgrim knights, and about ten thousand

foot soldiers assembled from different parts of the world; and all these, inspired with a common feeling of devotion, marched to Cæsarea, and had garrisoned some castles there, so that it now only remained for them to restore Joppa and then to march on the holy city. The emperor on learning the condition of the Holy Land, fully approved of the plan of the pilgrims, and, having made all necessary preparations to march forward, they set out preceded by the emperor, and on the 15th of November arrived without obstruction at Joppa. But as it was impossible for each man to carry by land provisions enough for himself and his horses for several days, as well as his baggage, ships had been procured at Acre for the purpose of bringing provisions to the army, but a sudden storm arose and the sea became so rough that for seven successive days the Christian pilgrims were without provisions. Great alarm then arose amongst many of them, that the Lord in his anger would destroy his people from the face of the earth; however, the unspeakable mercy of God, which allows no man to be tried beyond endurance, was at length aroused by the lamentations of his faithful people, and he commanded the winds and the sea and there was a calm; then a great number of ships arrived, under the guidance of the Lord, at Joppa, loaded with immense quantities of corn and barley, wine, and all kinds of provisions, so that there was always an abundant supply of provisions in the army till the said fortress was rebuilt.

Of the Jew Joseph who is still alive awaiting the last coming of Christ.

In this year a certain archbishop of Armenia Major came on a pilgrimage to England to see the relics of the saints, and visit the sacred places in this kingdom, as he had done in others; he also produced letters of recommendation from his holiness the pope to the religious men and prelates of the churches, in which they were enjoined to receive and entertain him with due reverence and honour. On his arrival he went to St. Alban's, where he was received with all respect by the abbat and monks; at this place, being fatigued with his journey, he remained some days to rest himself and his followers, and a conversation was commenced between him and the inhabitants of the convent by means of their interpreters, during which he made many inquiries concerning the religion and religious observances of this country,

and related many strange things concerning eastern countries. In the course of conversation he was asked whether he had ever seen or heard anything of Joseph, a man of whom there was much talk in the world, who, when our Lord suffered, was present and spoke to him, and who is still alive in evidence of the Christian faith, in reply to which a knight in his retinue, who was his interpreter, replied, speaking in French, "My lord well knows that man, and a little before he took his way to the western countries the said Joseph ate at the table of my lord the archbishop in Armenia, and he had often seen and held converse with him." He was then asked about what had passed between Christ and the same Joseph, to which he replied, "At the time of the suffering of Jesus Christ, he was seized by the Jews and led into the hall of judgment, before Pilate the governor, that he might be judged by him on the accusation of the Jews, and Pilate finding no cause for adjudging him to death, said to them, "Take him and judge him according to your law;" the shouts of the Jews, however, increasing, he, at their request, released unto them Barabbas, and delivered Jesus to them to be crucified. When therefore the Jews were dragging Jesus forth, and had reached the door, Cartaphilus, a porter of the hall in Pilate's service, as Jesus was going out of the door, impiously struck him on the back with his hand, and said in mockery, "Go quicker, Jesus, go quicker, why do you loiter?" And Jesus looking back on him with a severe countenance said to him, "I am going, and you will wait till I return." And according as our Lord said, this Cartaphilus is still awaiting his return; at the time of our Lord's suffering he was thirty years old, and when he attains the age of a hundred years, he always returns to the same age as he was when our Lord suffered. After Christ's death, when the catholic faith gained ground, this Cartaphilus was baptized by Ananias, (who also baptized the apostle Paul,) and was called Joseph. He often dwells in both divisions of Armenia, and other eastern countries, passing his time amidst the bishops and other prelates of the church; he is a man of holy conversation and religious, a man of few words and circumspect in his behaviour, for he does not speak at all unless when questioned by the bishops and religious men; and then he tells of the events of old times, and of the events which occurred at the suffering and resurrection of our Lord, and of the witnesses of the resurrection, namely

those who rose with Christ, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto men; he also tells of the creed of the apostles, and of their separation and preaching; and all this he relates without smiling or levity of conversation, as one who is well practised in sorrow and the fear of God, always looking forward with fear to the coming of Jesus Christ, lest at the last judgment he should find him in anger, whom, when on his way to death, he had provoked to just vengeance. Numbers come to him from different parts of the world, enjoying his society and conversation, and to them, if they are men of authority, he explains all doubts on the matters on which he is questioned. He refuses all gifts that are offered to him, being content with slight food and clothing. He places his hope of salvation on the fact that he sinned through ignorance, for the Lord when suffering prayed for his enemies in these words, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

How master Roger succeeded Eustace, bishop of London.

In the same year Eustace bishop of London closed his life; and in his place the canons elected master Roger, surnamed the Black, a canon of their church, who was then presented to the king and received by him without any opposition. In the same year too, in the month of December, Geoffrey bishop of Ely died, and was buried in the cathedral church on the 12th of the same month; and on his death the monks by common consent elected Hugh abbat of St. Edmund's, who, when presented to the king, was willingly accepted of by him, and was invested with all the property of the bishopric.

How the continental nobles invited the king of England to come to them.

A.D. 1229. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Oxford, at which the nobles of the kingdom were present. At that place the archbishop of Bourdeaux, who was sent by the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poictou, came to him, and was received with due honour by the king, and he kept Christmas with him. Special messengers also came to him from Normandy, all of whom had one and the same business with him, which was, on behalf of the nobles of the above-named provinces, to invite him to come in person to those parts, and promising that they would all come to him with horses and arms, and followed by the people of the province, and would stand by him without flinching, so that he might regain his lost territories. Henry in his simplicity was doubtful how to act, and therefore consulted the justiciary, who was his only counsellor, who advised him to postpone the matter till a more favourable opportunity. And the messengers being unable to obtain any other answer returned home.

How the astronomers of Toledo wrote concerning the planets.

In the same year the astronomers of Toledo sent letters to all Christian people to the following effect:—"To all the faithful followers of Christ to whom these letters shall come, master John

David of Toledo, and all the other masters of the same place, health and the consolation of the Holy Spirit. From the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine for seven years, in the month of September, the sun will be in the sign of Libra; all the planets will then come together, and the sun will be in the tail of the Dragon; and this will be a sign of wonderful and dreadful events; and there will be a storm of wind throughout Saturn and Mars, and the sea will rise unusually high; and there will be such a great clashing together of the winds that they will stand almost together, and will obscure and darken the whole world; and they will give forth dreadful sounds, putting the hearts of men in disorder, destroying buildings and trees; and several valleys will be raised to a level with mountains; and they will hurl many cities to the ground, especially Babylon, Baldach, Methas, and Tripolis, and chiefly cities lying in gravelly and sandy places; but before all these things come to pass there will be an eclipse of the sun, and from the third hour of the day till mid-day the sun will be of a fiery red colour, which denotes great effusion of blood; and after this will follow an eclipse of the moon of mingled colours, which will denote great confusion among nations; and after this there will be battles and slaughter in the east and in the west, and there will be universal earthquakes throughout the whole world, and a great mortality and disputing of nations and kingdoms one with another, and a great emperor will die; and after this tempest of winds few will remain alive, but as many as do survive will abound in delicacies and wealth; a doubtfulness will spring up amongst the Saracens, and they shall leave their mosques and shall become one with the Christian. Therefore we, in common with all the magistracy and all our learned fellow astrologers of Toledo, having discovered these facts, have thought proper to disclose them to you, and enjoin you in remission of your sins and for the salvation of your souls, to publish them to persons not aware of them, and to provide places of safety for yourselves to remain in as long as these winds shall continue; they will blow in the month of September, and then it will be difficult to find on the earth a safe dwelling place. Prepare therefore caves on plains surrounded by mountains, not covered with sand or gravel, and let the caves be covered with planks, and place earth upon them, and let no trees be near, by which the mouth of the cave can be blocked up, and in these caves lay up food for yourselves for forty days; know also that in this all the philosophers and astronomers of Spain, Greece, Arabia, Armenia, and the Hebrews, are of the same opinion as ourselves. We have heard too that the king of Manichin is building a tower of excellent materials, in which all his neighbours are assisting him, and the tower will be as large as a mountain. And we also declare of the king of Sicily, the dangers which seem to us impending. Nothing therefore remains for Christians

at this present crisis, but for each and all of them to endeavour to prepare their minds by fruitful repentance, by pure and humble confession, and by proper atonement, that when the Bridegroom cometh they may not meet him with empty lamps, like the foolish virgins who had no oil, and, which God forbid, find the door shut against them; but rather, like the wise virgins, with their lamps trimmed, and may be allowed to enter with the Bridegroom to the marriage-feast." We confidently believe that within the seven years following we shall see some things happen to which, either in reality or by analogy, we may find some adaptation to these letters of the astronomers. But of this hereafter.

How pope Gregory made war against the Roman emperor Frederic.

About this time, pope Gregory, being annoyed because the Roman emperor Frederic had gone to the Holy Land an excommunicated and rebellious man, entirely despaired of his ever repenting, and make satisfaction so as to return to the unity of the church; he therefore determined, as he saw that he was rebellious and contumacious, to drive him from his imperial dignity, and to appoint some other son of peace and obedience in his stead. But since our information on this matter could only have reached us by means of others, we will here give a letter from a certain count Thomas, whom the emperor at his departure had appointed, in conjunction with some others, to be guardian and agent of the empire, which letter that noble sent to the emperor, concerning this affair, and which we obtained from a pilgrim: "To the high and mighty Frederic, by the grace of God, the august emperor of the Romans, and the most potent king of Sicily, Thomas count of Atteræ, his faithful and devoted subject in all respects, health, and victory over his enemies. After your majesty's departure, Gregory the Roman pontiff, the open enemy of your excellency, assembled a large army by the agency of John de Brienne, ex-king of Jerusalem, and some other bold men, whom he appointed chiefs of his expedition, and invaded your territories and those of your subjects, and in disregard of the Christian law, resolved to subdue you by the sword of steel, since he could not, as he says, humble you by the spiritual one; for the aforesaid John is collecting a large body of soldiers from the kingdom of France and other adjacent countries, being in hopes of obtaining the empire, if he can conquer you, and supplies his soldiers with pay from the treasury of the apostolic see. This said John then, and the other chiefs of the army of the apostolic see, have invaded your territory and that of your subjects, and are setting fire to the buildings and towns, seizing the cattle and other booty, making prisoners of the inhabitants, and after torturing them in various ways, compel them to pay a heavy ransom; they spare neither age nor sex, and show no mercy to any one outside of the churches or cemeteries; they are taking towns and castles, and give no heed to the fact of your

being in the service of Jesus Christ; and if any one makes mention of the emperor, this John de Brienne declares that there is no other emperor besides himself. Your friends, most mighty emperor, are astonished at these things, and especially the clergy wonder by what advice and with what conscience the Roman pontiff can do such things, and make war against Christians, especially as the Lord said to Peter as he was about to strike the man with his sword of steel, "Put up your sword into the scabbard; for every one who strikes with the sword shall perish by the sword." And they equally wonder by what right he, who every day as it were excommunicates robbers, incendiaries, and tormentors of the Christians, and excludes them from the community of the church, can authorize and give his consent to such proceedings. I beseech you, therefore, most mighty emperor, to take measures for your own safety, and to preserve your honour touching the aforesaid matters, for your enemy, the aforesaid John de Brienne, has garrisoned all the ports on this side the water with large numbers of armed spies, in order that, if you should happen to return from your pilgrimage, he may make prisoner of you, which God forbid.*

* Paris adds: "In the same year, on the second and third days of the week before Ash Wednesday, on which days the student clerks are accustomed to make holiday, some clerks left the city and went to St. Marcel, to enjoy the sports there on account of its healthy air; and on their arrival there, after refreshing themselves for a while with their games, they discovered some very good and sweet wine in a tavern there. After some time a quarrel arose between the clerks drinking there and the vintners, as to the price of the wine, and they proceeded to strike one another and tear each other's hair, until the villagers came up and rescued the vintners from the hands of the clerks, inflicting severe blows on the opposing clerks, and at length after beating them soundly, put them to flight. They returned bruised to the city, and aroused their companions to revenge them; they all accordingly sallied forth the next day with swords and clubs, and on arriving at St. Marcel, they forcibly entered the house of one of the vintners, broke all his wine vessels, poured the wine about the floor of the house, and then, proceeding through the streets, they fiercely attacked every one they met, and after beating them severely, left them half dead. The prior of St. Marcel, on learning the great injuries inflicted on the people whom he was bound to protect, laid a complaint before the Roman legate and the bishop of Paris, who at once proceeded together to the queen, who then managed the government of the kingdom, and begged of her to give orders for the punishment of such an insult. The queen, with a woman's sauciness, and at the first impulse ordered the prefects of the city and some of her soldiers to arm themselves immediately, sally forth from the city, and punish the authors of this act of violence, showing mercy to none. These men being always ready to perform any cruelty, went through the gates of the city, and found a number of clerks outside engaged in their games, but who had not been at all concerned in the above violence. The tumultuous clerks, who had caused the origin of

In the same year, as Ash Wednesday approached, which was the day appointed for the archbishop elect of Canterbury and the king's messengers to hear the definitive decision of the pope as to what ought by right to be done in the matter of the election, the said messengers, and especially Master John de Houton, made continual petitions to the pope and the cardinals, but finding

the contest were from the provinces adjoining Flanders, commonly called Picards. Notwithstanding this however, the officers of the city, although the officers saw that the aforesaid clerks were unarmed and innocent, rushed on them, slaying some, wounding some, and beating and mercilessly ill-treating others; some of them however escaped and hid themselves in the vineyards and caves. Amongst the wounded, two rich clerks of high station were found slain, one of whom was of Flemish race, the other a Norman. When this enormous crime came to the ears of the heads of the university, they all went in a body before the queen and the legate, having first suspended all reading and disputation, and demanded instant justice for the injury; for they thought it highly unjust that, on such slight grounds, the offence of a few contemptible petty clerks should redound to the prejudice of the whole university; but that the one who had been guilty of the offence ought to give satisfaction. But as all justice was denied them both by the queen and the legate as well as by the bishop of the city, the whole body of masters and scholars departed in different directions; the teaching of the doctors and the discipline of the scholars ceased, and not one distinguished scholar out of the whole number remained; and the city which used to glory in its clericals was now deprived of them. The renowned English scholars, masters Alan de Beccles, Nicholas de Fernham, John Blundus, Ralph de Maidstone, and William of Durham departed amongst the rest, and many others too numerous to mention; the greatest part of them however chose the city of Anjou as the metropolitan city for universal learning. Thus therefore the clerks left the city of Paris, once the nurse of philosophy and wisdom, execrating the Roman legate, and cursing the womanly haughtiness of the queen, and the infamous unanimity between them. Some servants or dependants of the departing scholars, or those who are called Goliardenses, composed the following ridiculous verse:—

'Heu! morimur strati, vincti, mersi, spoliati;
Mentula legati nos facit ista pati.'
'Woe to us all, for die we must,
All owing to this legate's lust.'

Some better versifier, however, by an apostrophe, makes the city of Paris say,

'Clere, tremisco metu, quia vis contemnere me tu
Perfundor fletu, mea damna fleo, tua fle tu.'
'Ye clergy I tremble with fearing,
You are too proud to give me a hearing;
I am thoroughly drenched with crying,
We are each for his own losses sighing.'

At length by the intervention of discreet persons peace was made between the clergy and the citizens and the scholars were recalled."

them difficult of persuasion, they were in great fear of being deceived in their expectations; whereupon they held an abominable council on the above matters, and at length, on behalf of the king of England, promised the pope a tenth part of all moveable property from all England and Ireland, to maintain his war against the emperor, on condition that he would favour the king's designs. The pope, who above all things desired to humble the rebellious emperor, was delighted at these promises, and induced to consent to their terms, and accordingly, taking his seat in the consistory, he delivered sentence as follows.

The election of Walter the monk, elect of Canterbury, annulled.

The election in the church of Canterbury of a certain monk named Walter has lately been brought to our notice, and we have since heard what the said monk has pleaded on behalf of himself, and in favour of his election; we have also heard the objections and exceptions made by the bishops of England, as well against the aforesaid election as against the character of the elect, which have been set forth in our presence by our venerable brothers the bishops of Coventry and Rochester, and our well-beloved son the archdeacon of Bedford, and we entrusted it to our venerable brothers, the lord bishop of Albano, master Thomas de Sta. Sabina, and master P., our cardinals, to make an examination into the qualities of the archbishop elect. And when the said elect appeared before them, and was asked concerning the descent of our Lord into hell, whether he descended in the flesh, or was released from it, he answered unsatisfactorily. Also when asked about the consecration of the body of Christ at the altar, he answered improperly. Again, when asked about Rachel, how she wept for her children, he improperly replied, "When she was first dead." Again, when asked about the sentence of excommunication if pronounced contrary to law, he answered improperly. Also, when asked about marriage, if either of the contracting parties should die an unbeliever, he gave an improper answer. On all these points he has been carefully examined by the cardinals, and we say that he has answered not only indifferently, but even most improperly. Since, therefore, the church of Canterbury is noble, and should have a noble prelate, a discreet and modest man, and one taken from the bosom of the Roman church; and since this present elected one, whom we not only pronounce to be unworthy for the office, but of whom, if we were to act with strict regard to justice, we should be compelled to say something more, is quite unfit to be raised to such a high station; we therefore altogether annul the election that has been made with regard to him, reserving to ourselves to provide for the said church.

Of the promotion of Richard to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

The above election then having been thus annulled, the agents of the king of England and of the suffragan bishops of the church

of Canterbury, in the pope's presence, produced authentic letters from the same, namely, the king and bishops, in which they made a proposal in favour of master Richard, chancellor of the church of Lincoln, declaring that he was a man of eminent wisdom and learning, and of goodly conversation, and that he would greatly promote the welfare of the church of Rome, as well as of the king and kingdom of England; and thus bestowing all kinds of praise on this person, they induced the pope and his cardinals to consent to his election: and thus the aforesaid Richard having been not elected, but given to the archbishopric, his holiness the pope sent letters to the suffragan bishops of Canterbury to the following effect, "Gregory, bishop, &c., &c. In our care of the pastoral office which is entrusted and granted by our Lord to us, unworthy as we are, we, in the plenitude of our apostolic power, are, by emergencies daily arising, compelled to undertake the care and management of all churches, and when necessary, out of regard to justice and in kindness, to provide for them with paternal diligence. Amongst all other particular churches and metropolitan sees we open the eyes of our consideration to the church of Canterbury, in its necessities, as the most noble limb of the apostolic see, and which the mother of churches, the apostolic see, ought to regard with the greater favour, inasmuch as the divine mercy has shed more abundant grace on the temporal and spiritual concerns of that see. This church, the Most High, in his disposal of things, has planted as the paradise of pleasure and the garden of sweets, in which he has produced the tree of the knowledge of good and evil in his institution of the metropolitan dignity, the tree of life in the religious order of monks, and the discipline of regular observance of their tenets, trees bearing fruit in the suffragan bishops, which by their good works give delight to the sight, by the doctrines of faith please the taste, and by good opinion refresh the smell. From the same place flows forth a river by which is denoted the blood of the glorious martyr Thomas, which in its course is divided into four heads, since it restores life to the dead, health to the sick, liberty to slaves, and courage to the timid. And when in careful meditation we discuss his excelling miracles, we find the rare and extraordinary delights of the divine plantation. Whereas, the guardian of this paradise, Stephen of good memory, lately archbishop of Canterbury, a cardinal of the Roman church, and a man most signally imbued with the gifts of science and with the heavenly grace, has been taken from the workshop of the flesh, and removed as we hope and trust to the enjoyments and tranquillity of the heavenly paradise, our beloved sons of the conventual assembly at Canterbury have brought to our notice an election they have made of one Walter, a monk of Canterbury; and whereas, after discussing the merits of that election, and examining into the learning of that person, we in due regard to

justice, have annulled that election, and have thought proper to place in that paradise, to manage and guard it, master Richard, chancellor of Lincoln, a man of dignity, one by his life and knowledge, understanding and disposition, made after the image and likeness of God, and one by his wholesome doctrines having the breath of life, and whom, as well from the evidence of our brethren who knew him when pursuing his studies, as from that of our venerable brethren the bishops of Rochester and Coventry, and of several others, we have discovered to be a man of distinguished learning, goodly conversation, unblemished fame, and great perseverance, and a zealous protector of souls and of the liberty of the church, and have, by the advice of our brethren, and in the presence of the above-mentioned bishops, appointed the said Richard archbishop and pastor of the church of Canterbury. Wheretore, by these apostolic letters, we warn and exhort the brotherhood of you, as the sons of charity and devotion, to receive and give heed to him, to the honour of God, the apostolic see, and the church of Canterbury, with due humility and sincere devotion, and humbly and devoutly to obey him as your father, and the pastor of your souls. and as your metropolitan bishop. You ought indeed to rejoice in the Lord that, chiefly by the co-operation of the grace of him who both prevents and assists our exertions, a praiseworthy provision has been made for that widowed church. Given, &c."*

How the Holy Land was restored to the emperor Frederic.

In the same year, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Consoler of the world, visited his people in his compassion, and in compliance with the prayers of the universal church, restored to the Christian people in general, but to the Roman emperor Frederic in particular, the city of Jerusalem and the whole country which the Lord our Redeemer and Son of God had consecrated by his blood. Such was the good-will of our Lord to his people, of him who exalts the merciful to eternal life, that he may work vengeance on the nations, and dissension amongst the tribes of the Saracens. For at that time the sultan of Babylon was so severely harassed by internal wars in all directions, that not being able to attend to more, he was compelled to make a truce of ten years with the emperor, and to give up the Holy Land to the Christians without bloodshed. And thus a good war was sent by the Lord that a bad peace might be broken; but that this kindness of the

* C. inserts here: "It is known, however, that the deposition of master Walter monk of Canterbury, was obtained by the agency of master Alexander de Stavenesby bishop of Chester, and master Henry de Sandford bishop of Rochester, and some others, the chief of whom was master John de Hetotoft archdeacon of Bedford, not in a proper manner, nor as was advantageous to their souls. But this is, however, shown at sufficient length above."

divine grace may be more clearly shown to the reader, let him read the following letter of the Roman emperor which he sent sealed with gold, to Henry king of England.

Letter of the emperor to the English king on the above matter.

"Frederic, by the grace of God, the august emperor of the Romans, king of Jerusalem and Sicily, to his well-beloved friend Henry king of the English, health and sincere affection. Let all rejoice and exult in the Lord, and let those who are correct in heart glorify him, who, to make known his power, does not make boast of horses and chariots, but has now gained glory for himself in the scarcity of his soldiers, that all may know and understand that he is glorious in his majesty, terrible in his magnificence, and wonderful in his plans on the sons of men, changing seasons at will, and bringing the hearts of different nations together; for in these few days, by a miracle rather than by strength, that business has been brought to a conclusion, which for a length of time past many chiefs and rulers of the world amongst the multitude of nations, have never been able till now to accomplish by force, however great, nor by fear. Not therefore to keep you in suspense by a long account, we wish to inform your holiness, that we, firmly putting our trust in God, and believing that Jesus Christ his Son, in whose service we have so devotedly exposed our bodies and lives, would not abandon us in these unknown and distant countries, but would at least give us wholesome advice and assistance for his honour, praise, and glory, boldly in the name set forth from Acre on the 15th day of the month of November last past and arrived safely at Joppa, intending to rebuild the castle at that place with proper strength, that afterwards the approach to the holy city of Jerusalem might be not only easier, but also shorter and more safe for us as well as for all Christians. When therefore we were in the confidence of our trust in God engaged at Joppa and superintending the building of the castle and the cause of Christ as necessity required, and as was our duty, and whilst all our pilgrims were busily engaged in these matters, several messengers often passed to and fro between us and the sultan of Babylon; for he and another sultan called Xaphat his brother, were with a large army at the city of Gaza, distant about one day's journey from us; in another direction in the city of Sichen, which is commonly called Neapolis, and situated in the plains, the sultan of Damascus, his nephew, was staying with an immense number of knights and soldiers also about a day's journey from us and the Christians. And whilst the treaty was in progress between the parties on either side of the restoration of the Holy Land, at length Jesus Christ the Son of God, beholding from on high our devoted endurance and patient devotion to his cause, in his merciful compassion of us, at length brought it about that the sultan of Babylon restored to us the holy city, the place

where the feet of Christ trod, and where the true worshippers adore the Father in spirit and in truth. But that we may inform you of the particulars of this surrender each as they happened, be it known to you that not only is the body of the aforesaid city restored to us, but also the whole of the country extending from thence to the sea-coast near the castle of Joppa, so that for the future pilgrims will have free passage and a safe return to and from the sepulchre; provided, however, that the Saracens of that part of the country, since they hold the temple in great veneration, may come there as often as they choose in the character of pilgrims, to worship according to their custom, and that we shall henceforth permit them to come, however only as many as we may choose to allow, and without arms, nor are they to dwell in the city, but outside, and as soon as they have paid their devotions they are to depart. Moreover the city of Bethlehem is restored to us, and all the country between Jerusalem and that city; as also the city of Nazareth, and all the country between Acre and that city; the whole of the district of Turon, which is very extensive, and very advantageous to the Christians; the city of Sidon too is given up to us with the whole plain and its appurtenances, which will be the more acceptable to the Christians the more advantageous it has till now appeared to be to the Saracens, especially as there is a good harbour there, and from there great quantities of arms and necessaries might be carried to the city of Damascus, and often from Damascus to Babylon. And although according to our treaty we are allowed to rebuild the city of Jerusalem in as good a state as it has ever been, and also the castles of Joppa, Cesarea, Sidon, and that of St. Mary of the Teutonic order, which the brothers of that order have begun to build in the mountainous district of Acre, and which it has never been allowed the Christians to do during any former truce, nevertheless the sultan is not allowed, till the end of the truce between him and us, which is agreed on for ten years, to repair or rebuild any fortresses or castles. And so on Sunday the 18th day of February last past, which is the day on which Christ the Son of God rose from the dead, and which, in memory of his resurrection, is solemnly cherished and kept holy by all Christians in general throughout the world, this treaty of peace was confirmed by oath between us. Truly then on us and on all does that day seem to have shone favourably, in which the angels sing in praise of God, "Glory to God on high, and on earth peace, and good-will towards men." And in acknowledgment of such great kindness and of such an honour, which, beyond our deserts and contrary to the opinion of many, God has mercifully conferred on us, to the lasting renown of his compassion, and that in his holy place we might personally offer to him the burnt offering of our lips, be it known to you that on the 17th day of the month of March of this second indiction,

we, in company with all the pilgrims who had with us faithfully followed Christ the Son of God, entered the holy city of Jerusalem, and after worshipping at the holy sepulchre, we, as being a catholic emperor, on the following day, wore the crown, which Almighty God provided for us from the throne of his majesty, when of his special grace he exalted us on high amongst the princes of the world; so that whilst we have supported the honour of this high dignity, which belongs to us by right of sovereignty, it is more and more evident to all that the hand of the Lord hath done all this; and since his mercies are over all his works, let the worshippers of the orthodox faith henceforth know and relate it far and wide throughout the world, that He, who is blessed for ever, has visited and redeemed his people, and has raised up the horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David. And before we leave the city of Jerusalem, we have determined magnificently to rebuild it and its towers and walls, and we intend so to arrange matters that, during our absence, there shall be no less care and diligence used in the business than if we were present in person. In order that this our present letter may be full of exultation throughout, and so a happy end correspond with its happy beginning, and rejoice your royal mind, we wish it to be known to you our ally, that the said sultan is bound to restore to us all those captives whom he did not, in accordance with the treaty made between him and the Christians, deliver up at the time when he lost Damietta some time since, and also the others who have been since taken. Given at the holy city of Jerusalem, on the 17th day of the month of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand two hundred and twenty-nine."

*Of the signs preceding the restoration of the Holy Land.**

It should be remarked concerning this restoration of the land of promise and Jerusalem to the Christians, that as the astronomers of Toledo, before this cause of general rejoicing and exultation amongst Christians, wrote concerning the concourse of the planets, and of the dreadful storms of wind, so that they would stand together, and at the same time that there would be an earthquake, and an eclipse of the sun as well as the moon, which has been before mentioned amongst the events of this year, in the same way,

* These two chapters are omitted in Paris, instead of which is a description of the great seal attached to the emperor's bull. "The form of the emperor's golden bull was as follows:—On one side was the royal figure, and around it was written, 'Frederic, by the grace of God, the august emperor of the Romans.' On the same side as the royal figure, over the left shoulder, was written, 'King of Jerusalem;' in another part, over the left shoulder, were the words, 'King of Sicily.' On the other side of the bull was engraved a city, representing Rome, and around it was written, 'Rome, the head of the world, holds the reigns of the round world.' This bull was somewhat larger than the pope's.

before the taking of the Holy Land and the cross of our Lord by that perfidious and cruel man Saladin, some other astronomers then living in the same city also wrote to pope Clement as follows:—From the present year, which is the one thousand one hundred and seventy-ninth year of our Lord's incarnation, till the expiration of seven years, in the month of September, the sun being in Libra and the tail of the Dragon, there will be, if God so permit, an assembling of the planets in Libra and the tail of the Dragon, and this is a wonderful signification of a change of immutable events. And there shall follow a dreadful earthquake, and the accustomed places of perdition shall be destroyed by Saturn and Mars, &c. This conjunction of the planets will produce a strong wind, which will thicken and darken the air, and infect it with poison, and the sound of this wind will be dreadful, disturbing the hearts of men; and from sandy regions it shall raise the sand and overwhelm the cities lying nearest to them in the plains, and in the first place the eastern cities of Mecca and Babylon, and all cities lying near to sandy places; not one will escape being overwhelmed with sand and earth. But signs of these events will precede them; in the same year there will be, before the planets assemble in Libra, a total eclipse of the sun, and in the preceding conflict the moon will be totally eclipsed; and the eclipse of the sun will be of a fiery and unsightly colour, denoting that there will be a war amongst chiefs near a river in the east, and likewise in western countries; and a doubtfulness shall fall amongst the Jews and Saracens, until they shall altogether abandon their synagogues and mosques, and their sect shall at the command of God be entirely destroyed and annihilated; wherefore, when you see the eclipse, know that you are to leave that land with all your followers.

How on account of the sins of man the Holy Land was lost.

At that time there was much evil amongst men on earth, so that "all flesh almost had corrupted its way before the Lord;" for the practice of sin had burst forth amongst the people to such a degree, that all, casting aside the veil of shame, everywhere inclined to wickedness openly. Too tedious is it to enumerate the slaughters, robberies, adultery, obscenities, lies, treasons, and other crimes, especially so to us, who design to write of the events which occurred. However the old enemy of man after having disseminated the spirit of corruption far and wide in the world, invaded Syria in particular, from which place other nations received their religion in the first place, and from that place they then took the example of all uncleanness. For this reason therefore the Lord and Saviour of the world, seeing that the land of his nativity, suffering, and resurrection had fallen into the depths of wickedness, scorned his inheritance, and allowed the rod of his anger, namely Saladin, to vent his rage to the extermination of

that obstinate race; for he preferred that the Holy Land should for a short time be a slave to the profane rites of nations, than that those people should any longer flourish, who were not restrained from unlawful actions by any regard to probity. The approach of the destruction which was to happen, was prognosticated by divers events, namely by a great famine, frequent earthquakes, and eclipses of the sun and moon; but the storm of wind, which the astronomers of Toledo, from an inspection of the stars, had pronounced would come from the assembling of the planets, together with a mortality and foul atmosphere, was without doubt changed to signify this event; for in the spring there was a heavy wind which shook the four quarters of the world, and signified that its different nations would be stirred up to battle and to the destruction of the Holy Land. And the holy city of Jerusalem, with the whole land of promise, and also the life-giving cross of our Lord, remained in the hands of the enemies of Christ for forty-two years up to this present year, which is the one thousand two hundred and twenty-ninth year of our Lord's incarnation, when at length the time arrived for our Lord in his compassion to give heed to the prayers of his humble servants, and to rebuild Sion, to appear in his glory in the place of his holy nativity, suffering, and resurrection, to hear the lamentations of his enslaved people, and to release the sons of the destroyed ones. Truly and without doubt did the Lord hear the groans of his enslaved people at the restoration of the Holy Land, which at that time was brought about by the diligence of the emperor Frederic, with the co-operation of the divine clemency, inasmuch as all the captives who were in the power of the pagans and subjected to the vilest kinds of slavery, were now released from the yoke of bondage and came to the holy city of Jerusalem, where they showed themselves to many, and, after having paid their devotions in the sacred places of the holy city, returned to their own countries in various parts of the world, praising and blessing God in all things, for they had heard and seen what wonderful works the Lord had done for them and showed to them.

Of the reconciliation of the holy city of Jerusalem and other places.

The army of the Christians then, as we have said, entered the holy city of Jerusalem, and the patriarch, with the suffragan bishops, purified the temple of the Lord and the church of his holy sepulchre and resurrection, and all the other sacred churches of the city; they washed the pavement and walls with holy water, and forming processions with hymns and psalms they reconciled to God all his places which had been so long defiled by the filth of the pagans, but as long as the emperor, who was excommunicated, remained inside the city, no prelate dared to perform mass in it. However a certain master Walter, a religious, wise, and discreet man, of the order of preachers, who had been entrusted by the

pope with the duty of preaching in the army of Christ, which duty he had for a long time prosperously fulfilled, performed divine services in the suburban churches, by which he greatly excited the devotion of the Christians. After then the prelates, inferior as well as superior, and all the religious men had had their churches and old possessions restored to them, and had rejoiced in all the heavenly gifts which had been bestowed on them far beyond their expectations, they all set to work in conjunction with the rest of the pilgrims, at great expense and trouble, to rebuild the city, to surround the walls with trenches, and to repair the ramparts of the towers; and not only was this done in the holy city of Jerusalem, but also in all the cities and fortresses of that land, which Jesus Christ had trodden with his holy feet, and consecrated with his sacred blood.

*The pope's causes of complaint against the emperor.**

In the same year master Stephen, a chaplain and messenger of the pope, came to England to the king to collect the tithes promised by the messengers of the said king to his holiness for carrying on his war against the Roman emperor; for the pope had heard of many detestable offences against the Christian law committed by the said emperor, on account of which he had committed to writing, and caused to be published in letters from the apostolic see throughout the different parts of the world. In the first place he set forth against him that, on the day of the annunciation of the blessed Mary, he, although excommunicated, had gone into the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, and there, before the great altar, had with his own hands crowned himself, and when thus crowned, had sat there in the patriarchal seat, and made a speech to the people extenuating his wickedness, and accusing the Roman church of having acted unjustly against him; and then going forth from the church, attended by a crowd of his own followers, without any ecclesiastic official, had worn the crown to the palace of the hospitallers. Also, that in his palace at Acre he had eaten and drunk with Saracens, and introduced Christian dancing women to perform before them, and, as was said, that they had afterwards had connection with them. Also, that no one except himself knew the terms of the treaty which he had entered into with the sultan; and it plainly appeared, as far as could be judged from external appearances, that he approved of the law of the Saracens rather than that of our faith, inasmuch as he followed their customs in several points. Also, that in the written agreement between him and the sultan, which in the Arabic tongue is called *mosepha*, there was contained a condition,

* Paris greatly enlarges on the dispute between the pope and the emperor, and gives a long letter from Gerald patriarch of Jerusalem, complaining of the emperor, written in the usual style of the letters of those days.—Ed.

that, during the truce, he would assist the sultan against all men, Christians as well as Saracens, and on the other hand the sultan would in the same way assist him. Also, that he had deprived the canons of the holy cross at Acre of some revenues, which were their due at the port of Acre. Also, that he had plundered the archbishop of Nichosia in Cyprus. Also, that in opposition to the patriarch, he had by the secular power protected a certain bishop of the Syrians who had been ordained by one who was excommunicated and schismatical. Also, that he had robbed the canons of the holy sepulchre of the offerings at that sepulchre, and the patriarch of the offerings at Calvary and Golgotha, and had also robbed the canons of the holy temple of their offerings, collecting all these offerings by his agents, for which offences his brother Walter had excommunicated him and all his followers in the city of Jerusalem. Also, that on Palm Sunday he had ordered the preachers to be dragged by force from the pulpits where they were preaching, and had maltreated and imprisoned them. Also, that about the time of our Lord's passion he had besieged the patriarch, the bishops of Winchester and Exeter, and the templars in their houses, but when he saw that he could not gain his ends he departed in confusion. For these reasons, although there were not wanting others, his holiness the pope paid no regard to whatever he had done in the Holy Land, and made war against him, asserting that it was just and necessary to the Christian faith, that a disturber of the church should be deposed from the imperial station, and what was still more abominable than all these offences, he had stirred up such a grievous persecution against his mother, the church of Rome, had taken possession of the castles, lands, and possessions belonging to it, and even now detained them as a declared enemy.

Of the tithes collected in England for pope Gregory.

About this same time master Stephen the pope's chaplain and messenger explained the pope's business and the cause of his coming to England to the king, on which the latter, on the second Sunday after Easter, convoked a council at Westminster of the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, templars, hospitallers, earls, barons, rectors of churches, and all who held in chief from him, to hear the aforesaid message, and to discuss necessary business in common. When therefore they were all assembled, laymen as well as prelates and their dependants, master Stephen, in the presence of them all, read the letters of the pope, claiming the tenth part of all moveable property throughout all England, Ireland, and Wales, from clergy as well as laity, in order to enable his holiness to carry on the war which he had undertaken against the Roman emperor Frederic. He also declared in these letters that he alone had undertaken this expedition on behalf of the church universal, which the said emperor, so long excommunicated and rebellious,

was endeavouring to overthrow, as was plainly evident, wherefore, as the apostolic see was not rich enough to destroy him, he was forced by necessity to beg assistance from all the sons of the church, by which means he might be able to bring to the desired conclusion the expedition which he had commenced, and which was in a measure now going on prosperously. At length, at the conclusion of the letter the pope advised each and all of them as limbs of the church, inasmuch as they were natural sons of the church of Rome, which is the mother of all churches, to give powerful assistance to her, lest, which God forbid, if they failed in so doing, the whole body as well as the limbs should give way. By such and such like arguments set forth in the pope's letter, master Stephen endeavoured to persuade all who were present to agree to the demand, setting forth the honour and advantage that would accrue to those who were obedient. The king, whom all the rest hoped would assist them in opposing this exaction, could not oppose them, as he had by his messengers at Rome, as has been above-stated, promised to pay these tithes, and as he made no answer, he seemed by his silence to give consent. But the earls, barons, and all the laity plainly declared that they would not give these tithes, as they did not wish to pledge their baronies or lay possessions to the Roman church. The bishops, abbats, priors, and other prelates of the churches, after two or three days' deliberation and no slight grumbling, at length consented to it, being afraid that they should incur the sentence of excommunication or interdict if they opposed the apostolic commands. Master Stephen then showed to all the prelates letters procuratory from the pope, by which his holiness had appointed him his agent to collect the said tithes, and that they were to be collected, not as was done in levying the tax of the twentieth part, which had been a little while before given to the king to obtain their rights, but in the best way they could to the advantage of the pope, and that all the goods and moveable property of each was to be taxed so as to yield the most; namely, a tenth part of all incomes, yearly profits, produce of ploughed lands, offerings, tithes, provisions for men and beasts, and of all the revenues of the churches and other possessions, under whatever name they were enrolled, on no occasion deducting any debts or expenses. By these same letters, too, he was authorized to excommunicate all gainsayers, and to lay the churches under interdict; wherefore, after appointing his agents in each county of England, he excommunicated all those who, either themselves or by means of others, should practise any collusion or deceit, make any unjust compacts, or any deduction in the matter of paying the aforesaid tithes. And, since immediate assistance was necessary in the matter, he ordered all the prelates and others, under penalty of excommunication, either amongst themselves or in some way or other, to give him up at

once the money which was required, that he might send it directly to the pope, and that afterwards they could recover the same in full from the tithes which were to be taken from every one. For he said that the pope was involved in so many debts, that he did not at all know how he should sustain the war which he had commenced. And then dissolving the council all went away murmuring.

Of the grievous exaction of the said tithes.

After this master Stephen sent letters to each of the bishops, abbats, priors, and religious men of every condition throughout the kingdom, ordering them, under the penalty of excommunication and interdict, to send to him on such a day a certain sum out of the money which had been lately proved, and made by the penny-weight, in order that he might satisfy the pope's creditors, and that they might avoid the punishment of an interdict; in his execution of this business he practised such unjust extortion, that he compelled every one to give him the value of the tenth part, even from the crops of the coming autumn, which were still in the blade. The prelates then, having no other resource, took the chalices, goblets, phylacteries, and other holy vessels from the churches, some of which they sold, and pledged others at interest. The country was filled with incessant, although secret, maledictions, and all prayed that such an exaction might never be productive of advantage to their exactors. Ralph earl of Chester was the only one who refused to reduce his territory to bondage, and did not permit the religious men and clerks to contribute these tithes from his fee, although England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland, were all compelled to pay them. However in this tithing one circumstance gave some slight consolation and comfort, which was that the continental kingdoms and those at a distance were not free from this taxation. When at length the full amount of money collected in this way reached the supreme pontiff, he liberally distributed it to John de Brienne and the other chiefs of his army, and this caused serious injury to the emperor, for in his absence they destroyed his towns and castles.

In the same year, on the 27th of May, Robert de Bingeham bishop elect of Salisbury, was consecrated at Shepton, by William bishop of Worcester, assisted by the bishops Jocelyn of Bath and Alexander of Coventry.* In this year too, on Whit-Sunday, the

* Paris adds:—"Who undertook the episcopal office under happy auspices and, with the help of God, the king, and the people, he vigorously prosecuted the building of the new church which his predecessor, Richard, had, with no small boldness, commenced. Hence some poet has composed a clever verse, as follows:—

'Rex largitur opes, fert præsul opem, lapicidæ
'Dant operam'; tribus his est opus ut stet opus."

It is impossible to express this in English.

3rd of June, king Henry conferred the belt of a knight on John, son of Hubert the justiciary of England.

Of the consecration of Richard archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

In the same year, on Trinity-Sunday, the suffragan bishops of the church of Canterbury assembled at that city, and on that day master Richard the archbishop elect was consecrated by Henry bishop of Rochester, without the pall, so that he was allowed either to ordain or to dedicate churches. Together with him on the same day, which was the 10th of June, Roger bishop elect of London, and Hugh of Ely, were consecrated by the same bishop before the great altar in the church of the Holy Trinity.*

Of the great preparations of the king of England to cross into France.

About the same time, at Michaelmas, king Henry assembled at Portsmouth all the nobility of the kingdom of England, namely, the earls, barons, and knights, with such a host of soldiers, horse and foot, as was believed none of his predecessors had ever before got together; for such a host of knights and soldiers came to him from the countries of Ireland and Scotland, Wales and Galway, that all were wonder-struck; for with this great force the king intended to cross the sea, to recover possession of the territories which his father had lost. But when the chiefs and marshals of the king's army came to embark the provisions and arms on board the ships, they found only such a few of them that there were not enough to transport half the army; when the news of this was carried to the king he was greatly enraged and laid the whole blame of this on Hubert de Burgh the justiciary, and, in the hearing of all, called him an old traitor, accusing him of having received five thousand marks from the queen of the French to cause this deficiency in order to frustrate his plans, and at length in a transport of rage he drew his sword and endeavoured to kill the justiciary; on this Ralph earl of Chester, and several others who were present, interposed and saved him from death, but he withdrew himself from the king's presence, until his anger against him should cool down. In the meantime on the 9th of October, Henry count of Brittany† arrived at that port, to conduct the king in safety to his territory, as had been agreed on and confirmed by oath between them; but he, in conjunction with some other prudent men of the army, advised the king to put off the expedition till after the ensuing Easter, as it was dangerous to undertake such a difficult voyage during the winter; on this the king gave permission to all of the army to return home, and he and the justiciary

* Paris adds:—"In the same year, on the 14th of November, died Martin de Pateshull dean of London, a man of remarkable skill and well versed in the laws of the kingdom."

† This should be Peter Mauclerc count of Brittany, Henry was the name of the duke of Burgundy.

became reconciled. The count of Brittany then did homage to the king against all men for Brittany; and the king restored to him all his rights in England, and, after giving him five thousand marks for the defence of his territory, he sent him back to his own province. In this same year, on the 23rd of November, Richard archbishop of Canterbury received the pall which had been transmitted to him by the pope, and in the presence of the king and the suffragan bishops, performed divine service with the pall in the cathedral church at Canterbury.

Of the wicked death of a usurer.

About this time there dwelt in Lesser Britain a certain usurer, who by lending his money out at interest had amassed immense wealth. Although often told by the bishop of the place that it was not lawful for him to increase his property by usury, he would not listen to the bishop, but still persisted in his endeavours to amass wealth, although in this improper way; on this, the bishop, seeing that he was incorrigible, excommunicated him and excluded him from the community of Christians, but of this he made light, and not long afterwards closed his life miserably, an excommunicated man. After he was dead, without the viaticum or making confession, his wife and sons went to the priest of the town and asked him to bury the deceased with the ceremonials of the church, which the priest refused to do, because he had died excommunicated, and ordered them to bury him outside the town at a place where two roads met. On this the widow went with her sons to the count and laid her complaint before him, that the priest refused to bury a parishioner of his, but she concealed the reason, namely, that he had died excommunicated. The count then flew into a rage with the priest, and ordered his servants to go to him and in his name order him to bury the dead man, and, if the priest refused to do so to tie him to the dead man and bury them both together. This order was carried into effect, and all the bishops of Brittany excommunicated the count; on which an enmity sprang up between the two parties, and all the bishops were driven into exile by the count, and he himself remained under sentence of excommunication, until it could be confirmed by the pope.

Of the return of the Roman emperor Frederic to his own country.

In the same year the Roman emperor Frederic, after restoring the Holy Land to the Christian rule, the truce for ten years, which he had obtained from the sultan of Damascus, having been mutually confirmed by oath, embarked on the day of the finding of the holy cross, to cross the Mediterranean sea on his return to his own country; but as he had heard that John de Brienne was laying snares for him in the ports on this side of the water, he did not dare to land incautiously, and, therefore, that his enemies might not have to rejoice in his capture, he touched at a safe place, and sent out spies to conduct him to a harbour of safety. He at length

arrived safely with a small retinue in Sicily, and there heard that his enemies had already subdued many of his castles and towns, and were even now making free inroads in the imperial territory, there being no one to oppose them; but when his arrival was made known, the lawful subjects of the empire, who were bound by allegiance to him, flocked to him, and surrounded by these, and being reinforced by others who came to him, he boldly burst forth amongst his enemies, and began by degrees to recover the lands and castles he had lost.

How the king of England spent Christmas at York.

A. D. 1230. At Christmas king Henry held his court at York, in company with the king of Scots whom he had invited to the festival; the archbishop of the city too was present there with the earls, barons, knights, and a large retinue, and there the two kings distributed many festive dresses amongst their knights. The English king was profuse in his liberality to the king of Scots, presenting him with valuable horses, rings, and jewels; and for three days they continued the festival, banqueting splendidly every day, and observing this great anniversary with all joy and exultation. On the fourth day the party broke up and the king of Scots returned home, whilst Henry hastened to London.

In the same year, on the day of the Conversion of St. Paul, the bishop of the city of London was standing before the great altar of the cathedral church of that city wearing his mitre, and about to perform divine service in the presence of the citizens who were assembled in honour of St. Paul, when on a sudden the sky became covered with such dense clouds and the sun became so obscured that one person could scarcely see his neighbour in the church. Whilst all were in a state of astonishment and suspected that the day of judgment was come, such a dreadful clap of thunder burst suddenly over the church, that the building itself, together with the lofty tower, seemed to be falling on their heads, and from the mass of clouds there darted forth such a flash of lightning that the whole church seemed on fire. In the midst of this too there arose such an intolerable stench, that all present were afraid they would be suffocated, and on this about a thousand persons of both sexes who were in the church, fearing certain death, made a hasty escape from the church, and in their alarm fell to the earth, remaining there for some time without sense or motion. Out of all the multitude assembled, only the bishop and one of the deacons, who stood before the great altar clad in their sacred robes, remained undismayed awaiting the Lord's pleasure. At length when the sky again became clear, and all the multitude, having recovered confidence in their safety, had again entered the church, the bishop devoutly completed the remaining part of the service. Great astonishment was caused throughout the whole city by this occurrence, and all feared that it prognosticated some great and wonderful event about to happen.

In the same year, during Lent, the Roman emperor had gained so much ground against his enemies that he had by force regained possession of all the castles and possessions which belonged to the empire; and all those whom he took prisoners in the castles he either flayed alive or hung on the gibbet. John de Brienne, his declared enemy, afraid of falling into his hands, fled into France his native country. After this, on the interposition of friends and religious men, a truce was agreed on between the pope and the emperor, until they could arrange terms of peace. In the month of April in this same year, the noble chief, William de Braose was hung by Llewellyn the Welsh chief, being caught, as was said, in adultery with the wife of that prince.

In the same year, on the demand of the king, the archbishops bishops, abbats, and priors throughout all England, gave to the king a large sum of money to enable him to recover the provinces on the continent which had been taken from his father. The citizens of London too were compelled to redeem themselves by the payment of a heavy amount for the same purpose; and the Jews, whether they would or not, were compelled to give up a third of all their property.

How the king of England crossed with his army into Brittany.

At Easter king Henry assembled a large army at Reading, comprising all the nobles of the kingdom who owed him military service, and great numbers of others from different countries, and then moving his camp from that place he marched to Portsmouth, where on the 30th of April he embarked with his whole army. He then set sail, and by the exertions of his ship's crews he landed at St. Malo in Brittany on the 3rd of May; a great part of the army who were unable to follow the king's track closely, landed in different places, but, by God's assistance, they all came to the king in Brittany without injury and without loss of their property. The count of Brittany received the king with due reverence and honour, and delivered to him the towns and castles of that province, and many others of the nobles of the province came and did homage and swore fealty to him. Andrew de Vitre, however, and a few other noblemen refused to give their allegiance to the king, and, supplying their castles with provisions, made strong preparations for resistance. The French king, when he was informed of the arrival of the king of England, assembled a powerful army, and marched with shields and standards glittering to the city of Anjou, where he measured out his camp, and made a long halt, to obstruct the English king's progress into Poictou. King Henry was at this time at the city of Nantes, awaiting the arrival of a further reinforcement of troops which were coming to him from various quarters, and during his stay there the French king with his army laid siege to a weak fortress called Oudon, nearly four leagues distant from Nantes, and, easily gaining

possession of it, destroyed it, after which he again returned to the city of Anjou.

In the same year on the 14th of May, which was the Tuesday in Rogation week, an unusual eclipse of the sun took place very early in the morning, immediately after sun-rise, and it became so dark that the labourers, who had commenced their morning's work, were obliged to leave it, and returned again to their beds to sleep, but in about an hour's time, to the astonishment of many, the sun regained its usual brightness. In this same year too the duke of Saxony, a relation of the English king, came to England, and was received with all honour by the citizens of London; this noble was so tall and of such a size, that he excited every body's wonder, and the people assembled to gaze at him as if to see a pageant.

Of the dissensions which arose amongst the French barons.

About this time almost all the nobles of France were engaged in war one against another, and the duke of Burgundy, the counts of Boulogne, Dreux, Macon, St. Paul, and Bar, and the nobles Enguerrand de Courcy, Robert de Courtenaye, and many others, who were, as was reported, sworn allies of the king of England and Henry count of Brittany, declared war against the counts of Champagne and Flanders; and all of them having completed their forty days of service at the siege of Anjou, obtained leave from the French king, and returned to their own provinces. The king then, not being able to detain them, followed them, in order to bring about a reconciliation amongst them, but this he could not effect by any means, for the above-mentioned nobles invaded the territory of the count of Champagne, and commenced ravaging it with fire and sword. This count came to oppose them with a large force, and gave them battle; but the above-mentioned nobles were too powerful for him and his troops, and made prisoners of two hundred of his knights, and slew thirteen. The count of Champagne seeing his troops defeated, fled from the field of battle, having lost all his companions; the enemy gave pursuit to him, putting to the sword any of his adherents they met, and did not desist from the pursuit till they had driven the count inside the gates of the city of Paris. Then, not choosing to follow him further, they returned into Champagne, and pillaged the whole of the province, razing castles and towns to the ground, burning villages and cities, cutting down the vine and fruit trees, and sparing nothing which they found outside the churches. These nobles were carrying on this war against the count for his treachery to the king, inasmuch as at the siege of Avignon he had, as they said, poisoned their lord king Louis, on account of his love for the queen; and although they had often laid this accusation against him at the court of the French king and in the king's presence, and wished to prove the count guilty by the ordeal of single combat, yet the queen, who,

on account of the king's youth and inexperience, managed all the business of the kingdom, refused to listen to them. For this reason they, the nobles aforesaid, had withdrawn from their allegiance to the king and queen, and had disturbed the kingdom by war; for they scorned to have such a mistress as the queen to rule over them, who, as was said, had been defiled, not only by the said count but also by the Roman legate.

Of the slaughter amongst the Irish, and the capture of one of their kings.

In the same year, in the month of July, a certain petty king of Connaught in Ireland, when he learned that the king of England and William Marshall were engaged in war upon the continent, and that the kingdom of Ireland was as it were entirely free from military force, collected a large army from all parts of the country, in hopes to expel all of English race from the Irish boundaries; he therefore invaded the territories of the English king, spreading fire and destruction, and indulging in rapine and pillage. News of this incursion was at length brought to Geoffrey de March, who performed the functions of justiciary under the king in those parts, on which he sent for Walter de Lacy and Richard de Burgh to join him, and with them and a strong force he boldly proceeded against the enemy; his army he divided into three bodies, giving the command of two of these to the said Walter de Lacy and Richard de Burgh, and retaining the command of the third himself; the two companies commanded by the said Walter and Richard he hid in the woods by which the enemy would pass, and thus laid an ambuscade for them; and the third, which he himself commanded, he drew up to meet the enemy face to face, and provoke them to a battle. The Irish at length approached them, and seeing only one battalion of the English, rushed on them, as if certain of obtaining victory; the English then feigned flight, and were pursued by the Irish till they had entered the place of ambuscade. Those in ambush then rushed forth from their concealment, and rending the air with their shouts attacked the enemy in flank and rear; the first body too, which had fled before them, now turned on the Irish, and a dreadful slaughter ensued; for of the Irish soldiers there were said to have been twenty thousand slain, and their king was taken and imprisoned.

About the same time Fulke Paisnel, a noble of Normandy, and William his brother, abandoned their castles and territory, and came to Brittany, where they did homage and swore fealty to the king of England. With them also came sixty bold and powerful knights, and they all advised the king to invade Normandy, telling him he would be sure to subdue that province; the king willingly acquiesced in their plans, but Hubert de Burgh would not allow them to be carried into effect, saying that it would be beyond measure dangerous to attempt it. The knights hearing this, then

asked the king to allow them two hundred knights from his army, to join them in invading Normandy, and promised the king that they would without fail expel all the French race from that province; this also Hubert the justiciary refused to allow, asserting that it would be unwise for the king to expose his soldiers to death just at his own pleasure. And thus these nobles found themselves wofully deceived, for the French king immediately disinherited them, and converted their castles and all their property to his own uses.

How the English king marched into Gascony, and received homage there.

After this the king of England, by the advice of Hubert de Bourg, marched from Brittany with his army through Anjou, and arrived in Poictou; from this latter province he proceeded into Gascony, where he received the homage of the people, and, after making arrangements for the security of that district, he returned into Poictou, and there he received the homage of a great many of the inhabitants. In this expedition, the king besieged the castle of Mirebelle, and owing to the commendable valour of the English, who kept up fierce and continued assaults on it, he compelled the besieged to surrender, and then departed, taking them away as prisoners. In the month of August of this year, his holiness pope Gregory and the Roman emperor Frederick, by means of the interposition of Christians and allies on both sides, came to terms of peace; the Roman emperor went to Rome and was absolved, and all the places under the jurisdiction of the empire were restored to him in their former condition. This great priest and the most mighty emperor then feasted together for three days in the palace of the supreme pontiff, and the cardinals and the nobles of the empire rejoiced in this sudden confirmation of a peace of which they had given up all hope.

In the same year, Ralph earl of Chester garrisoned and supplied with provisions and arms the castle at St. John de Beveron, which by hereditary right belonged to the countess his wife; for Henry count of Brittany had given up that castle to the earl, when he joined the side of the king of England, and received from the king all his possessions and rights in England.

Of the peace made between the French king and the barons.

In this year, in the month of September, the French king and his mother the queen, and the nobles of that kingdom, who, since the death of king Louis had been at war one with another, as has been stated above, met at a conference to treat about a peace, which was arranged on the following terms: it was unanimously determined by the aforesaid nobles that the count of Champagne, who had been the principal cause of this discord, should assume the cross, and with a hundred knights should undertake a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, there to fight against the enemies of Christ; and the French king and his mother swore on the holy gospels, that they would restore to each of them their rights, and that

they would administer justice to all the subjects of that kingdom, in accordance with the customs which were right and due to all.

Of the king's return into England from Brittany.

The king of England all this time was lying with his army at the city of Nantes, doing nothing except spending his money. The earls and barons too, as Hubert the king's justiciary would not allow them to engage in battle against the enemy, gave entertainments to one another, as was the custom of the English, and devoted themselves to eating and drinking by turns, as though they were keeping Christmas, and those amongst them who were poor disposed of their horses and arms, so that from that moment they led an unhappy life.* At length, in the month of October, the king having made all necessary arrangements for the country, left there five hundred knights and a thousand mercenaries, under the command of Ralph earl of Chester, William Marshall, and William earl of Albemarle, with some other chosen chiefs; he himself took ship, and after being exposed to a great many dangers, on the 26th of October landed at Portsmouth, where numbers of his subjects of different ranks came to pay their respects to him with divers presents. Gilbert earl of Gloucester and Clare died when on his return from the continent, and the king gave the justiciary Hubert the charge of all his lands and honour.

After the king of England's departure from the continent, the earl of Chester and the other chiefs of the king's army there, with their whole force made an incursion through the province of Anjou, and were absent in that part of the country fifteen days. During this time they took the castle of Gonnord, razed it to the ground, and burned the town; they next took a new castle on the Sarte, destroyed it, and set fire to the town at that place, after which they returned again into Brittany with immense booty. Not long afterwards they made a hostile descent upon Normandy, and took the castle of Pontoise, which they destroyed, and after burning the town, they returned into Brittany without loss to themselves.

In the same year, on the 22nd of November, an eclipse of the moon took place, which lasted for three hours, only a very small portion of it being visible, it being then thirteen days old.

Of the exaction of the scutage for the expedition to the continent.

A.D. 1231. At Christmas, king Henry held his court at Lambeth, where he was entertained by Hubert the justiciary. On the 26th of January following, the king convened the prelates and other nobles of the kingdom to a conference at Westminster, at which he demanded a scutage of three marks for each escutcheon,

* Paris adds:—"In the same year, Raymond de Bourg, a brave and noble knight, nephew of Hubert de Bourg, chanced to be riding on the banks of the Loire, when his horse by unlucky chance got into the stream. On attempting again to climb the bank, which was very steep, he fell back with his rider, and both were drowned."

from all laymen as well as ecclesiastics, who held baronies. This demand was boldly opposed by Richard archbishop of Canterbury, and some of the bishops besides, who said that ecclesiastics were not bound to be subservient to the lay jurisdiction, as the scutage had been granted on the continent, when they were not present. At length, after many arguments on both sides, the business, as far as the opposing prelates were concerned, was postponed till a fortnight after Easter; all the rest, however, laymen as well as clergy and people, yielded to the king's pleasure.

Of the disagreement between the king and the archbishop.

About this time Richard archbishop of Canterbury came to the king, and laid a complaint against Hubert the justiciary, for unjustly detaining the castle of Tunbridge, with the town and its appurtenances, and other lands late belonging to Gilbert earl of Clare deceased, which belonged to the jurisdiction of himself and the church of Canterbury, and for which the said earl and his predecessors had given acknowledgment, and done homage to him and his predecessors; he therefore for that reason asked the king to restore to him the custody of the said castle, with its appurtenances, and to preserve uninjured the rights of the church of Canterbury. To this demand the king replied that the aforesaid earl was a tenant in chief from himself, and that the vacant trusts of the earls and barons, and their heirs, (till they arrived at the age of maturity,) pertained to his crown, and that he was at liberty to sell or give them to whom he chose. The archbishop then, being unable to obtain any other answer, excommunicated all intruders on the aforesaid possessions, and all except the king who should hold communication with them, and then for this as well as for other reasons he set out to Rome to obtain his rights and those of his church. The king on the other hand sent master Robert de Cantelo and some other messengers to Rome to plead his cause.

In the month of April of this year, after the feast of Easter, Richard the king's brother married the countess of Gloucester, who was the sister of William Marshall earl of Pembroke, and scarcely were the nuptial festivities concluded, when that bold knight William Marshall closed his life lamented by many, and on the 15th of April was buried in the New Temple at London near his father.*

Of the dreadful ravages committed by Llewellyn in Wales.

In the month of May in this year, the Welsh burst forth from their hiding places like rats from their holes, and spread fire and devastation over the lands which formerly belonged to William de

* Paris adds: "The king, who loved him immoderately, when he heard of it, and saw his body covered with a pall, drew a deep sigh and exclaimed, 'Woe is me, is not the blood of St. Thomas the martyr yet entirely avenged?'"

Braose; but on the king of England's marching thither with a small military force, they, according to custom, retreated to their fastnesses. The king then went to the northern parts of the country, leaving Hubert the justiciary in this quarter to repel the incursions of the Welsh; they however, as soon as they heard of the king's departure, again resumed their pillaging expeditions, and invading the districts near the castle of Montgomery, they commenced committing their ravages in that quarter. When this news was brought to the knights of the garrison, they sallied forth to give battle to the Welsh, in order to prevent their roving about the country thus unopposed, and cutting off their retreat, they slew and made prisoners of a great number of them; they then delivered all whom they had taken alive to the justiciary, who ordered them to be decapitated, and their heads to be sent to the king. Llewellyn, in great indignation at this deed, collected a large army and committed severe depredations on the lands and possessions of the barons, who lived on the borders of Wales, sparing neither the churches nor ecclesiastics; and burnt several churches, together with some noble women and girls who had fled there for safety.

How Llewellyn was excommunicated, and the king invaded Wales.

When king Henry received intelligence of this great crime, he collected a large army at Oxford on the 13th of July, and there, when the whole of the nobility of the kingdom, clergy and people, had assembled, all the bishops and other prelates of the churches, in the presence of the king, excommunicated Llewellyn and his adherents, who had burnt the churches; after which he led his army forward and marched with all haste to Hereford. Llewellyn was then lying with his army near the castle of Montgomery, in a field near the river, covered with marshes, where he was waiting in ambuscade to attack the knights of the garrison. From that place, as was said, he sent to the castle a certain monk from a convent of the Cistercian order in the neighbourhood, called Cumira; when the knights of the castle saw him coming to them, they went out from the castle to speak with him, and asked him if he had heard anything of king Llewellyn, to which the monk replied that he had seen him with a small retinue in a field near, where he was waiting for a larger force. The knights then asked the monk if horsemen could cross the river and the field safely, to which he replied, "The bridge by which passengers used to cross the river has been broken by Llewellyn, because he feared an attack on your part; but you can safely cross the river and the field on horseback wherever you choose, and with a few horsemen easily conquer the Welsh, or put them to flight." Walter de Godarville, the governor of the castle, gave credit to this false information of the monk, and at once gave orders to his fellow knights and the soldiers to fly to arms, and then, mounting their horses, they soon reached the

place. The Welsh, seeing them advancing impetuously, immediately feigned a flight to a wood that was near; the knights of the castle pursued them hotly till they were immersed in the before-mentioned river and marsh up to their horses' bellies, and especially the foremost of them; those behind were forewarned by the immersion of their companions, for whose misfortune they sorrowed greatly. The Welsh, seeing the condition of their enemies, then rushed impetuously on them, and with their lances caused a cruel slaughter amongst them, as they rolled about in the mud. A severe conflict then ensued, but at length, after much slaughter on both sides, the Welsh were victorious. In this battle Giles son of Richard d'Argenton, a brave knight, was taken prisoner, and some others with him, whose names I have not heard.

Of the vengeance taken by the king for this treachery of the monk, &c.

When the calamity which had befallen his knights was told to the king of England, he marched with all haste to the convent to which the monk belonged who had betrayed the aforesaid knights, and as a punishment for his treachery burnt a farm belonging to the convent, after plundering it of everything, and then plundered the convent, ordering that also to be burnt; the abbat, however, to save the buildings which had cost so much money and labour, paid the king three hundred marks, and thus his anger was averted for a time. After this the king ordered the castle of Matilda in Wales, which had been some time ago destroyed by the Welsh, to be strongly rebuilt of stone, and when it was finished at great expense, he placed in it a garrison of knights and soldiers, to check the incursions of the Welsh.

Of the treaty made between the French and English kings.

In the month of June of the same year, the French king led a large army to invade Brittany; but Henry count of Brittany and Ralph earl of Chester were informed of his approach, and lying in ambush for him, attacked the waggons and carriages which were transporting the arms and provisions in the rear, and took possession of all his baggage, after which they burnt his engines of war, and carried off sixty horses. The French then began to consider that Brittany was impregnable, and despaired of a favourable issue to such a weak commencement, so a treaty was entered into by the archbishop of Rheims and Philip count of Boulogne on behalf of the French king, and the count of Brittany and the earl of Chester on behalf of the English king, and on the 5th of July a truce for three years between the two kings was agreed on and confirmed by oath.

In this same month of July, Peter bishop of Winchester returned to England, after having passed nearly five years in the land of promise, in the fulfilment of his vow of pilgrimage, and on the 1st of August was received with a solemn procession in the cathedral church of Winchester. In the same year, after the con-

firmation of the truce, the count of Brittany and the earl of Chester, with Richard Marshall, came to England from the continent, and set out to the king, who was still engaged in the building of the castle of Matilda in Wales, and were graciously received by him. Richard Marshall presented himself to the king as the heir of his brother William Marshall, and offered to do homage to the king for his inheritance, and whatever else he was bound to do for his rights. The king in reply, by the advice of the justiciary Hubert, told him he had heard that his deceased brother's wife was pregnant, on which account he could not listen to his demand till the truth of this matter was discovered. The king also accused the said Richard of having associated with his declared enemies in the French provinces, and for this he ordered him at once to leave the kingdom for ever; and declared, that if he was found in the kingdom at the expiration of fifteen days, he should be consigned to perpetual imprisonment. Richard then, not being able to obtain any other answer, at once sailed to Ireland, where he was received with joy by all the knights and followers of his late brother, who gave up to him all the castles which had belonged to his said brother, and did homage and made allegiance to him; he also regained possession of the castle of Pembroke, with all the honours pertaining thereto, and then collected an army, determining to regain the possession of his inheritance, even against the consent of the king, if necessary. But the king at length changed his mind, and fearing that the said Richard would disturb the peace of the kingdom, received his homage and fealty, and granted to him all his rights, saving only the customary fine due to himself.

How Richard abp. of Canterbury went to Rome, and died on his return.

In this year, Richard archbishop of Canterbury went to the court of Rome, and made the following complaints to the pope. In the first place, he complained against the king of England, that he managed all the business of the kingdom according to the advice of Hubert the justiciary alone, thus slighting all the other nobles. He also complained of the justiciary that he had married a woman who was a relation of his former wife, and that he seized on, and was still unjustly detaining, some of the possessions of the church of Canterbury. He also complained that some of his suffragan bishops, neglecting their pastoral duties, sat in the king's exchequer court, examining into the causes of the laity, and giving judgment in cases of life and death. He also complained that the beneficed clergy and men in holy orders held several churches to which the care of souls belonged, and that like the bishops, and following their example, these men intermeddled with secular business and lay judgments. Having thus laid these and other like complaints before the pope, he asked that pontiff to apply the rod of correction for such delinquencies. After a careful consideration of these matters, his holiness the pope, seeing that all the archbishop's com-

plaints were supported by justice and reason, immediately gave orders that the business or petition of that prelate should be attended to, and due justice administered. The king's clerks pleaded a great many excuses in reply, on behalf of the king and the justiciary, but without effect; for, to speak briefly, the archbishop's influence obtained for him whatever he demanded. He then, having completed his business to his satisfaction, set out on his return, but died on the journey at St. Gemina's, on the 3rd of August, and with him died also all the advantages which he had gained in the above business.*

How Henry was dissuaded from marrying the sister of the king of Scots.

In the same year in the month of October, the king of England, having completed the castle of Matilda in Wales, returned to England. He had determined then to marry the sister of the king of Scots much to the indignation of all the earls and barons; for it was not proper, they said, for the king to marry the younger daughter, when Hubert the justiciary was married to an elder one; he was finally dissuaded from his purpose by the count of Brittany, and he then gave to that noble five thousand marks of silver, who then returned into his own country.

Of the election of Ralph as archbishop of Canterbury, and its annulment.

On the death of Richard archbishop of Canterbury, above related, the monks of Canterbury determined to demand as a chief priest over them, Ralph de Neville bishop of Chichester, who was the king's chancellor. Accordingly, after making the election, they on the 24th of September presented him to the king, who willingly accepted of him, as far as he was concerned, and immediately invested him in the manors and other possessions pertaining to the archbishopric. The monks, who were about to go to Rome, then went to the archbishop elect and asked him for assistance in defraying the expenses of their journey, but he plainly told them that he would not give them one farthing for that purpose. They nevertheless set out for Rome, and demanded of the pope a confirmation by the apostolic authority of the election or proposition they had made. The pope then caused an inquisition to be made, as it is said, by master Simon Langton as to the character of the proposed archbishop, and then replied that the archbishop elect was a courtier and an illiterate man, for which reason he annulled the said election and gave orders to the conventual assembly of Canterbury to choose a profitable pastor of

* Paris adds: "Connected with him a wonderful event occurred: his body, as was the custom, had been laid out in his pontifical robes to be buried, and in the night some of the men of that country who had beheld his ornaments with a greedy eye, opened his coffin, wishing to steal his ring and other episcopal ornaments, but could not effect their purpose either by force or skill, on which they went away, beating their wicked breasts in alarm."

their souls, and one that would promote the welfare of the English church, on which the monks returned and told their brethren how they had been foiled in their wishes.

Of the insolence of the Roman clergy.

About this time there arose in England a great excitement, yea, we may truly call it an indiscreet act of presumption, on account of the insolence of the Roman clergy, which drove the nobles of the kingdom as well as those of inferior rank, to a rash mode of punishment, as is related in the following writing:—"To such a bishop and such a chapter, the whole community of those who would rather die than be put to shame by the Romans, greeting. How the Roman pontiffs and their legates have hitherto behaved themselves towards us and other ecclesiastics of England, we are sure is no secret to you, and how you have conferred the benefices of the kingdom on their followers, at their pleasure, to the great prejudice and injury of yourselves and all others of the kingdom; and that they have fulminated sentences of excommunication against you and your fellow bishops and other ecclesiastics, to whom the collation of benefices properly belongs, to the intent that you shall confer no benefices on a native until five Romans, whose names are not yet known, namely, the son of Rumfred, and the sons of such and such persons, shall have been provided for in each of your churches throughout England, each of them with a revenue of a hundred pounds, besides other burdens which they have imposed, both on the laity and nobles of the kingdom, in the matter of their advowsons and charities bequeathed by them and their ancestors for the maintenance of the poor, as well as on clerks and other religious persons, concerning their property and benefices. And not content with this, they wish to take away from the clergy of the kingdom, to the very last, the benefices which they hold in order to bestow them on their Roman followers, not according to justice but at their own pleasure, and in this way they endeavour to fulfil the prophecy, 'They have robbed the Egyptians to enrich the Hebrews, multiplying their people, not increasing their joy;' and thus they heap sorrow upon sorrow on us and you, so that it seems to us to be better to die than to live to be thus oppressed. Wherefore, although it may be difficult for us 'to kick against the pricks,' since he who wipes his nose too hard draws blood, we, considering the severity of those who first came here as Roman strangers, but who now aim not only at judging but also condemning us, imposing on us unbearable burdens, which they will not move with even one of their fingers, have, by common consent, determined, late as it is, to oppose them, rather than any longer to subject ourselves to their intolerable oppression or to endure a worse slavery. We therefore strictly forbid you, when we are endeavouring to rescue the church, as well as the king and kingdom from the yoke of such oppressive

slavery, to interfere in the case of those who introduce themselves in matters concerning the Romans and their revenues; and rest assured that if you by any chance transgress this order, which God forbid, all your property will be liable to be burnt, and the punishment which the Romans incur in their persons you will incur. Farewell."

The prohibition against the paying of farms or revenues to the Romans.

"To the religious men, and others who hold churches in farm from the Roman priests, the above community, greeting. Whereas, after the innumerable oppressions and injuries, which as you know have been inflicted by the Romans on the kingdom of England up to this time, to the injury of the king and the nobles of the kingdom, in the matter of their advowsons and their alms, and since they are endeavouring to deprive the clergy of this kingdom of their benefices, in order to confer them on the Romans, to the greater prejudice and shame of the kingdom and ourselves, we, by the common consent of the nobles, have determined, late as it is, to oppose them, rather than henceforth to submit to their intolerable oppression, and so to check them by withdrawing from them all their benefices throughout the whole kingdom, that they may cease from harassing it any longer. Wherefore we strictly order you henceforth not to pay to the Romans the farms of the churches or the revenues of the lands which you hold from them or owe to them, but to have the said farms and revenues ready, and deliver them to our agent appointed by us by letter for the purpose on the Sunday on which is chanted the psalm, 'Let Jerusalem rejoice;' the abbats and priors in their own churches, and the other presbyters, and the clergy, and laity in their own churches; and rest assured that if ye do not obey this, your property will be liable to be burnt, and you will incur the danger to which the Romans in person are liable. Farewell." After this the community aforesaid by means of their knights and agents promulgated these letters, sealed with a new seal, on which were engraved two swords, and between the swords was this inscription, "Behold two swords are here," as was the custom with citations to cathedral churches, signifying, that whomsoever they found opposing them they would punish according to their decrees.

Of the consistory court held at St. Alban's, and of the capture of Cincius.

About the same time on the 17th of December, a large consistory court was held at St. Alban's consisting of the abbats, priors, archdeacons, and almost all the nobility of the kingdom, who had all assembled by command of the pope, for the purpose of effecting a divorce between the countess of Essex and her husband, if there were good reason for it. On the following day after the council was dissolved, as they were all returning to their different homes, a Roman clerk, named Cincius a canon of St. Paul's church at London, was, by the agency of the above-mentioned society, as was

said, seized and carried off by some armed men with their heads covered; master John a Florentine archdeacon of Norwich, who had been present at the council, escaped being captured, and fled to London, where he remained concealed for several days. After a lapse of five weeks too, Cincius was brought back safe and sound to London, though, as was said, with his purse emptied.

Of the forcible seizure of corn at Wingham.

A.D. 1232. At Christmas king Henry held his court at Winchester, where Peter, the bishop of that city provided the necessary entertainment for him, and made presents of festive dresses to the king as well as his own followers. During the week of Christmas the well-stored barns at Wingham, belonging to a Roman priest were plundered by a small body of armed men with their heads covered, who acted, as was said, by orders of the above-mentioned society. The proctor and guardian of that church, when he heard of this deed of violence, went to the sheriff of the county and informed him of this violation of the king's peace and the injury inflicted on his lord. The sheriff then sent his agents with some soldiers to the place, and ordered them to discover what the matter was; on arriving at the barns the soldiers there saw these armed men, who were entirely unknown to them and who had by this time nearly emptied the granaries, and sold the corn on good terms for the benefit of the whole district, and had also charitably given a portion of it to the poor who asked for it. The soldiers, on coming up to them, asked them whence they came, and how they dared to disturb the king's peace and commit such depredations, on which they called the soldiers aside and at once showed them warrants from the king forbidding any one to obstruct them, and on seeing these the soldiers themselves, as well as others who had come there, went away quietly, and within fifteen days these armed men having sold all the corn, went away with their pockets well filled. Information of this occurrence having been carried to Roger bishop of London, he summoned ten bishops, and on the day after the feast of the blessed virgin Scholastica,* in St. Paul's church at London, they excommunicated all the authors of this deed of violence, and including in this sentence all those who had laid violent hands on Cincius the canon of the church at London, and also the whole of the above-mentioned society, and all those who had written and sealed the letters above-mentioned.

How the king demanded pecuniary assistance.

On the 7th of March in this year, the nobles of the kingdom, laity as well as prelates, assembled in council at Westminster at the summons of the king, who there explained to them, that he was involved in heavy debts by reason of the war which he had lately carried on on the continent, and was therefore driven by necessity to ask the assistance of them all in general. On hearing

* The 10th of February.

this, Ralph earl of Chester, speaking for the rest of the nobles, replied to the king, that the earls, barons, and knights, who were tenants of the king in chief, and were there present in person, had expended their money so lavishly to no purpose, that they had all left the continent poor men, and therefore by right were not bound to give the king assistance; and then all the lay nobles asked leave, and retired from the council. The prelates, in answer to the king's demand, said that many of the bishops and abbats, who had been summoned were not present, and they therefore asked for a postponement of the matter till they should all assemble on a day appointed. A day was then appointed a fortnight after Easter for them all to assemble and determine what ought to be done by right.

In this same year, the conventual assembly of Canterbury elected John their prior to be their archbishop and the pastor of their souls, who on his presentation to the king was accepted of by him, and then set off to Rome to obtain a proper confirmation of his election from the apostolic see.

Of a remarkable vision concerning king Richard.

About this same time Henry bishop of Rochester was performing divine service, on the Sunday when is chanted the psalm, "Come to the water, all ye that are thirsty," at a place called Sittingbourn, in the presence of the archbishop elect of Canterbury, and surrounded by the clergy and people, when he confidently made the following declaration to them, "Rejoice all of ye, my brethren in the Lord, who are here present, for be assured for certain that on one and the same day lately, Richard formerly king of England, and Stephen late archbishop of Canterbury in company with a chaplain of the said archbishop, went out of the places of torture and appeared before the divine majesty, and only those three left purgatory on that day; and you may put sure confidence in my words, for this has been revealed by a vision to me or some one else three times, so plainly that all doubt is removed from my mind." And as mention has here been made of the noble king Richard, I will relate an occurrence which happened to him, for the edification of my readers.

How Richard saw the image of Christ bend its head towards a worshipper.

During the reign of the said king Richard, a certain English knight living in the New Forest, who had long made a practice of clandestinely hunting the king's deer, was on one occasion caught with some stolen venison, and by a decree of the court of the said king was condemned to exile. This merciful king had mitigated the law in reference to stolen venison, which, amongst his predecessors had been so severe, that when any were caught committing that offence, their eyes were plucked out, their members lopped off, together with their hands and feet; but to the pious king Richard such a punishment seemed inhuman, that men, who are

made after God's image, should be perilled of life or limb for beasts, which, according to the law of nature, were given for the general use of all, by which man was made to appear of less importance than the wild beasts. He however considered it quite a sufficient punishment for any one, who was caught committing that offence, either to be banished from England or to undergo imprisonment saving his life and limbs. The above-mentioned knight then was sent into exile, and he, who had formerly enjoyed all the dainties of life, was, with his wife and children, obliged to beg his bread amongst foreigners. The knight, after some reflection, at length determined to implore the king for mercy, and for his estate to be restored to him, and he accordingly went to the king in Normandy, where he found him early in the morning in a church, about to hear mass. The knight tremblingly entered the church and did not dare to raise his eyes to the king, for although he was the most handsome of men to look upon, there was still something dreadful in his look; he therefore went to an image of Christ on the cross, and, weeping incessantly, he humbly on his bended knees besought the Crucified One through his unspeakable grace compassionately to make his peace with the king, by which means he might recover his lost inheritance. The king seeing the knight thus earnestly and with unfeigned devotion praying and weeping, witnessed an occurrence wonderful and worthy of narration; for whenever the knight, who he knew was not of his retinue, bent his knees to worship the image, the image in all humility bowed its head and shoulders as it were in answer to the knight, and the king was struck with wonder and astonishment to see this repeated frequently. As soon as the service of mass was ended, he sent for the knight to speak with him, and inquired of him who he was and whence he came. The knight then replied with fear and said, "My lord, I am your liege subject as my ancestors also have been;" and then beginning his history, he told the king how he had been deprived of his inheritance and banished together with his family, having been caught with some stolen venison. The king then said to the knight, "Have you ever in your life done any good action in respect, and to the honour, of the holy cross?" The knight then, after carefully thinking over the events of his past life, related to the king the following deed which he had done in his reverence for Christ.

How the knight spared his enemy out of his reverence for Christ.

"My father," said he, "and another knight divided between them a town which belonged to them by hereditary right; and whilst my father abounded in all kinds of wealth, the other knight, on the contrary was always poor and needy, and, becoming envious of my father, he treacherously murdered him. I was then a boy, but when I arrived at manhood and was installed in my paternal inheritance, I made a resolute determination to slay that knight in

revenge for my father's death ; he was however forewarned of my purpose, and for several years by his cunning escaped the snares I had laid for him. At length, on the day of the Preparation, on which day Christ Jesus bore his cross for the salvation of the world, as I was going to church to hear mass, I saw my enemy before me, also on his way to church. I hastened on behind him, and drew my sword to kill him, when by some chance he looked round, and, seeing me rushing upon him, fled to a cross which stood near the road, being worn down by age and unable to defend himself. And when I endeavoured with upraised sword to slay him and dash out his brains, he encircled the cross with his arms, and adjured me in the name of that Christ, who on that day was suspended on the cross for the salvation of the whole world, not to slay him, and faithfully promised and vowed, that he would appoint a chaplain to perform a mass every day from that time for the soul of my father whom he had killed. When I saw the old man weeping I was moved to pity, and thus in my love and reverence for him who, for my salvation and that of all, ascended the cross and consecrated it by his most holy blood, I forgave the knight for my father's murder." The king then said to the knight, "You acted wisely, for now that Crucified One has repaid one good turn by another." He then summoned the bishops and barons who were there with him, and, in the hearing of all, related the vision he had seen, how at each genuflection made by the knight, the image of Christ had humbly bowed its head and shoulders. He then summoned his chancellor to him, and commanded him by his letters patent to order the sheriff, whom the knight should name to him at sight of the warrant, to restore to the knight the whole of his property in the same condition as he received it at the time of his banishment.

Of the king's patience in his persecutions.

Whilst we are speaking of the virtues of the noble king, we ought not to omit to mention, that as soon as he was crowned, he always afforded strict justice to every one, and never allowed it to be subverted by bribery. All the vacant bishoprics and abbacies he at once bestowed without purchase on canonically elected priests, nor did he ever consign them to the charge of laymen ; he held all ordained prelates and especially religious men, in such respect, and in his reverence of Jesus Christ, was so afraid of offending them, that once on a time when all the prelates of the kingdom were assembled before the king by order of the pope, to make a grant of the twentieth part of all moveable property for the assistance of the Holy Land, and were sitting apart discussing the matter, the king said in a low voice to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter and William Briwere, who sat at his feet, "Do you see those prelates who are sitting there?" They answered, "We do, my lord." The king then said to them, "If they knew how much I,

in my reverence of God, am afraid of them, and how unwilling I should be to offend them, they would trample on me as on an old and worn-out shoe." It is also to be remarked, how he gave up the pleasures of his newly-gained kingdom in his love for the Eternal King, and how liberally he expended his own money and that of his late father in the service of Christ and for the liberation of the Holy Land, and how bravely he wrested the whole land of promise, besides the holy city of Jerusalem, from the hands of the enemies of the cross. And when his money failed him there he made a truce for three years and obtained permission from Saladin for a priest to perform the mass of the cross at the sepulchre of our Lord on each day till the termination of the truce at his own expense; and then departing to his own country, he recruited his forces and collected money, and at the end of the truce returned, leaving the kingdom and all the possessions of which he was Lord in the western countries, that he might be crowned king in the holy city of Jerusalem, take command of the troops, fight the battles of the Lord of sabaoth, and endeavour to subdue the enemies of the cross as long as he lived. But the enemy of the human race, who is always envious of good works and of the prosperity of Christians, stirred up against this devoted king the duke of Austria and the Roman emperor, who laid snares for him on his return from the Holy Land, when he was taken by his enemies, and, like a bull or an ass, sold to the Roman emperor. He was then imprisoned and vilely treated far otherwise than was fit for such a great man, and was obliged to pay a heavy sum for his ransom. The French king moreover obstructed his plans by invading his dominions when he was employed in the service of the cross; and being thus hindered by enemies in all quarters, he kept in mind the martyrdom which he had not yet undergone in body, as he had determined to do, in the land of promise, for he longed to return and to die in the service of the cross. In addition to all these trials of the said king, whilst he was absent on the crusade, earl John his brother conspired to subdue England, besieged castles, and made war on his brother, but by the commendable fidelity of the English, his plans were frustrated. O wonderful firmness of this noble king, which could never be bowed down by adversity, and was never elated in prosperity, but he always appeared cheerful, and in him there never appeared any sign of diffidence. These and other like virtues had rendered our king Richard glorious in the sight of the most high God; wherefore now, when the time of God's mercy had arrived, he was deservedly removed, as we believe, from the places of punishment to the everlasting kingdom, where Christ his king, whom he had faithfully served, had laid by for his soldier the crown of justice, which God had promised to those who love him. Rejoicing in company with him are those saints whose relics he

redeemed at the land of promise from Saladin for fifty-two thousand bezants, with the understanding that those saints should in his extreme necessity assist him by their intercessions in gaining God's favour. These said relics had been collected by the Saracens throughout all Judea and Galilee at the time of the capture of the Holy Land and the revered cross, and were placed in four ivory chests, each of which was so heavy that four men could scarcely carry it. But these circumstances have been more fully related amongst the events in the reign of the said king Richard.

Of the sale of the crops of the Roman clergy.

In the same year the corn of the Roman clergy throughout almost all England was carried off and sold by some men who were unknown, on good terms and for the benefit of many; this audacious business they commenced at Easter, and carried it through without any opposition. They were liberal in bestowing alms on the needy who came to them, and sometimes they threw money amongst the poor. The Roman clergy lay concealed in the convents, not daring to murmur at the injuries inflicted on them, for they preferred losing all their property to being condemned to death. The agents in this audacious proceeding were about eighty in number, and sometimes fewer; and their chief was one William, surnamed Wither, whose instructions they obeyed in every thing. Soon afterwards however, these proceedings came to the knowledge of the supreme pontiff, who was highly incensed, and sent a severe letter to the king of England, reproaching him for allowing such robberies to be perpetrated on the ecclesiastics in his kingdom, paying no respect to the oath which he had taken at the time of his coronation, not only to maintain peace towards the church, but also to observe strict justice towards the clergy as well as the laity. In the same letter too, he strictly ordered the king, under penalty of excommunication and interdict, to cause a diligent search for the authors of this violence, and to punish the guilty ones severely, in order that by punishing them, he might strike fear and dread into others. He also sent letters to Peter bishop of Winchester, and the abbat of St Edmund's, ordering them to make a strict search in the southern parts of England, and to denounce all whom they could find guilty of this offence, as excommunicated, until they should come to Rome to be absolved by the apostolic see. In the same way in the north of England he entrusted the same inquisition to the archbishop of York, the bishop of Durham, and John, a canon of York and a Roman by birth, and ordered them to send those guilty of this violence to Rome to be absolved, notwithstanding any appeal.

Of the inquisition made in the matter of the aforesaid robbery.

An inquisition was therefore instituted concerning this robbery by the king; the bishops and the above-mentioned agents, and by means of examinations upon oath and the production of witnesses,

many offenders were discovered, some of them principals, and others as abettors; and some of these were the king's bishops and clerks, some of the archdeacons and deans, and numbers of knights and laymen. Some of the sheriffs also and their provosts were, by the king's orders, taken and imprisoned for this offence, and others in their alarm consulted their safety by flight and could not be found. Hubert de Burgh the king's justiciary is said to have been the chief transgressor in this matter, because he had given those robbers warrants from the king and himself, to prevent any one from obstructing them in the said robbery. Amongst the rest there came to the king, Robert de Tuinge, a bold man, who had assumed the name of William Wither, and with others abetting him had sold the crops of the Roman clergy, and had engaged five armed attendants to assist him in his violence. This man openly declared that he had transgressed the law in hatred of the Romans, and for a just retaliation; for these said Romans, by a decree of the Roman pontiff, were fraudulently endeavouring to deprive him of the only church which he held: he also added, that he would rather be unjustly excommunicated for a time than be robbed of his benefice without a trial. The king and the agents aforesaid then advised the knight, as he had incurred the sentence pronounced, to hasten to Rome, and to urge his claim before his holiness the pope, and to prove to him that he held the church alike legally and canonically; the king also gave him letters testimonial to the pope, and begged that pontiff in his kindness to grant the knight's request.

How the election of the prior of Canterbury was annulled at Rome.

In the Whitsun week of the same year, the prior John, archbishop elect of Canterbury, went to Rome and showed the warrant of his election to the pope, who then ordered master John de Colonna and some other cardinals to question him, and discover if he was a fit person to be promoted to that dignified station. After an examination of three days, during which they carefully questioned him on nineteen points, as was said, they declared to the pope that they found no legitimate cause for rejecting him. It appeared however to the pope that he was too old and simple, and therefore unfit for such a high station, he therefore advised him to resign; and the archbishop elect humbly renounced the election which had been made, and asked leave to return home. The pope then granted permission to the monks to elect another, and ordered them to choose one to whom he could entrust his duty and pastoral charge.

How the English king dismissed some of his ministers from their offices.

About this time, Llewellyn, the Welsh chief, invaded the territories of the English barons, and, in his usual way, commenced ravaging the country with fire and pillage. Peter bishop of Winchester, and some other counsellors of the king, therefore went to him, and declared that it was a great scandal on his crown, that those worthless robbers, the Welsh, roved with impunity through

their lands and those of the barons, devastating all the places with fire, and leaving nothing uninjured. The king in reply to them said, "I am told by my treasurers, that the whole of the revenue in my treasury is scarcely sufficient to procure me common food and clothing and to pay the usual bounties, wherefore poverty prevents me from engaging in war." The king's counsellors in reply to him said, "If you are poor, blame yourself for it, for you transfer all the vacant honours, trusts, and dignities on others, and so alienate them from the exchequer, that you cannot be called a king from your riches, but only in the name; for your ancestors, who were noble and rich in the glory of their wealth, collected an endless amount of money from the produce and emoluments of the kingdom." The king then being incited by those whom it would be wicked to mention by name, and provoked by the insults of his counsellors, at once demanded of the sheriffs, bailiffs, and other agents of his, an account of the revenues, and every thing pertaining to the royal exchequer, and whoever of them he discovered to be guilty of fraud, he deposed from their offices and demanded the money due to him with interest, and kept them in prison till they paid the whole debt. Ralph, surnamed the Breton, a treasurer of his chamber, he deposed from office, took from him a thousand pounds of silver, and appointed Peter de Rivaux, a native of Poictou, in his stead. And so in a short time the king replenished his empty coffers although not yet full to repletion.

How the king demanded an account from Hubert the justiciary.

About the same time the king, by the advice of Peter bishop of Winchester, dismissed Hubert de Burgh, the chief justiciary, from his office, and on the 29th of July appointed Stephen de Segrave a knight, in his stead; and a few days afterwards, being enraged against the lately dismissed Hubert, he demanded of him immediately an account of all the money paid into his treasury, and the debts which were due to him during the time of his father, and also in his own time. He also demanded an account of his domains which had come into his possession on the day of the death of William earl of Pembroke, his then justiciary and marshal, and as to who held possession of them in England, Wales, Ireland, and Poictou; also concerning the liberties which he then held in the forests, warrens, counties, and other places, as to how they were maintained and aliened; also concerning the tax of the fifteenth and sixteenth parts, and other incomes due to his treasury, as well as to the New Temple at London and elsewhere. Also concerning the fines levied for relaxing his rights in land as well as in moveable property; also concerning the losses he, the king, had sustained by Hubert's negligence; also respecting what had been wasted either in war or in any other way, without any advantage to himself; also respecting the liberties which Hubert himself enjoyed in the lands, bishoprics, and trusts, which had been assigned to him without

warrant, and which belonged to the king himself; also respecting the harm and injuries inflicted on the Roman and Italian clergy, and on the pope's messengers, against the king's wish, by the said Hubert, who would not give any advice that they might be remedied, which he was bound to do by the duties of his office as justiciary; also as to how the king's peace had been kept towards his subjects in his kingdom of England, Ireland, Gascony, and Poictou, as well as towards foreigners; also as to what had been done with the scutages, plough-land taxes, gifts, and presents, or the proceeds of trust which belonged to the crown; also as to the marriage portions left in his care by king John at the time of his death, and others entrusted to him in his the present king's time. In reply to this, Hubert told the king that he held a warrant from his the king's father, by which he released him from giving any account of the money received or to be received in his treasury, for he was so well assured of his fidelity towards him the king that he did not wish to hear any account from him. Peter bishop of Winchester then said, that that warrant lost its power at the death of king John, and that therefore it did not become him, the present king, to abide by the warrants of his father, but demand an account of the above matters. These are some of the lighter matters on which the king required a reckoning from Hubert. Several other serious charges follow, in which the king accused Hubert of treason against his royal person, and which were as follow :—

The king's first charge against Hubert was, that when he sent letters to the duke of Austria, asking for that prince's daughter in marriage, he, Hubert, had at the same time sent letters to the duke to the prejudice of the king and the kingdom, and dissuading the duke from giving him his said daughter in marriage. Also, that when he had led his army to the continent to recover his lost territories, Hubert had dissuaded him from invading Normandy or the other possessions belonging to his jurisdiction; whereby he had spent his money to no purpose, as well as the nobles who accompanied him. The king also accused him of having treacherously had connection with the daughter of the king of Scots, whom king John had entrusted to his care in order to marry her himself, and had begotten illegitimate children by her, thus prostituting a noble lady, and had kept her to himself in hopes of obtaining the kingdom of Scotland if she should survive her brother. Also that he, Hubert, had surreptitiously taken from his treasury a certain jewel, which rendered the wearer invincible in battle, and had treacherously sent it to his enemy Llewellyn the Welsh chief. Also that it was owing to letters sent by him to the said chief, Llewellyn, that the noble William de Braose had been treacherously hung like a robber. All these charges, whether true or maliciously false, had been suggested by the rivals of the said Hubert to the king, who with great eagerness ordered satisfaction to be taken from the said

Hubert according to the decision of his court. The justiciary in this strait, as he had no other resource, asked for time to be allowed him to deliberate on the aforesaid matters, declaring that the charges were heavy and difficult to answer which the king had made against him; and so having with great difficulty obtained a respite till the exaltation of the holy cross, Hubert left London in great alarm, and went to the priory of Merton. Thus this Hubert, who had formerly excited the envy of all the barons of England against him on account of the king's regard and his care for the kingdom, now deserted by the king, and without friends, was alone and comfortless; Luke archbishop of Dublin, was the only one who spoke to the king in his behalf, which he did with tears and urgent entreaties, but as the justiciary's offences were so great, his request could not be granted.

Of some serious charges made against the justiciary.

When people saw the king's regard for Hubert, whom he had once so particularly favoured, changed into hatred, many of his enemies rose against him and accused him of many enormous crimes. Some accused him of having caused the death of the two nobles, William earl of Salisbury and William Marshall earl of Pembroke, by poison, and that he had killed Falcasius and Richard archbishop of Canterbury by the same wicked means. The citizens of London laid a complaint before the king that the said Hubert had hung their fellow citizen Constantine unjustly, and without any trial, for which crime they demanded justice; the king therefore issued a proclamation throughout London, calling on all who had any complaint against Hubert, for any injury to them soever, to come to him when they should have justice done them. When Hubert heard of this, he fled in alarm to the church at Merton, where he concealed himself amongst the canons.

In the autumn of the same year, Master John, surnamed le Blund, a clerk and student of theology at Oxford, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury; and after being accepted by the king, he started with some of the monks for Rome to obtain a confirmation of his election from the apostolic see.

Of the grant to the king of the fortieth part of property, &c.

In the same season, about the time of the exaltation of the holy cross, the bishops and other prelates of the churches and the nobles of the kingdom, assembled in council before the king at Lambeth, when a grant was made to the king to discharge the debts he owed to the count of Brittany, of the fortieth part of all moveable property from bishops, abbats, priors, clergy and laity, according to what they had when the corn was gathered in autumn, in this the sixteenth year of his reign. Hubert de Bourg, to whom the king had appointed a fixed time to appear to answer the above-mentioned charges and demands against him, fearing the king's anger, did not dare to appear, for it had been hinted to him that

the king intended to condemn him to a disgraceful death; he therefore fled to the church at Merton, and hid himself till his affairs assumed a more favourable appearance. The king at length sent word to him to come to his court to answer to the charges against him; but he told the king through his messenger, that, dreading his anger, he had taken refuge in the church, the last resource of all who suffered injury, and that he would not leave it till he knew that the feelings of him the king had taken a more favourable turn towards him. The king at this flew into a rage, and, although it was then evening, he sent orders by letter to the mayor of London to take with him all the inhabitants of the city who could carry arms to attack Merton, and to bring Hubert before him dead or alive. The mayor then having rung the common bell, ordered the citizens to assemble, and read the letter of the king to them, ordering them all to fly to arms and to execute the king's orders early the next morning. The citizens were delighted when they understood the purport of the letter, for they had conceived a mortal hatred of Hubert,* they therefore left the city before it was light

* Some of the more prudent citizens, namely Andrew Buckrell, John Travers, and some others, taking a better view of these matters, and weighing in their minds the scandal which would arise, went in haste to the house of Peter bishop of Winchester, at Southwark, and, awaking him out of a heavy sleep, asked his advice in this matter; "for," said they, "danger will accrue to the church of Merton, as well as to the city, since the rage of such a disorderly and unrestrainable rabble could not be curbed, but they would plunder and destroy every thing, and would not stop even at shedding blood." To this the bishop replied by the following cruel advice: "It is hard on the one side, and dreadful on the other; however I unhesitatingly advise you above every thing else to fulfil the command of your lord." They were astounded at hearing such advice from a bishop, and proceeded in alarm with their expedition; moreover the populace, greedy for revenge, ardently longed to carry it out; and on the following day, before it was light, the citizens went forth armed to the number of twenty thousand men, and marched towards Merton to execute the king's order. Hubert however, getting information of this, prostrated himself in prayer before the great altar, and with confidence entrusted his life to God. In the meantime, whilst the armed citizens were on their march, uttering threats against Hubert, it was hinted to the king by the earl of Chester that if he excited such sedition amongst an irrational and froward multitude, there would be reason for him to fear that he might not be able to check it if once commenced, when he wished to do so; and it would be made a subject of invective and irony throughout the world, especially by the French, who of great faults always make greater, and of evil deeds always make worse, and it would be said, "What sort of a child is this English prince, who can thus oppress his subjects and those who have nursed him under their wing?" And of Hubert it would be said as of the sparrow feeding the cuckoo,

"Alis, ales, alis, alium ne longius ales."

Two messengers then were sent to recall the multitude thus tumultuously

the next morning to the number of twenty thousand men, and marched in array towards Merton, to carry the king's orders into effect. During these proceedings however it was suggested to the king by the earl of Chester, that if he stirred up such strife amongst the irrational and foolish populace, there might be a chance of his being unable, when he wished to do so, to calm the disturbance once commenced; the king therefore altered his mind, and sent orders to the mayor at once to recall the force he had sent out. So the citizens returned in a state of astonishment without having accomplished their purpose.

How Hubert was dragged out of a chapel and thrown into the tower.

After these events the archbishop of Dublin, after much entreaty, obtained for Hubert a respite till the octaves of the Epiphany, in order that he might have time to deliberate on the above-named demands, which were of a most urgent nature, and might then be able to give a reasonable answer, and to make proper amends to the king. Hubert then having received a guarantee for his security, as was believed, by letters patent from the king, took the road to St. Edmund's where his wife was staying, and then passing through Essex, he took up his abode in the house of the bishop of Norwich in a town which was under the jurisdiction of the said bishop; this greatly enraged the king, who was afraid that if Hubert thus got away from him, he would cause a great excitement in the kingdom; therefore, repenting of the respite he had granted to him, the king sent the knight Godfrey de Craucumbe after him with three hundred soldiers, ordering him, on pain of being hung, to bring Hubert back a prisoner, and to imprison him in the tower of London. This party then marched with all haste, and found Hubert in a church near his abode, holding the cross of our Lord in one hand, and the body of Christ in the other: for he had been forewarned of the approach of those who sought his life, and rising from the couch where he had been sleeping, he fled naked to the church. The aforesaid Godfrey however entered the chapel with his armed followers, and ordered him in the king's name to leave

rushing to shed innocent blood; one of these mounted on a swift horse and carrying the king's warrant, recalled the foremost of them by its authority; the other messenger, however, who hated the earl of Kent, Hubert, and would rather have seen him slain than set free, although ordered to use all speed, took his own time, and did not reach the middle of them; for which he was visited by the Divine anger, for his horse happening to stumble at some obstacle, although only proceeding at a slow pace, he fell flat to the ground, and, breaking his back, expired. This pious mission was effected by Ralph bishop of Chester, then chancellor, a just man, and one faithful to the whole of the kingdom, and who grieved for the sufferings of Hubert. At sight of the warrant then, this army of citizens and populace was brought to a stand; and thus the king changed his intentions and sent messengers with all speed to recall the army he had sent forth, and the citizens returned disappointed to the city without effecting their object.

the chapel and come to London to speak with the king. Hubert replied that he would not leave the chapel on any account; on which Godfrey and his accomplices snatched the cross and the body of our Lord out of his hands, and, after securing him, placed him on a horse, and conducted him to the tower of London,* where they placed him in close confinement. When this was effected they told the king, who had been anxiously waiting their arrival, what they had done, on which he retired to his couch satisfied.

How Hubert was brought back to the chapel.

Early the next morning Roger bishop of London, on hearing how Hubert had been dragged from the chapel, hastened to the king, and, boldly rebuking him for having violated the sanctity of the holy church, told him that unless he released Hubert and sent him back to the chapel from which he had been dragged by force. he would excommunicate all the authors of this deed of violence. The king then, however unwillingly, knowing Hubert to be guilty, sent him back on the 27th of September to the chapel from which he had been dragged by the soldiers; after this he gave orders to the sheriffs of Hereford and Essex, on pain of death, in person and with all the inhabitants of the two counties to blockade the chapel and to see that Hubert did not escape, or receive provisions from any one. The aforesaid sheriffs then went according to their orders, and commenced blockading it as well as the bishop's house which was near, and dug a deep wide trench around the chapel and the house, determining to keep watch there for forty days. Hubert however bore all this with equanimity, having a clear conscience, as

* Paris adds:—"Because they had not found a willing workman. A certain smith, who was summoned and ordered to put fetters on him, asked on whose legs he was to fasten them, on which one of them said, 'On those of Hubert de Burgh, a convicted rebel and fugitive.' The smith however said with a sigh, 'Do with me as you please; may God be merciful to my soul, for the Lord liveth, but I will die rather than put fetters on him. Is he not that most faithful and noble-minded Hubert, who so often saved England from the ravages of foreigners, and restored England to itself? Is it not he who in Gascony and Normandy served his lord king John so faithfully and boldly, that he was even obliged to eat horse-flesh, so that even our enemies praised his remarkable boldness; who for a long time preserved for us, against the king of France and a chosen army, the castle of Dover, the key of England, and by defeating our enemies at sea, wrought our safety? Need I mention his brave deeds at Lincoln and Bedford? Let God decide between him and you, for you are treating him unjustly and inhumanly, returning evil for good, yea even the worst for the best.' Hubert on hearing these words, thought of the words of the gospel where it said, 'I confess to thee, Father of heaven and earth, that thou hast hidden my cause from skilful and wise men, and hast revealed it to the poor and humble; to thee, my God, have I revealed my cause; for my enemies have risen against me,' &c. But Godfrey de Craucumbe and his followers paying little heed to these remarks, bound Hubert and took him away."

he said, and trusting his cause to God, continually asking of the divine mercy to protect him from all danger, as he himself had always regarded the king's honour and safety above all things. The king however paid little regard to the deserts of the man who had served him with such zeal, that he made it his only business to please him, and gave a general prohibition to all not to speak to him on behalf of Hubert, or to make any mention of him in his presence. Luke archbishop of Dublin, however, who was his only friend, incessantly begged of the king with tears at least to tell him what he meant to do with respect to Hubert; to this the king is said to have replied, that out of a number of alternatives there was a choice for him, namely, either to abjure England for ever, to undergo perpetual imprisonment, openly to acknowledge himself a traitor, or throw himself on the king's mercy. To this Hubert replied that he would not accept of either of these alternatives, as he had suspicions of the king's designs, for he did not recollect that he had ever done anything deserving of such disgrace; nevertheless, that he would leave the kingdom for a time, to satisfy the king, but would not entirely abjure it.* After this he passed many days and nights blockaded in this chapel with two retainers, who supplied him with provisions till, by the king's order, all kinds of food were denied them, and they themselves were ejected from the chapel. Hubert in this extremity, thinking it disgraceful to die by hunger, left the chapel of his own accord, and surrendered himself to the sheriffs who were watching him; for, he said, he would rather trust to the king's mercy than die of hunger. The sheriffs then made him well secure, and, placing him on a horse, took him to London, where, by the king's orders, he was closely confined and shackled in the tower of the city.

Of the collection of the fortieth part of property granted to the king.

"Henry by the grace of God, king of England, to Peter de Thaneo, William Culworth, and Adam Fitz-William, collectors of the fortieth part, greeting. Be it known to you that the archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, and clergy, who hold lands which do not

* Paris adds:—"In the same year, on the 28th of October, Ralph earl of Chester and Lincoln closed his life at Wallingford; his body was carried to be entombed at Chester, but his bowels were buried at Wallingford. When news of his death was brought to Hubert de Bourg, and it was told him that one of his enemies was dead, he said with a sigh, 'The Lord be merciful to him. He was my man by his own doing, and yet never did me good wherever he could do me harm.' Then, taking a psalter, he placed himself before the great altar in the chapel where he was blockaded, and read a mass for the soul of the said Ralph. The latter was succeeded in the earldom of Chester by John, his nephew, the son of his sister by earl David, brother of the king of Scots; another nephew of his on his sister's side obtained the earldom of Lincoln, and from being a baron thus became an earl; the earl of Arundel too, another nephew of his, came into possession of five hundred librates of land."

belong to their churches, and the earls, barons, knights, freemen, and farmers of our kingdom, have, for our assistance, made a grant to us of the fortieth part of all their moveable property as held by them on the day following St. Matthew's day in the sixteenth year of our reign, namely, of corn, ploughs, sheep, calves, pigs, studs of carriage and cart horses, and others employed on their manors, excepting the property, which the aforesaid archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons hold from parochial and prebendal churches, as well as prebends, and the lands belonging or pertaining to prebends or parochial churches. It has been also provided by our liege subjects aforesaid in general, that the aforesaid fortieth part shall be assessed and collected as follows: namely, that four persons shall be chosen from the better and more skilful men of each town, together with the provosts of each of the towns, by whom on oath the fortieth part of all moveable property aforesaid shall be assessed and taxed on each and all in the presence of the knights-assessors deputed for the purpose; and afterwards, on the oaths of two liege men of the same towns, the fortieth part of all moveable property, belonging to the aforesaid four men and provosts, shall be taxed and assessed; and it shall be strictly and plainly enrolled in whose barony each town was either partly or altogether. And after the fortieth part has been assized and committed to writing, the list of all particulars concerning each village and each county shall be delivered to the seneschal of each of the barons, or to the attorney of such seneschal, or to the bailiff of the liberty, where any one may have liberty, namely, that the baron or lord of the liberty may have the power to collect the aforesaid fortieth part and to distrain for it; but if he does not wish, or is not able to do so, the sheriffs shall make the said distraint, so that they shall receive nothing from it, but the whole of the said fortieth part shall be delivered to the aforesaid knights-assessors in the largest and most safe town of each of the counties. And from each town there shall be a chief account kept between the seneschal of the baron, or his attorney, or the seneschals of the lord of the liberty, and the aforesaid assessors. And the money shall be placed by the assessors in some safe place in the same town, so that they shall have their seals, locks, and keys on the said money, and the sheriffs likewise shall put their seals, locks, and keys on it. And immediately after the fortieth part has been assessed, the assessors shall send their rolls for their whole circuit to the treasury; and in like manner as soon as the aforesaid money is collected, they shall send their rolls of their receipts to the treasury, and the aforesaid money shall be kept in the place where it has been deposited, until it is brought by our orders to the New Temple at London. And nothing shall be taken by way of the fortieth part from any man who is not possessed of moveable property to the value of forty pence at the least. And we

have appointed you to assess the fortieth part in the county of Hertford, and we have commanded our sheriff of Hertford, to summon all the villagers of his county, by our command, to appear before you at a fixed time and place which you are to appoint for him to do so, and also to assist and obey you in all matters connected with the said business. Farewell."

Of the death of Ralph earl of Chester.

On the 28th of October in the same year Ralph earl of Chester and Lincoln died at Wallingford, and his body was taken to Chester to be buried. He was succeeded in his earldom by his nephew John, son of his sister by David, brother of William king of Scots; another nephew of his, a son of his second sister obtained the earldom of Lincoln, and from being a baron, became an earl; the earl of Arundel too, another nephew of his, came into possession of five hundred librates.

About this time, just before Martinmas, it was hinted to the king that the ex-justiciary Hubert had a large sum of money at the New Temple in London, consigned to the care of the templars there. He therefore summoned the master of the templars to an interview with him and asked him plainly if it was the case, and he, not daring to deny the truth to the king, confessed that a sum of money had been confided to the care of him and the brethren, but they were entirely unaware of the amount and quantity. The king then with threats demanded this money of the monks, declaring that it had been stolen by Hubert from the treasury; the templars however replied that they would not deliver to any one the money which had been entrusted to them in confidence, without leave from the person who had deposited it in the Temple for safe keeping. As this money was consigned to the care of the church the king did not think it advisable to resort to violence, he therefore sent the treasurer of his court with the justiciaries of his exchequer to Hubert, who was all this time in fetters in the tower of London, ordering him to assign all the said money to the king. When the aforesaid messengers told Hubert their message on behalf of the king, he immediately replied, that he would resign himself and all he possessed to the king's will. He therefore gave instructions to the knights of the Temple to deliver up all the keys in his name to the king, that he might do as he chose with the property deposited there; this being done, the king ordered the money to be correctly counted and lodged in his treasury, and a written list of the property found there to be taken and shown to him. The king's clerks and treasurer found there eight thousand pounds of silver of the best coinage, a hundred and forty goblets of silver and silver set with gold, with also such a quantity of jewels, that they exceeded in value, it was said, all the rest of the property found there. When a report of this event was spread abroad some of Hubert's untiring persecutors went to the king, making accusations against him and

said, that now he was convicted of theft and fraud, he deserved to suffer a disgraceful death; to which the king replied as follows: "Hubert from his boyhood, as I am told, has faithfully served first my uncle king Richard, next my father king John, and, although he has acted ill towards me, he shall never by my means suffer an unjust death; for I would rather be considered a foolish and easy king, than a cruel and tyrannical one;" and with these words he granted to Hubert all the lands which he formerly held as a gift from his father, or by purchase, that he might provide the necessary support for himself and his followers therefrom. Soon after this earl Richard, the king's brother, William earl of Warrene, Richard earl Marshal, and William earl of Ferrers, became sureties for Hubert, and he was sent to the castle of Devizes under the charge of the above four knights, where he remained a prisoner on parole.

In the same year, on the morrow of St. Martin's day, were heard dreadful thunderings which continued at intervals for fifteen days to the great alarm of many, and especially of the citizens of London, who were now quite familiarized to them, for whenever they occurred in England they were never unheard in London; this was followed by a lamentable dissension in the kingdom between the king and his nobles as the following narrative will show.

Of the visitation of the religious men of every order throughout the world.

In this year also pope Gregory appointed inspectors to visit the religious men throughout the whole of Christendom, by the following warrant, "Gregory bishop to his venerable brethren the suffragans of the church of Canterbury, health and the apostolic benediction. Satan has gone from before the Lord's presence, putting forth his hand to deeds of boldness, and, trusting to his cunningness, hopes to entrap into vice those who have been elected into God's inheritance, and prepares greater snares against those in whom he perceives the deepest corruption. Whereas it has frequently come under our notice that the churches of the Canterbury district have dreadfully fallen off in spiritual and temporal matters, owing to the evil-mindedness and carelessness of those employed in them, we do not choose any longer to pass over their faults in silence, lest, if we should suffer them to go uncorrected we should seem to take them on ourselves, and have therefore appointed special visitors, reformers, and correcters, as well in the head as the other limbs, to visit those churches situated in that district which are known to belong immediately to the Roman church; and have granted them full authority in their visitation of those churches to correct and reform the abuses which they may be certain require reformation and correction, but so as not to disparage or in any way impair the constitutions and amendments that have been duly made in the provincial chapels. We however reserve to ourselves, to the full extent, the general care of all which we have assumed; nevertheless it is your duty, who have been called to participate in our care, to be careful

and watchful over the flock especially entrusted to your care, that the sickly sheep may not perish; it is therefore our advice and strict order to your brotherhood, that each and all of you make it your business, both personally and by means of religious men instructed for this purpose of visitation, to visit the abodes of the monks, nuns, and regular as well as secular canons, which are subject to you both in your cities and dioceses, and, by our authority as well as your own, to make such general reformations and corrections in their heads and other limbs, wherever you see such reformations and corrections necessary, laying aside all favour and appeal, saving all such regulations concerning religious persons therein according to the decree of a general council, and to check all gainsayers by the church's censure and postponing all appeal; and you will so carry out our instructions that, at that awful award of punishments, God, who will repay every one according to his works, may not require their blood at your hands, and we may not be obliged to apply the rod of apostolic punishment. Given at Spoleto this 9th day of June in the sixth year of our pontificate."

Of the visitation to be made in the excepted churches.

With regard to the other churches and religious men, who were under the immediate jurisdiction of the church of Rome, he did not appoint bishops as visitors, but abbats and those especially of the order of Cistercians and Præmonstratensians, who were undiscerning and severe men, and they proceeded in their visitation so insolently and mercilessly that they exceeded the bounds of their duties in several monasteries, and numbers were compelled to resort to an appeal against them; those who did so went to Rome, and with much expense and labour obtained other visitors. In short this visitation was carried on throughout the whole world rather to the deformation than the reformation of the several orders, inasmuch as those who had followed the rule of St. Benedict in the various quarters of the world, in consequence of the rules of this visitation are now so discordant, that, amongst all the monasteries and religious houses there are scarcely two who agree in their rule of life. A certain abbat of Montebello, being in doubt as to how he should proceed in this visitation asked the pope's advice on some doubtful points, on which he received the following reply.

How the pope was consulted about the aforesaid visitation.

Those duties which are wisely ordained for the honour of religion and the safety of religious communities ought to be strengthened by the apostolic protection, so as to be undertaken devoutly and observed diligently. Whereas therefore our well-beloved brother the abbat of Montebello has brought under our notice some points which seemed for our honour and preservation, laudably appointed for the correction of many transgressions and offences which he had found in some monasteries, we have caused the matter to be examined and corrections to be made, and we

order you inviolably to keep the rules, which, by way of security, we have sealed with the seals of our venerable brethren of Ostia and Tusculum. And it is our will and by the apostolic authority we order you to summon the visitors to a general chapter, and also the priors where there are no abbats, in person, exempt as well as unexempt, who have not usually held chapters; and they will preside at this general chapter, laying aside all canonical impediment. And those who shall refuse or neglect to attend shall be compelled to do so by the church's censure, and shall not cease till they cause them to make a meet atonement, such as they shall duly impose on them; and by the same censure shall cause the decrees of the same chapter to be strictly observed; and they themselves, as well as the visitors and some others, shall at the last judgment render an account of their ministry to the Lord, to whom everything is clear and visible, and they shall make it their business at the visitation of the monasteries to use all care and diligence in reforming and correcting the abuses of the several orders. Moreover, when the visitors, according to the decrees of the general council, shall proceed in the general chapter of abbats to fulfil their duties of visitation, they shall carefully examine into the state of the monasteries, and as to how the regular observances are kept, and shall make such amendments and reformations as may seem to them to be necessary, both in spiritual and temporal matters; so that they shall cause offending monks to be punished by the abbat of the place, and wholesome penance to be imposed on them, according to the rules of St. Benedict, and to the apostolic institutions, and not according to the wicked custom which has now grown into a law in some churches. And the visitors themselves by regular censure, and without regard to persons, shall in our stead punish any monks whom they may find contumacious and rebellious, not sparing them on account of their own pertinacity or the power of their friends, but shall eject the diseased sheep from the fold that he may not infect the healthy ones. And if the abbats are discovered to be neglectful in correcting themselves or their monks, according to the mandate of the visitors and the regular decrees, they shall be proclaimed, seized, and publicly punished in the general chapter, so that their punishment will be an example to others. And if any abbat who is not exempt is discovered by the visitors to be negligent and remiss, they shall denounce him to the diocesan of the place, who shall, assign him a trustworthy and prudent person to cooperate with him until the next general chapter. But if he is found guilty of dilapidation or deserving of removal on any other account, he shall after he has been told of the matter by the visitor, be removed by the diocesan from the government of his abbacy and from the monastery without the bustle of a trial; and in the meantime a proper manager shall be provided to superintend the temporal

concerns of the monastery, until it is provided with another abbat. But if the bishop by any chance shall refuse or neglect to fulfil this duty, the visitors themselves, or those who preside at the general chapter, shall, without delay, give information to the apostolic see of the fault of that bishop. It is our order that these same rules be observed with respect to the exempted abbats, only reserving to the apostolic see the business of deposing them; and that when any abbat, who is thought deserving to be removed, is suspended from his office, a proper manager shall be appointed to the monastery, either by the visitors or those who preside at the chapter. And the offences of these persons and other things deemed proper to be intimated to the chapters, the presidents shall communicate to us by trustworthy and prudent messengers, whose expenses shall be defrayed by a general contribution of the abbats, each according to his means. And the visitors who come afterwards shall carefully inquire and examine into the proceedings of the former visitors, and shall communicate any offence and neglects of theirs at the next general chapter, in order that they may be punished according to their fault. These particulars concerning the visitation will suffice.

In the same year Roger bishop of London was accused, amongst the rest, of abetting the plunder of the crops of the Roman church; he therefore went to Rome to prove his innocence.

How the king dismissed some of his ministers from his court.

A. D. 1233. The seventeenth year of king Henry's reign he held his court at Christmas at Worcester, where, by the advice of Peter bishop of Winchester, as was said, he dismissed all the native officers of his court from their offices, and appointed foreigners from Poictou in their places. He also dismissed William de Rodune, a knight who carried on the duties of Richard the grand marshal at his court. By the same person's advice the king also dismissed Walter bishop of Carlisle, from his office of treasurer, and then took from him a hundred pounds of silver, and also spitefully deprived him of some trusts, which he the king had by his own charter confirmed to him for life. All his former counsellors, bishops and earls, barons and other nobles, he dismissed abruptly, and put confidence in no one except the aforesaid bishop of Winchester and his son Peter de Rivaulx; after which he ejected all the castellans throughout all England, and placed the castles under the charge of the said Peter. The bishop then, in order to gain the king's favour more completely, associated with himself Stephen de Segrave, a yielding man, and Robert Passelewe, who kept the king's treasury under Peter de Rivaulx; and he entirely ruled the kingdom with the assistance and advice of those men. The king also invited men from Poictou and Brittany, who were poor and covetous after wealth, and about two thousand knights and soldiers came to him equipped with horses and arms, whom he engaged in his service, placing

them in charge of the castles in the various parts of the kingdom; these men used their utmost endeavours to oppress the natural English subjects and nobles, calling them traitors, and accusing them of treachery to the king; and he, simple man that he was, believed their lies, and gave them the charge of all the counties and baronies, as also of all the youths of the nobility, both male and female, who were foully degraded by ignoble marriages. The king also entrusted them with the care of his treasury, with the enforcement of the laws of the country and the administration of justice. In short, judgment was entrusted to the unjust, laws to outlaws, the preservation of peace to the quarrelsome, and justice to those who were themselves full of injury, and when the nobles of the kingdom laid complaints before the king of the oppression they endured, the said bishop interfered, and there was no one to grant them justice. The said Peter too made accusations against some of the other bishops of the kingdom, and advised the king to avoid them as open enemies.

How the marshal remonstrated with the king.

By these and like injuries, high and low were alike oppressed, and earl Richard, marshal of the kingdom, seeing this, and that the laws of the kingdom were being destroyed, was incited by his zeal in the cause of justice, and, in company with some other nobles, boldly went to the king, and, in the hearing of numbers, reproached him with having by ill advice introduced these foreigners of Poictou to the oppression of the kingdom and of his natural subjects, and to the subversion of the laws and liberties; he therefore humbly begged of the king at once to put a stop to such abuses, owing to which, his crown and kingdom were in imminent danger of destruction; he moreover declared that, if he refused to amend matters, he and the other nobles of the kingdom would withdraw themselves from his councils as long as he held communication with these foreigners. To this Peter bishop of Winchester replied, that his lord the king was surely allowed to summon as many foreigners as he chose for the protection of his kingdom and crown, and as many and such men as would be able to reduce his haughty and rebellious subjects to their proper obedience. The earl Marshal and the other nobles being unable to obtain any other answer, left the court in dismay, and made a fixed determination one with another to fight for this cause, which concerned them all, till their souls were separated from their bodies.

Of the thunder-storms.

In the same year, on the 23rd of March, dreadful thunderings were heard, followed by inundations of rain throughout the whole summer, which destroyed the warrens and washed away the ponds and mills throughout almost all England; and in the ploughed and harvest fields and other unusual places in different parts, the water ran about in rivulets and formed into lakes in the midst of

the crops, in which, to the astonishment of many, the fishes of the rivers were seen; and mills were standing in various places where they had never before been seen. In the same year, on the 8th of April, about the first hour of the day, on the confines of Hereford and Worcester, there appeared four spurious suns round the real sun, of different colours, some of a semicircular form and others round. These suns formed a wonderful spectacle, and were seen by more than a thousand creditable persons; and some of them, in commemoration of this extraordinary phenomenon, painted suns and rings of various colours on parchment, that such an unusual phenomenon might not escape from the memory of man. This was followed in the same year by a cruel war and terrible bloodshed in those counties, and general disturbances happened throughout England, Wales, and Ireland. About the same time in the month of June, two immense snakes were seen by the inhabitants near the sea-coast in the southern part of England, fighting in the air, and after a severe struggle one overcame the other, and putting him to flight, pursued him to the bottom of the sea, where they were both lost to sight.

The election of the archbishop of Canterbury annulled.

About the same time, master John, surnamed le Blund, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury. It was divulged at Rome, that after his election he had received a thousand marks of silver as a present from Peter bishop of Winchester, besides another thousand marks which that bishop had lent him to help him in obtaining his promotion, and it was therefore evident that the friendship of the said bishop was rather injurious than beneficial to him; besides this the said John, it was reported, had confessed at Rome that he held two benefices, to which the cure of souls was entrusted, in opposition to the decrees of the general council, whereby he incurred the charge of presumption. But, inasmuch as the election of three of the archbishops of the church of Canterbury had been annulled lately, the aforesaid church had been for a long time without a pastor, he therefore gave permission to the monks, who had come with the rejected archbishop elect, to choose master Edmund, a canon of the church of Salisbury, as the pastor of their souls, in order that a metropolitan see of such importance might not be any longer without a pastor, and at the same time sent him the pall. The monks however resolved not to accept of him or of any one else, except by the consent of their whole community.

Of discord which arose between the king and the nobles of the kingdom.

All this time Peter bishop of Winchester and his colleagues had so perverted the king's heart with hatred and contempt for his English subjects, that he endeavoured by all the means in his power to exterminate them, and invited such legions of people from Poictou that they entirely filled England, and wherever the king

went he was surrounded by crowds of these foreigners; and nothing was done in England except what the bishop of Winchester and this host of foreigners determined on. The king then sent letters, and summoned all the earls and barons of the kingdom to come to a conference at Oxford on the feast of St. John; but they refused to come at his summons, both because they feared treachery from these foreigners, and on account of the anger which they had conceived against the king for his having summoned all these foreigners in contempt of them the said barons. On their refusal being carried to the king by special messengers, he became much enraged, and ordered a decree to be passed by which he could compel them to attend his court. It was then decided that they should be summoned thrice, in order to see if they would come or not. At this conference a certain brother of the order of Preachers. who was preaching the word of God in the presence of the king and some of the bishops, plainly told the king with a loud voice that he would never enjoy a lasting peace till he dismissed Peter bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaulx his son, from his councils. Many others who were present also told the king the same; whereupon he sent word to the nobles aforesaid to come to a conference at Westminster on the 11th of July, when he would consult with them as to any amendment which ought to be made by right.* The nobles however, having heard that numbers of these robbers, equipped with horses and arms, continued to arrive from time to time on the king's invitation, and seeing no sings of tranquillity, declined to attend at the appointed day, and, by special messengers, demanded of the king the immediate dismissal of Peter bishop of Winchester and his other counsellors the nobles of Poictou, otherwise they would, by common consent, unite to drive him as well as his evil advisers from the kingdom, and proceed to choose a new king.

How the king banished some of his nobles.

The king, as well as his whole court, were struck with dismay, and were in great alarm lest the error of the son should be worse than that of the father, inasmuch as the nobles were determined to drive him from the throne of the kingdom. The aforesaid bishop Peter then advised the king to make war against his rebellious nobles, take their castles from them, and give them to the Poictevin

* Paris inserts here:—"The king, after some deliberation, inclined his heart to reason, and a certain clerk of the court, named Roger Bacon, a man of pleasant speech, on seeing him softened, said pleasantly and wittily although churlishly rebuking him, 'My lord king, what is most dangerous to sailors, or what frightens them most?' The king replied, 'Those whose business is on the wide waters know best.' The clerk then said, 'My lord I will tell you it is stones and rocks,' [petræ et rupes,] as though he meant to hint at Peter de Rupibus, the name of the bishop of Winchester. The king therefore, &c. &c."

nobles, who would defend the kingdom against these traitors. The first against whom the king vented his rage was Gilbert Bassett, a nobleman, whom he deprived of a certain manor which he had received as a gift from king John; and when he asked the king to restore him his rights, the latter called him a traitor, and threatened that if he did not leave his court he should be hung. He also ordered Richard Siward, a bold knight, to be made prisoner and brought before him, for having, as he said, married the sister of the said Gilbert without his permission. Being also suspicious of all the other nobles and men of rank in the kingdom, he demanded hostages of them, and sent orders to them by his warrants to give up to him before the 1st of August such and so many hostages, by which all suspicion of rebellion on their parts would be removed from his mind.

How the marshal was warned of treachery against him.

The earls and barons in grand knightly array proceeded to London on the 1st of August to the appointed conference, and amongst the rest was Richard earl marshal, who took up his abode with his sister, the wife of Richard the king's brother; she then asked him the reason of his journey, to which he replied, that he had come to attend the conference. She then said to him, "Know, my dear brother, that your enemies are plotting to take you prisoner, and they will give you up to the king and the bishop of Winchester, in order that they may serve you the same as they did the earl of Kent." The marshal would hardly believe these words of his sister's, until she showed by evident proofs the manner of his capture, and by whom he would be taken. He then began to believe her, and when night came on he took the road, and did not draw rein till he arrived in Wales. There came to the conference the earls of Chester and Lincoln, the earl of Ferrers, and earl Richard the king's brother, with some other earls and several barons, but nothing was done there on account of the absence of the earl marshal and Gilbert Bassett, and some other nobles who did not make their appearance; on which the king, by the advice of Peter bishop of Winchester, and Stephen Seagrave, sent letters to all the nobles of the kingdom who owed him knight's service, inviting them to come, provided with horses and arms, to Gloucester, on Sunday before the Assumption of the blessed virgin Mary. Richard Marshal and some others however, who were confederated, refused to come at the time appointed, and the king, treating them as traitors, burnt their villages, destroyed their parks and warrens, and besieged their castles. The nobles who were confederated with one another, it was said, were the earl marshal, Gilbert Bassett and his brothers, all distinguished soldiers, Richard Siward, a man trained to arms from his youth, Walter de Clifford, a chosen knight, and many others who joined their cause; all of these the king, without any trial in his court by their peers, ordered to be

declared banished and proscribed men, and gave their lands to his Poictevin servants, ordering their persons to be seized wherever they were found in the kingdom.

How the bishop of Winchester bribed the confederates of the earl marshal.

Peter bishop of Winchester, who endeavoured by all the means in his power to weaken the cause of the earl marshal and his confederates, bribed the earls of Chester and Lincoln by the gift of a thousand marks to abandon the marshal and the cause of justice, and to come over to the king's party; for Richard, the king's brother, who at first adhered to the cause of the marshal, had some time before returned to the king's side. When the marshal discovered this, he entered into a confederacy with Llewellyn the prince of North Wales, and some other chiefs of that province, and they mutually made oath that neither of them would make peace with king Henry without the consent of the other. On the day following the assumption of Saint Mary, a great many soldiers arrived at Dover from the continent and went to the king at Gloucester, on which he led his army forward to the city of Hereford, attended by a host of these and many others.

Of the injury done to Walter bishop of Carlisle.

About the same time Walter bishop of Carlisle, on account of some injuries inflicted on him by the king, as he stated, embarked at Dover to cross the continent, but some of the king's agents arrived, and taking him and all his followers out of the ship, forbade him, in the king's name, to leave the kingdom without the royal permission. During this occurrence Roger bishop of London landed at this place on his return from the court of Rome, and hearing of the insult offered to the said bishop, he excommunicated all those who had laid violent hands on him, and then went to the king, whom he found with a large army at the city of Hereford in Wales, where, in the presence of the king and some of the bishops, he renewed the above-mentioned sentence of excommunication on account of the violence offered to the bishop of Carlisle, notwithstanding the king's murmurs, who forbade him to pronounce the sentence; and all the bishops who were present united with him in excommunicating all who had occasioned this disturbance.

Of the defiance sent to the marshal, and siege of a castle belonging to him.

After this the king, by the advice of the bishop of Winchester, sent the bishop of St. David's to defy the marshal, and gave orders for making war on him and for besieging his castles. He therefore entered the territory of the earl marshal, and laid siege to a certain castle of his, the name of which I do not remember; but, after keeping up a fierce assault on it for several days, the provisions of the besieging army began to fail, and the king, seeing he would be obliged to raise the siege, was ashamed of ever having come there; he therefore sent some of the bishops to the earl marshal and asked him, in his respect for the royal person, and

that the siege might not seem to have been ineffectual, to surrender the castle, on condition that he the king would restore it to him within fifteen days uninjured, and stipulating that he would in the meantime, by the advice of the bishops, who were his securities for this, make all proper reformations in the kingdom. To carry out this plan, the king appointed the Sunday next after Michaelmas for the said marshal and the rest of the proscribed parties to meet him at Westminster; the castle was then given up to the king and the siege raised.

Of the escape of Hubert de Burgh.

About this time Peter bishop of Winchester, who above all things desired the death of Hubert de Burgh, who was a prisoner in Devizes castle, without mentioning Hubert's name, earnestly begged of the king to give him charge of the said castle, being, as was said, in hopes of thus obtaining a chance of putting him to death. Hubert however was forewarned of all these plans by his friends at the king's court, and disclosed them to two retainers of the garrison of the castle who attended on him, and they, pitying his sufferings, devised a plan by which he might escape from death. They therefore watched their opportunity, and on the night of Michaelmas eve, when the garrison were asleep, one of them, whilst the other kept watch, took Hubert, fettered as he was, on his shoulders, and descended from the tower carrying his pious theft with which he passed entirely through the castle, unheard by the garrison, till he reached the great gate, where he went out, and, crossing a deep trench, though with much difficulty, made his way to the parochial church, and did not set down his burden till he arrived before the great altar. The two men who had set Hubert at liberty then refused to leave him, considering that it would be to their glory if they should suffer a temporal death for preserving the life of such a great man.

How Hubert was dragged by violence from the church and imprisoned.

When the garrison awoke and found that Hubert was not in the usual place, they were greatly alarmed, and sallying forth in troops with lanthorns and weapons, they traversed the country round in search of him; after some time they heard that Hubert was in the church, released from his fetters, on which they tumultuously rushed thither and found him before the great altar, with the holy cross in his hands; they at once fiercely seized him, and striking and driving him along with their weapons and fists, they took him back to the castle as well as his two liberators, where they confined him more strictly than before. When this event reached the ears of Robert bishop of Salisbury, he went to the castle and ordered these violators of the church at once to release Hubert and to restore him to the sanctuary of the church in the same condition as they found him; but the castellans noisily told him they would rather that Hubert should be hung than

they; on which, as they refused to give him up, the bishop, by virtue of the power entrusted to him, excommunicated by name all those who detained him and who had laid violent hands on him. The said bishop then, accompanied by Roger bishop of London, went to the king and laid a complaint before him of the injury inflicted on Hubert, and did not leave the king till he had obtained his release; so on the 18th of October he was sent back to the church much against the king's wish, who sent orders by letter to the sheriff of that county to blockade the church in order to starve Hubert to death.

How the marshal retook the castle which he had given up to the king.

About this time, the fifteen days having expired since the marshal surrendered his castle to the king on condition that he would restore it to him when he again asked for it, he sent to the king, asking him, as the period was expired, to restore his castle to him according to their treaty, for which he had made the bishop of Winchester and Stephen Segrave, who at that time performed the functions of justiciary, his guarantees, and which they had also confirmed by oath. The king however angrily replied that he would not give it up, but would more likely reduce his other castles to subjection. The marshal then, seeing that no oath or terms of peace were observed by the king's advisers, collected a large army and laid siege to the castle once his own, and placing his engines of war round it, easily regained possession of it.

The king was in the meantime at Westminster, where he attended the conference on the 9th of October, as he had promised the nobles, in order to consult with them as to the reforms necessary to be made in the kingdom; but the evil advice which he followed prevented this being carried out. Several of the bishops present humbly begged the king, in the Lord's name, to make peace with his barons and other nobles whom he had condemned to banishment without any trial by the peers, burning their villages and buildings, cutting down their woods and fruit trees, and destroying their parks and lakes. The king however said that they were traitors, although it was by their assistance that he ought to arrange his plans and manage the business of the kingdom. Peter bishop of Winchester also replied that the peers in England were not like those in France; wherefore the king of England had a right, by the justiciaries whom he appointed, to banish any guilty persons from the kingdom and to condemn them after trial. The bishops, on hearing these words, as if with one voice threatened to excommunicate by name the principal amongst these evil advisers of the king; and amongst these they especially named Peter bishop of Winchester, and his son Peter de Rivaulx, Stephen Segrave the justiciary, and Robert Passelewe the treasurer. To these threats Peter of Winchester replied, that he had been consecrated a bishop by the supreme pontiff at Rome, and was there-

fore exempt from their authority, and he appealed to the apostolic see against their pronouncing that sentence upon him. The bishops aforesaid then excommunicated all those who had estranged the king's affection from his natural English subjects, and disturbed the peace of the kingdom.

How the king summoned all who owed knight's service to appear before him.

During this conference, messengers came to the king informing him that the earl Marshal had retaken his castle in Wales, and had slain some of the royal knights and officers there. The king was much enraged at this news, and ordered the bishops to excommunicate the marshal by name, for having seized on the said castle; but the bishops replied that he did not deserve to be excommunicated for only taking a castle which was his own. The enraged king then sent letters throughout all the English territories, ordering all who owed him knight's service, to assemble at Gloucester on the morrow of All Saints' day, equipped with horses and arms, to march where he wished to lead them.

About this same time Hubert de Burgh the ex-justiciary, was taken away from the church at Devizes by some armed men, and, after being properly clad in knightly apparel, was carried into Wales, where he joined the enemies of the king about the first hour of the day on the 30th of October.

How the proscribed nobles attacked the king's army at Grosmont.

The king had by this time collected a powerful army at Gloucester, with which he advanced towards Hereford in Wales, where he invaded the marshal's territory, endeavouring by all the means in his power to deprive him of his inheritance, and to seize his person. That cautious soldier had, however, before the king's approach, withdrawn all the cattle and provisions, wherefore the king, not being able to stay there, owing to the failure of his provisions, turned off with his army to the castle of Grosmont. After he had stayed there some days, the marshal and his proscribed confederates found out by means of their spies that the king passed the night inside that castle while his army were encamped outside the walls. The whole body of them therefore, except the marshal, who refused to attack the king, marched for that place with the Welsh chiefs and a large army a little after dusk on Martinmas day, and rushing on the king's troops who were lying asleep in their tents, took possession of more than five hundred horses, with all their baggage and equipments, the men themselves taking to flight nearly naked in all directions. The conquerors however did not wish to wound or make prisoners of any of them, and there were only two knights slain out of the whole number. They then took all the waggons and carts containing the money, provisions, and arms, and having carefully disposed of their booty, returned to their safe hiding-places. The following nobles all were witnesses of this occurrence, namely, Peter bishop of Winchester, Ralph bishop of Chichester, Stephen Segrave the jus-

ticiary, Peter de Rivaulx the treasurer, Hugh Bigod earl of Norfolk, William earl of Salisbury, William Beauchamp, William Daubeney the younger, and many others, who fled nearly naked, losing all their property; great numbers of the king's army then, and especially those who had lost their horses and all their money, went away in great trouble and returned to their homes. The king, who had been thus left as it were alone, in the midst of his enemies, then put his Poictevin freebooters in charge of the castles of Wales, to repel the attacks of his enemies, and gave the command of his army to the nobles, John of Monmouth, and Ralph de Thoeny, to the latter of whom he also gave the castle of Matilda, which belonged to him by old right; whilst he himself, after making these arrangements, returned to Gloucester.

At the beginning of the month of November in this same year, thunder was heard, and accompanied by dreadful flashes of lightning, for several days; and it came to be a usual proverb amongst labourers, that a woman ought not to weep for the death of her husband or her children, but rather for the thunder-storms, for they always foreboded the approach of famine or mortality, or some such things.

Of the fierce battle between the marshal and the Poictevins.

In the same year the marshal, on one of his foraging incursions into the territories of his enemies, came to the town of Monmouth, which was hostile to him, where he ordered his army to proceed on their expedition, whilst he with a hundred of his fellow knights turned aside towards the castle of that place to examine its condition, as he purposed to besiege it in a few days; but as he was riding round the walls of the town, he was seen by Baldwin de Guisnes, to whom the king had entrusted the charge of that castle together with several Poictevins, and understanding that the marshal was there with only a few followers for the purpose of examining the castle, he sallied out with a thousand brave and well-equipped soldiers, and pursued him at full speed, designing to make him and his followers prisoners and bring them into the town. The earl Marshal's companions however, when they saw the impetuous advance of the enemy, advised him to consult their safety by flight, saying that it would be rash for such a few of them to engage with such a number of the enemy; to which the marshal replied that he had never as yet turned his back on his enemies in battle, and declared that he would not do so now, and exhorted them to defend themselves bravely and not to die unavenged. The troops from the castle then rushed fiercely on them and attacked them with their lances and swords: a severe though very unequal conflict then ensued, yet although there were only a hundred of the marshal's party to oppose a thousand of their adversaries, they fought for a great part of the day. But Baldwin de Guisnes with twelve of his stoutest and best armed soldiers made an attack on the marshal in person, and

endeavoured to take him prisoner and carry him off to the castle; he however kept them at a distance, brandishing his sword right and left, and struck down whoever came within reach, either killing them or stunning them by the force of his blows, and although engaged single-handed against twelve enemies, defended himself for a length of time. His enemies at length, not daring to approach him, killed the horse he rode with their lances; but the marshal, who was well practised in the French way of fighting, seized one of the knights who was attacking him by the feet, and dragged him to the ground, and then quickly mounting his adversary's horse, he renewed the battle. The knight Baldwin was ashamed that the marshal defended himself single-handed against so many of his enemies for such a time, and made a desperate attack on him, and seizing his helmet, tore it from his head with such violence, that blood gushed forth from his mouth and nostrils; he then seized the marshal's horse by the bridle, and endeavoured to drag it with its rider towards the castle, whilst others assisted him by impelling the marshal on from behind. The latter however, sweeping his sword behind him, struck two of his enemies to the earth stunned, but could not then release himself from their grasp. At this juncture however a cross-bowman amongst the marshal's company, seeing his lord in danger, discharged an arrow from his bow, which, striking Baldwin, who was dragging the marshal away, in the breast, entered his body, notwithstanding his armour, and he fell to the earth believing himself mortally wounded; his companions on seeing this, left the marshal, and went to raise Baldwin from the ground, for they thought that he was dead.

Of the slaughter by the marshal at the castle of Monmouth.

Whilst these events were passing, news had been carried to the marshal's army of the danger he was in, on which they marched with all haste to his assistance, and soon put his enemies to flight. A bridge in the neighbourhood of the castle, over which the fugitives hoped to make their escape, was found to be broken, on which great numbers of them threw themselves into the river and were drowned with their horses and arms; others, having no means of escape, were slain by their pursuers, and some were made prisoners; and few of those who had sallied out from the castle returned safe. On the side of the marshal, Thomas Siward, a brave knight, and two of his companions, were taken prisoners and carried off into the castle. Of the troops of the garrison, fifteen knights and great numbers of soldiers were taken and carried off by the marshal, together with their horses, arms, and other booty. Numbers of the slain remained lying on the field of battle, amongst whom were to be seen Welsh, Poictevins, and other foreigners, and Baldwin de Guisnes was carried to the castle severely wounded. This battle took place near the above castle on St. Catherine's day.*

* November 25th.

After this battle the marshal with Gilbert Basset, Richard Siward, and his other proscribed confederates, laid ambuscades for the Poictevins who held charge of the king's castles, so that whenever any of them went out foraging, they were attacked, and no quarter was given them: the consequence of which was, that the whole atmosphere in that part of the country was tainted by the numbers of dead foreigners who lay about in the roads and other places.

Of the earl marshal's great prudence and regard for justice.

About this same time, on the Thursday next before Christmas, the earl marshal happened to pass the night at the abbey of Margan, at which place a brother of the Minorite order, named Agnell, an attendant and adviser of the king, came to him to tell him what had been said concerning him at the court, both by the king and his advisers. He "had heard the king say," he stated, "that, although the marshal had traitorously and unjustly taken arms against him, if he chose, without making any other condition, to throw himself altogether on the king's mercy, he the king would grant him safety to life and limb, and would also allow him a sufficient portion of land in Herefordshire, to support him honourably. He had also heard from Stephen Segrave that the terms of forgiveness would be made known to the marshal by two of his trustworthy friends, who would tell the marshal that he could with safety trust to the king's mercy, but at the same time that they were not to tell the marshal himself or any other person, for that he was to do this without knowing the terms to be granted to him. He had also heard from others at the court that it was advisable for the marshal to do as above stated, that it was his duty, would be to his advantage, and would be safe for him to do so. It was his duty, because he had done injury to his lord, for he had, before the king molested his property or person, invaded the king's territory, burning and destroying the crops, and slaying the people. And if the marshal pleaded that he did so for the defence of his person and inheritance, they said it was not so, for there had never been any design against his person or property; that therefore he ought not to have broken out into violence against his lord the king till he discovered by ocular demonstration that the king had such design against him, when it would have been justifiable for him to act as he had now done." To all this the earl marshal gave the following reply to brother Agnell:—"To the first argument," he said, "as to its being my duty, because I have invaded the king's territory, this is not true; for although I was always ready to abide by the law and the decision of my peers in his court, and often asked the king by messengers to grant me this, he always refused it to me, and himself invaded my territory and attacked me contrary to all the laws of justice. And hoping to please him by my submission, I freely entered into terms of peace with him, which were very injurious to myself, by which it was agreed, that unless those terms were ob-

served on the part of the king towards me, I should remain entirely in the same condition as I was before the said peace was agreed on, namely that I should be free from all homage to him, and in a state of defiance towards him, as I had formerly been by the bishop of St. David's; and therefore, as he failed to observe the terms of peace in every particular, I was justified according to my agreement in endeavouring to recover what belonged to me, and in weakening his power by every possible means, especially as he eagerly sought my destruction, to deprive me of my inheritance, and to seize on my person; of this I have been well assured, and, if necessary, can prove it; and, what is more, after the truce of fifteen days, before I entered Wales, or took any measures for my own defence against any one, he, without a trial, deprived me of my office of marshal, which belonged to me, and which I held by hereditary right, nor would he on any terms restore it to me when I asked him; by this I was plainly convinced that he did not mean to come to any terms with me, since after the truce he treated me worse than before; therefore I am not his subject, but am released from all fealty to him, although I would return to the terms of the first state of defiance above stated, according to the agreement. Wherefore I have been justified and am still justified in defending myself, and in thwarting the malicious designs of his advisers by every means in my power." The king's advisers also said, that it would be to the marshal's advantage to throw himself on the king's mercy, because the king was richer and more powerful than he was; and if the marshal relied on the assistance of foreigners, for every one that he could induce to assist him the king could bring seven; for some of the foreign relations of the king had offered their assistance, who were neither Scotch, French, or Welsh, who would come into England and find work for all his enemies, for they would come in such multitudes as to cover the whole face of the country. To this argument the marshal replied, "It is true that the king is richer and more powerful than I, but he is not more powerful than God, who is justice itself, and in whom I place my hopes of safety and of obtaining my rights in the kingdom: and I do not put my trust in foreigners, nor do I seek their alliance, nor will I ask their assistance, unless, which, God forbid, I am compelled so to do by any unexpected and unavoidable emergency. And I well know that the king can bring seven to my one, and I believe that he will very soon bring so many of them to his councils, that he will not have the means of freeing himself and the kingdom from them, for I have heard from credible people that the bishop of Winchester has engaged to bring all England to subjection to him, and this he engaged to do from the time when he was with the emperor on the continent; and so he commenced this war, that he might take the opportunity first of asking assistance of the emperor, and might then summon the emperor to come in person; and this

appeared likely, because, when a disagreement arose between him and the king, he left England, and now he swore that he would send so many foreigners into England as would cover the whole face of the country." Again, the king's advisers said that it would be safe for the marshal to throw himself on the king's mercy, because he could trust to the king and his advisers; to the king, because he was merciful and worthy of trust; and to his advisers, because they had never caused any harm to the marshal, for indeed in their hearts they loved him. In reply to this the marshal said, "It may be true that the king is merciful, but he is led away by the advice of those men, by whom we feel ourselves seriously wronged. That the king is to be believed is evident, as far as regards himself, but with regard to his advisers I have this to say, namely, that no promise made to me as yet has ever been kept. What his advisers say about never having caused harm to me is false; for they have brought all my troubles on me, and to them I chiefly impute them all. Nor can I believe them when they say that they love me until I see them acting differently to what I have always seen; for they have violated several corporal oaths, namely with respect to the earl of Kent, to whom they all made three several oaths, which they paid no heed to, and broke, as well concerning the terms provided by the aforesaid earl, with regard to which they in like manner perjured themselves, as in the oath concerning the liberties contained in the great charter, which they also broke, and for which they were excommunicated as perjurers. They also perjured themselves with respect to the good counsel they swore they would give to the king, for they always advised him contrary to justice. Stephen Seagrave too, who had sworn to observe just laws, was now corrupting them and introducing laws long out of use; for many other reasons too, neither he nor his accomplices were worthy of being trusted by God or man, for was he not, and were they not, excommunicated?" The next argument against the marshal urged by the king's advisers was, that he had attacked the person of his lord the king at Grosmunt before the king had entered his territory, and therefore had offered an injury to him, wherefore it was his duty to give himself up to the king's mercy as above mentioned, in order to do honour to him, and give no pretext to others for making an insurrection against him. To this the marshal replied that, as far as regarded him personally, it was false that he was present at that attack; and if any of his retainers had by chance been present there, they only attacked the king's attendants and not his royal person. "And if they did so," said he, "it was not to be wondered at, when the king came into my territory with his army to attack me and injure me in every way; and this is plainly proved by the letters by which he summoned all throughout England to assist in destroying me. And since the above offences imputed to me are false, and it is true that the king behaved worse to me at the time I was looking for

his mercy than at any other time, and as he still has the same design as he had then, and still relies on the counsels of those men, by whose advice I know it is that all these injuries have been brought on me and mine, we ought not and cannot submit to his mercy. And it would not be any credit to the king if I were to yield to his pleasure when it is not supported by reason, I should then be rather offering an insult to him and to justice, which is a king's duty to exercise and to observe towards his subjects. And I should set a bad example to every one, namely, that of abandoning the cause of justice and the prosecution of my rights on account of an error in judgment, contrary to all justice, and to the injury of his subjects; for in such a case it would seem that we loved our worldly possessions more than justice." Again, the king's advisers stated against the marshal that he was allied with the king's principal enemies, the French, the Scotch, and the Welsh, and it seemed to them that he had done this to the annoyance and injury of the king and kingdom. To this the marshal replied, "As regards the French, this is clearly false: the statement as regards the Scotch and Welsh is also false, except as regards the king of Scotland and Llewellyn the Welsh prince; they were not enemies, but faithful lieges of his, until, by the injuries inflicted on them by the king and his counsellors, they were unwillingly obliged, like myself, to withdraw from their allegiance to him; and it is for this purpose that I have formed an alliance with these princes, namely, that we can better when united, than divided, contend for and defend those rights of which we have been unjustly deprived, and in a great measure robbed." The said counsellors of the king again stated, that the marshal need not put confidence in these allies of his, for the king could, without any damage to his territories, estrange them from him whenever he chose To this the marshal replied, that "he had no doubt of that, and," says he, "this circumstance clearly shows the wickedness of his advisers, for they would make the king endure any kind of injury from those whom they call his chief enemies, in order to injure me, who have always been a faithful subject of his, as long as he allowed me, and I would still be so if he would restore to me and my friends our proper rights." The next argument of the king's advisers was, that the pope and the Roman church had a particular regard for the king and kingdom, and would excommunicate all his enemies; and this seemed now to be at hand, because they had already sent for the legate. To this the marshal replied, "I am glad to hear what they say respecting the pope and the Roman church, for the more regard they may have for the king and kingdom, the more they will wish him to govern his kingdom and his subjects according to the laws of justice. And I am also pleased to hear that the pope will excommunicate the enemies of the kingdom; for they are those who advise the king contrary to justice, as their acts prove them to be; for justice

and peace go hand in hand, and when justice is corrupted, peace also is violated. Again, I am glad that the legate is coming; for the more people there are to hear the justice of our cause, the more will the enemies of justice be put to shame. And now, although I have particularly dwelt upon my own grievances, I say the same with respect to all my friends and allies; and on their behalf I make the same complaint as on my own, and without them I can do nothing at all towards coming to a durable arrangement.*

How king Henry kept Christmas at Gloucester.

A.D. 1234. Which was the eighteenth year of his reign, king Henry held his court at Christmas at Gloucester, with only a small retinue; for he had been deserted by a great many of the nobles, who had a short time before been deprived of all their property at Grosmunt castle, as above related. At the same time the frost set in with such severity that the crops in the fields were destroyed, the roots of the trees in the gardens were rotted, and those of the apple trees were frozen four feet down and died; and this continued without any fall of snow till the Purification of St. Mary, putting a stop to all agriculture; and this was followed, in the same year by such an unhealthy atmosphere, and such unseasonable weather, that a great scarcity ensued of all the produce of the earth.

How the marshal caused great slaughter amongst his enemies.

The day after Christmas day, John of Monmouth, a nobleman, who had fought on the king's side in Wales, collected a large army to surprise the earl marshal; the latter was however informed of his intention, and betook himself with his army to a wood by which the enemy would pass, in order to delude those who thought to deceive him. When therefore the enemy came to the place of ambuscade, the marshal and his army rushed on them amidst the din of horns and trumpets, and taking them unawares, soon put them all to flight, and closely pursuing them, slew great numbers

* Paris adds: "About the same time, in the seventeenth year of his reign, king Henry, at his own expense, built a handsome church, fit for an assembly of monks, with outbuildings adjoining, near the Old Temple at London, where he established an order of the 'Converted,' for the redemption of the souls of himself, king John his father, and his other ancestors; and to this house all the converted Jews who had abandoned the darkness of Judaism fled, in order to have a safe refuge, with a certain rule of living for their lives, as well as sufficient sustenance, without performing servile labour or living by extortion and usury. In a very short time a large number of the Converted assembled there and were baptized and instructed in the faith of the Christians, living a praiseworthy life, and under the rule of a learned rector especially appointed for the purpose. King Henry also, inspired by the Holy Spirit and incited by a pious motive, established a noble hospital at Oxford, near the bridge, in order that sick men and pilgrims might there receive relief according to their wants and be restored to health."

of the Poictevins and others, and John himself with much difficulty escaped by flight. The marshal then marched forward with his army, and pillaged and burned the villages and houses, and other property belonging to the said John, thus making him a poor man and a beggar instead of a rich man, as he had been; and then he returned to his own territory laden with immense booty, and carrying off large herds of cattle.

How the proscribed nobles excited great opposition to the king's counsellors.

At this same Christmas a grievous war was carried on against the king and his counsellors, for Richard Seward, in conjunction with others of the proscribed nobles, attacked the possessions of earl Richard the king's brother, near Brehull, and burnt his houses, crops, and even the very cattle as they stood in the stables; they also attacked Segrave, the native place of Stephen the justiciary, burnt the splendid houses there with the cattle and crops, and then went away taking with them some valuable horses and other property; they also destroyed by fire a village belonging to the bishop of Winchester near the last named place, and carried off a quantity of booty. These soldiers, however, observed one good rule amongst them generally; they did not do any one injury or attack any one, except these unjust advisers of the king, by whose means they had been driven into exile; but whatever belonged to these men they destroyed, burning their woods, and plucking up their fruit-trees by the roots.

Of the expedition against Shrewsbury.

After this, during the octaves of the Epiphany, the earl marshal and the Welsh chief Llewellyn collected all the forces they could muster, and penetrating a good distance into the king's territory, spread fire wherever they went; so that, from the confines of Wales as far as the town of Shrewsbury, there was not a place that escaped their ravages; they then burned the town of Shrewsbury and then returned home with valuable booty. King Henry, during all these proceedings of his enemies, was lying inactive at Gloucester together with the bishop of Winchester, for he had not a military force sufficient to oppose them, therefore he retreated, overcome with shame, to Winchester, leaving all that district exposed to the ravages of the enemy as was plainly evident; it was a dreadful sight to travellers to see the corpses of the slain, which were almost numberless, lying unburied and naked in the roads, affording meals for the beasts and birds of prey, the stench from which had so corrupted the air that the dead killed the living. And so hardened was the king's heart become against the marshal, owing to the evil advice he listened to, that, although the bishops advised him to make peace with that nobleman, who only fought to obtain justice, he replied that he would never come to any terms with him, unless he begged his mercy with a halter around his neck, and acknowledging himself a traitor.

Of the treachery which the king's advisers planned against the marshal.

About this time the bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaulx his son, with some others of the king's evil counsellors, finding themselves everywhere defeated by the marshal, and seeing with grief their towns burned, at length devised a plan to conquer him by treachery as they could not do so in open fighting; therefore, being frustrated in their wishes, and seeing the countless numbers of the Poictevins slain in Wales, they wrote letters containing designs of unheard-of treachery, and forced the king, although ignorant of their purport, to set his seal to them; besides which, eleven of them also affixed their seals, and then sent this bloody missive into Ireland. This treacherous letter was sent to the Irish nobles, Maurice Fitz-Gerald, who performed the functions of king's justiciary in that kingdom, Walter and Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, Geoffrey de Marisco, and others, who were sworn allies of the said marshal, although faithless to him; and the purport of these letters was as follows. The king's counsellors, in the first place, told the said nobles that Richard, formerly marshal of the English king, had, by a decree of the said king's court, on account of open treachery, been banished from England and his possessions; that his villages and houses had been burned, his parks and fruit trees cut down, his ponds and fish destroyed, and, what was more than all this, had been for ever abjudicated from his paternal inheritance; and, notwithstanding he had been thus deprived of all his property, he still annoyed the king, and persevered in his offences against him. "We therefore order you on your oath, as faithful subjects of our lord the king, to seize him if he should happen to come to Ireland, and bring him, dead or alive, before the king; and if you do this, all his inheritance and possessions in the kingdom of Ireland, which are now at the disposal of our lord the king, will be granted to you to be divided amongst you, and to be held by you by hereditary right. And for the faithful fulfilment of this promise to you by our lord the king, all of us, by whose advice the business of the king and kingdom is managed, will become securities if you bring the above design to effect. Farewell."

How the Irish nobles agreed to the offer of the king's counsellors.

When the Irish nobles heard the contents of the king's letters, covetousness took possession of all their minds, and all conspiring with one another, they sent messengers with letters to the aforesaid counsellors of the king with an injunction to secrecy, telling them that, if the promises contained in the king's warrant would be confirmed to them they would endeavour to carry the plan into effect. The king's advisers then, by a royal warrant made a grant to them of all the rights of the marshal, to be divided between them, setting forth the places, possessions, and rights which would fall to the lot of each of them. When these traitor-

ous Irish nobles received this document, they immediately bound themselves by oath to accomplish the detestable design when they saw an opportunity; and thus conspiring against the life of an innocent man, they at once invaded the territories of the marshal, and took some of his castles, dividing the booty amongst them.

Of the slaughter of the heretic Albigenses in a pitched battle.

In this year the heretic Albigenses in Spain and those regions became so audacious, that they ordained heretical bishops to preach their evil doctrines, declaring that the Christian religion, and especially the mystery of the incarnation, was false and ought to be altogether abolished; they also collected an army and invaded the territories of the Christians, burning churches and slaying the Christians of both sexes and all ages without mercy. But when news of this event was spread abroad, their superstitious presumption was soon checked by the faithful followers of Christ, who assumed the cross at the summons of pope Gregory, and came from the regions of the west to the defence of the Christian faith; and in a pitched battle fought in the spring, these heretics together with their bishops were slain to a man. The Christians then took possession of their cities, and placed followers of Christ in them; they also ordained catholic bishops in them, and then returned victorious to their own countries, and those who had come thither poor men returned home rich.*

The bishops' advice to the king about the disturbances in the kingdom.

Whilst these events were occurring in Spain, the English king on the day of the Purification of St. Mary, held a council at Westminster, at which he severely reproached some of the bishops and especially Alexander, bishop of Chester, for being too friendly with the marshal, and accused them of endeavouring to drive him from the throne of the kingdom. That bishop, however, when he heard himself thus accused, put on his pontifical robes and excommunicated all who were the authors of this crime against the king, and then, on the interference of the other bishops, the king became reconciled to him. At this council master Edmund, archbishop elect of Canterbury, was present with several of his suffragan bishops, and all of them unanimously expressed their sorrow at the desolation of the king and kingdom, and told the king, speaking from their hearts, "Lord king, we tell you in the Lord's name, that the counsel which you now receive and act upon, namely, that of Peter bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaulx, is not wise or safe, but on the contrary is cruel and dangerous to yourselves and to the whole kingdom. In the first place, they hate the English people, and both call them traitors themselves, and cause

* Paris here says that the heretics in the provinces adjoining Germany were also defeated by the Christians, and an immense number were slain. He also mentions that in this year a truce was confirmed between the king and William Marshall.

others to call them so; they estrange your affections from your people, and those of your people from you, as is evident from the conduct of the marshal, who is the best subject in your dominions, and by the wicked lies which they tell you about your people, they pervert all their words and deeds. It was by the acting on the advice of this same man, the said bishop, that your father also lost first the affections of his people, afterwards Normandy and some other territories, and finally all his wealth, and almost the sovereignty of England, and never enjoyed tranquillity afterwards. It was owing to this same man's counsels, that the kingdom was embroiled and laid under an interdict, and these troubles at length brought on your father's death. By the same man's counsel in our own time the castle of Bedford was detained from you, and from this same cause you lost the town of Rochelle. Again, this insurrection which is now endangering your kingdom, has been caused by the evil counsels of these two men; for if your people had been governed according to the rules of justice and the proper laws of the land, this disturbance would not have happened, you would not have had your possessions ravaged, and your money would not have been expended. We also say, on the allegiance we owe to you, that your plans are not those which will give peace to your kingdom, but will only cause disturbances, for these men, since they cannot increase their wealth by peace, endeavour to do so by embroiling the people of the kingdom and by depriving others of their inheritance. Also, that they hold your castles and the strength of your dominions in their own hands, as though you could not place confidence in your own people. Also, that they have your treasury, and all the chief trusts and escheats under their own control, and what kind of an account they will render to you of them you will find out hereafter. Also, that there is scarcely any business of importance in the kingdom transacted under your seal, or by your warrant, without being also under the seal and by the warrant of Peter de Rivaulx, from which it is clear they do not consider you in the light of a king. Again, by the same counsel all the natural subjects of your kingdom have been dismissed from your court, therefore we entertain fears for you as well as the kingdom, inasmuch as we know that you are more under their rule than they under yours, as is evident in very many instances. Also, that they hold under their control the princess of Brittany and your sister, as well as several other noble dames and young women, with their wards and marriage portions, and these they disparage by giving in marriage to their own friends. Also that they misapply and pervert alike justice and the law of the land, which you have sworn under penalty of excommunication to defend, whence it is to be feared that they will be excommunicated, and you incur the sentence also for communicating with them. Also, that they do

not fulfil their promises to any one, they do not keep faith, their oaths, nor abide by any written agreements, nor do they fear excommunication; wherefore those who have departed from the truth have fallen into despair, and those who abide by it are in alarm. We say this to you in good faith, and we advise you in the presence of God and man, and we beg of and warn you to dismiss such advisers, and, as is the custom in other countries, to govern yours also by the assistance of the faithful and sworn subjects of your own kingdom; for we have to inform you for a fact that, unless you correct these abuses in a short time, we shall proceed, by means of the censure of the church, against you and all other gainsayers, and we are only awaiting the consecration of our venerable father the archbishop elect of Canterbury." On these words, the king humbly begged a respite for a short time, saying, that he could not dismiss his counsellors so suddenly, at any rate until he had received from them an account of the money entrusted to them; and thus the council broke up, and all departed in confident hopes of soon obtaining peace in the kingdom.

How the proscribed nobles burst out into acts of vengeance.

After the aforesaid council was dissolved the king went to Bromholm to perform his devotions, and on his road passed the town of St. Edmund's, where, moved by piety, he granted to the wife of Hubert de Burgh eight manors out of her husband's territories, which were then under the charge of Robert Passelewe by his orders; then, after he had performed his devotions, he returned to the western part of the kingdom, and arrived at the town of Huntingdon. Whilst he was staying at the latter place, Richard Seward, in company with Gilbert Bassett and other proscribed nobles, went to Almondbury, a town belonging to Stephen de Segrave, about two miles distant from where the king was, and burned all the buildings belonging to the aforesaid Stephen, and plundered the place. That nobleman, who was with the king, saw the flames from his houses illuminating the whole country round, and at once hastened with a large armed force to protect his property: but when he heard that Richard Seward was the author of this deed of violence, he turned back as if flying from a hostile force, and, not sparing the spur, fled with all haste to the king, who, as well as his attendants, was excited to laughter at him. About the same time too, this same Richard Seward and his followers made prisoners of some knights who attacked them in the Welsh territories, and according to the law of war, compelled them to pay a heavy ransom.

In this year on the Sunday on which the psalm, "Let Jerusalem rejoice," is chanted, which fell on the 2nd of April, Edmund, archbishop elect of Canterbury, was consecrated in Christ church at that place by Roger bishop of London, in the presence of the king and thirteen bishops; and on the same day he performed solemn mass, wearing the pall.

How the king dismissed the bishop of Winchester and the Poictevins.

About this time, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, which fell on the 9th of April, a council was held at Westminster, at which the king, the earls, and barons, and the lately consecrated archbishop, with his suffragan bishops, assembled to make proper provisions for composing the disturbances in the kingdom. The archbishop then in company with the bishops and other prelates present, approached the king, and gave him his advice as well as that of the bishops concerning the desolate state and imminent danger of the kingdom, and repeated to him the disadvantages which had been set forth to him at the conference held a little while before. He also boldly told the king, that, unless he very soon abandoned his errors, and made peace with his faithful subjects in his own kingdom, he, the archbishop, with all the other prelates present, would at once pronounce sentence of excommunication against him and all the other opposers and perverters of peace and tranquillity. The king dutifully listened to the advice of the prelates, and answered with humility, that he would yield to their counsels in everything; and then, finding out his error, after a few days he ordered Peter bishop of Winchester to go to his bishopric, and attend to the cure of souls, and thenceforth on no account to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. He also ordered Peter de Rivaulx, to whose pleasure the whole of England was subjected, without fail to give up the royal castles to him, to render an account of the royal money, and immediately to leave his court, declaring with an oath that, if he were not a beneficed person, and admitted to the rights of the clergy, he would order his two eyes to be torn out. He also expelled all the Poictevins, as well from his court as from the charge of his castles, and sent them away to their own country, ordering them never to show their faces to him again. He then, in his eager desire to bring about a peace, sent Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, with the bishops of Chester and Rochester, into Wales, to make arrangements for peace with Llewellyn and Richard the earl marshal. Having thus dismissed all his evil advisers, he recalled to his service his natural subjects, and submitted to the advice of the archbishop and bishops, hoping by their assistance to bring back his disturbed kingdom to its proper state.

How the earl marshal went to Ireland and carried on the war.

About this time messengers came to Richard the earl marshal, telling him how the Irish nobles had invaded his territory, taken some of his castles, and were roving through the country indulging in pillage. As the king had, since Christmas, given up his expedition against Wales, and gone to the northern parts of the kingdom, the marshal set sail for Ireland, about the day of the Purification of St. Mary, with only fifteen knights, for the purpose of keeping the malicious designs of his enemies in check. On his

arrival there, there came to him Geoffrey de Marisco who was his liege dependant, but had proved faithless and had confederated himself with Maurice the justiciary, Hugh de Lacy, Richard de Burgh, and others of the marshal's enemies; this man pretended to join his party; and advised him to make war on the above-mentioned nobles his enemies, and to subdue Ireland. The marshal then proceeded through his territory, collected an army, and, attacking his enemies, regained some of the castles which they had taken from him; he also, after a siege of four days, took Limerick, a famous city of Ireland, and forced the inhabitants to give him their allegiance; he then marched forward and took some castles belonging to the king as well as to some of his other enemies, the castellans of which he compelled to take an oath not to obstruct him in his purpose. The Irish nobles did not dare to meet him, but fled before him to a distant part of the country, where they collected knights and horse soldiers with an innumerable host of foot, and prepared themselves for a pitched battle; they incited all their followers by distributing the king's money amongst them, and by large promises, to kill the marshal, in order that by his death they might become rich. After this they sent some of the brothers of the temple to the marshal, telling him that he was acting as a traitor to their lord the king, on whom he was now making war in Ireland as he had before done in England; they also added, that they to whom the king had entrusted the charge of the kingdom of Ireland, being sworn faithful subjects of the said king, could not endure this insult without incurring the charge of treachery; they therefore demanded a truce till they could learn from the king if he meant to defend Ireland, and if he refused to do so, and determined to leave that country to its fate, they would at once give up the whole country to the marshal without strife and bloodshed.

Of the justness of the war which the marshal engaged in against the king.

On receipt of this message, the earl marshal replied to their proposals one by one as follows: "In the first place," said he, "I reply that I have not acted as a traitor against the king; for he, unjustly and without any trial by my peers, deprived me of my office of marshal, ordered me to be declared an exile throughout England, burnt my houses, and destroyed my possessions. Twice he held me in defiance, although I was always prepared to appear in his court to answer any charge made against me, and to abide by the decision of my peers; for this reason I was no longer a liege of his, but was absolved from all fealty to him, not by my own means but by himself." With regard to the other offers made to him, and the truce, the marshal sent word by the said templars to the nobles, to come to meet him in conference on the following day in a field pointed out by him, there to make arrangements for peace; he however unhesitatingly declared that he was fully justi-

fied in endeavouring to recover what was his own, and in weakening the power of the king and his counsellors by every means in his power.

Of the treacherous counsel of Geoffrey Marsh.

When the Irish nobles heard the marshal's reply from the templars, they were well pleased with the proposal to come to a conference, for they knew that they had a larger force than the marshal; and they determined not to return without coming to a battle. The marshal in the meantime asked the advice of his knights on the above matter, and said, "It seems to me that I ought to grant these nobles the truce demanded by them, for their demand seems to me to be just and reasonable; and I fear if I were to deny to them what is just, something worse would befal me." Geoffrey de Marisco, his pretended adherent, who was aware of, and a confederate in, the premeditated treachery, broke forth in words of blasphemy against him, and speaking as if in kindness, said that he was not the son of that great William Marshal, who surpassed all the knights of the western empire in wisdom and prudence, as well as in courage and daring. "And timid man that you are become," said he, "you now in your slothfulness reject the chance of obtaining possession of the sovereignty of Ireland which it is now in your power to subdue; the truce indeed which your enemies demand is only to deceive you, in order that they may obstruct your progress. But you may rest well assured that all your enemies, when they see you armed and ready for battle though with only a few followers will turn their backs and take to flight." There were there about eighty other knights or more, who held lands in Ireland from the marshal, and who had all been bribed by his enemies; and they advised the same plan of proceeding, treacherously endeavouring to deceive him.

Of the conference held between the Irish nobles and the earl marshal.

When the morning came, Maurice the justiciary, Hugh de Lacy, and Richard de Burgh came to the conference in the field pointed out to them, attended by a hundred and forty strong and daring knights, whom they had been picking out throughout all Ireland ever since they had commenced their treacherous designs for the purpose of slaying the marshal, and whom they had brought over to their purposes by large gifts and promises, and they all desired a battle rather than a conference. The marshal too came with his armed knights who, with the exception of fifteen of his own particular retinue whom he had with him, only pretended to be his adherents, and took up his station about a mile distant from his enemies. They then, by means of the templars, who carried the messages from either party, began to treat about a peace. To be brief however, the Irish nobles, when they learned that the marshal had come there with only a few attendants, told him plainly that it was their fixed determination, unless he granted

the truce they demanded, they defied him, and would at once try by force of arms which of the two parties was the strongest. The earl marshal however, urged on to it by the advice of Geoffrey de Marisco and his other pretended friends, unwillingly refused the truce demanded, and frequently, by means of the messengers, demanded that they should restore to him some of his castles which they had unjustly seized, and still retained possession of, for it seemed contrary to right for him to grant a truce when he had been robbed; the Irish nobles however refused to do this, and drawing up their troops in order of battle, they proceeded to attack the marshal as if certain of gaining a victory. Geoffrey de Marisco on seeing this said to the Marshal, "I advise you in good faith to grant them the truce: for my wife is the sister of the noble Hugh de Lacy, and therefore I cannot fight on your side against him with whom I am allied by marriage." To this the marshal replied, "Vile traitor that you are, did I not but just now by your advice refuse the truce, even against my own wish? I should indeed seem a man of a wavering mind if I were thus quickly to grant them what I refused but a little while since, for I should then appear to do so through fear more than from regard to them. For I am well aware that I am doomed to die this day; but it is better for me to die with honour in the cause of justice, than to fly from the field and to endure the reproaches of my fellow knights for ever. Then seeing his brother Walter, a fine young man, he said to his followers, "Take my brother to my castle near, and do not let the whole of my family perish in this battle; for I trust in his bravery, if he attain the age of maturity, to show himself a brave knight." The Irish nobles, fearing the prowess and daring of the marshal, gave their own armour to the knights whom they had collected for the purpose of slaying this innocent man; so that, although they wished to slay him, they might not appear to be participators in the deed.

Of the battle, in which the marshal was taken prisoner.

When the troops were drawn up, the earl marshal saw that there were a great many to engage with only a few, he however exhorted his men to battle, asserting that he had undertaken this war for the sake of justice and the laws of England on account of the oppression of the Poictevins, thinking that they all were faithful to him, when in fact they were traitors. He then dashed boldly into the midst of the enemy, and forcing his way through them he opened a road for his knights with his sword, but only fifteen knights, his own retainers, followed him and endeavoured to disperse their enemies. His sworn dependants and knights on whom he trusted, as had been pre-agreed amongst these traitors, gave themselves up as prisoners to the enemies without force, without being wounded either by lance or sword, as if they were friends glad to see one another; some of them fled, without

striking a blow, to the churches and convents, leaving the marshal with only fifteen knights. These however defended themselves bravely, unequal as the struggle was, against a hundred and forty; the whole weight of the battle however fell on the marshal, who then first discovered the treacherous design against his life, but, although attacked on all sides by his enemies, he still defended himself and slew six of them. A knight of gigantic size, to whom Richard de Burgh had given his armour, indignant at seeing this, made a rush at the marshal in order to kill him at once, and endeavoured forcibly to snatch his helmet from his head; the marshal, when he saw this man, thought that it was Richard de Burgh, and exclaimed, "Fly, vilest of traitors, lest I kill you;" to which he replied, "I will not fly, but will come nearer you;" he then lifted up his hands to seize the marshal's helmet, but the latter, by one blow of his sword, cut off both of his hands although covered with armour. Another of them, seeing his companion wounded, rushed with all the speed of his horse at the marshal, and exerting all his force struck him on his head, but owing to his helmet the blow took no effect; the earl however returned the blow and cut his enemy in two as far as the middle, after which not one of them would come near him for a long while. The leaders of his enemies, in a state of consternation, then urged on a host of people who had come there with lances, pitchforks, axes, and halberds, to surround the marshal, kill his horse, and bring him to the ground; and they at once surrounded and overwhelmed him, piercing his horse with many wounds; they could not even then however dismount him, they therefore cut off the horse's feet with their axes; the marshal then fell with his horse, overcome with fatigue, having been engaged fighting from the first hour of the day till the eleventh, and his enemies, rushing on him, lifted up his armour and mortally wounded him in the back. The nobles themselves on learning that he was mortally wounded, and lying as it were lifeless on the ground, conveyed him with scarcely any signs of life, to his own castle, which Maurice the justiciary had taken possession of but shortly before, where he was placed in close confinement and attended by only one young man of his party. He there remained in the hands of his enemies. This battle was fought on Saturday the first day of April.

Of the death and burial of the earl marshal.

*A few days afterwards the marshal began to recover strength

* Paris here gives an account of the pope's extortion of money throughout Christendom, and which he practised principally in England. He also gives a letter from his holiness, dated at Spoleto, the 4th of September in this year. A similar letter to this is hereafter given in the text of Wendover. He however states that the progress of the crusade was much impeded by the avarice of the Romans. He then gives the account of the marshal's death and burial, and relates how the exiled nobles carried on

so that he could eat and drink, play at dice, and walk to and fro in his room. His enemies when they saw this asked him, in the name of the king of England, to give up all his castles and lands in Ireland, since his body was now in the power and at the mercy of the king, and he could be put to a most shameful death at the king's pleasure, as he had been by a decision of his royal court first exiled and afterwards placed in a state of defiance, and now had been taken prisoner in a pitched battle against him; "It will be to your advantage," they said to him, "to do this without opposition, and thus obtain mercy from us." They also showed him the king's warrant by which they were ordered, if he should happen to come to Ireland, to take him prisoner and send him before the king dead or alive. The marshal then, knowing himself to be in the power of his enemies, at once gave orders by letter for the surrender of all his castles to the king, being ignorant that they were, by the king's warrants, granted to those nobles to be distributed amongst them, and to be by them held by hereditary right. His wounds now beginning to swell and cause him grievous pain, he asked for a physician, on which Maurice the justiciary, in whose charge he was, summoned one, rather however with a design of killing him than of giving him relief. But the marshal, like a true Christian, before he took any bodily medicine, prepared for death by confession and the viaticum, and by making a legal testament, and then commended to the Lord the question whether he should live or die. The physician then came to him and with a long-heated instrument laid his wounds open and probed them so often and deeply with it that he drew blood from them. The marshal from his great sufferings fell into an acute fever, and on the 16th of April, which was the sixteenth day after he had been wounded in battle, he slept in the Lord. He was buried on the following day at Kilkenny, in an oratory belonging to some of the Minorite brethren, where he had whilst living built a handsome tomb. Thus died the earl marshal, a noble knight, one skilled in learning and distinguished by his manners and virtues. He departed this life on Palm Sunday to receive from the Lord in heaven a palm for his reward; amongst the sons of men his

their system of pillage. "While these events were passing," he says, "Richard Seward and his companions employed themselves in burning the buildings of the king's adherents; they burned the Swainbourne, a manor belonging to Robert Passelewe, and Ivinghoe belonging to Peter bishop of Winchester, together with the crops and cattle; they also laid an ambuscade and seized William Holwer sheriff of Kent, because he was related to the said Robert, having married his sister, and compelled him to pay a heavy ransom; they also, between Reading and Wallingford, seized on seven baggage-horses belonging to Stephen de Segrave and the bishop of Winchester. The nobles of Ireland in the meantime took possession of the earl marshal's castles, and divided them amongst themselves as had been confirmed to them by the king's charter.

person was so beautiful that nature seemed to have striven with the virtues in its composition.

Of the revenge taken by the exiled nobles on the king's advisers.

It was not yet known in England what had occurred to the marshal in Ireland, but when it did become known, Richard Seward and some others of the exiled nobles sought revenge on the king's advisers by whose means they had been proscribed, and on the fourth day in Easter week, they burned some buildings at Swainbourn belonging to Robert Passelewe, together with the crops, cattle, and other property found there, and caused great loss to him; and a few days afterwards on the 26th day of April they burned some barns near the town of Staines, belonging to the said Robert, with the crops and other property found there. Again, on the 2nd of May, they seized on six baggage-horses laden, belonging to Stephen de Segrave, besides a valuable riding horse, but whatever belonged to the king they let go in peace; on the 12th of May they burned Ivinghoe, a village belonging to Peter bishop of Winchester, together with the houses and all other property, to the great loss of the bishop. In this same year the Irish nobles took possession of the marshal's castles and rights in Ireland, which had been granted to them by the king's warrant, and divided them amongst themselves.

How all the proscribed nobles came and made peace with the king.

About the same time, soon after Easter, the king went to Gloucester for the purpose of meeting the archbishop and bishops, whom he had sent into Wales, as above related, and on reaching his manor of Woodstock he passed the night there. At this place messengers came to him from Ireland bringing news of the marshal's death, at which to the astonishment of all present he burst into lamentations for the death of such a distinguished knight, declaring that when he died he had not left his equal in the kingdom; then, at once summoning the presbyters of his chapel, he ordered a solemn funeral service to be chanted for his soul, and on the next day, after attending mass, he bestowed a large amount in alms on the poor. Blessed indeed must such a king be, who could love his enemies, and pray to God with tears for his persecutors. Starting then from Woodstock, he arrived at Gloucester, where he was met by Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who had accompanied him on his mission to Llewellyn; these messengers told the king that they had arranged a peace with Llewellyn on condition that, before every other consideration, the exiled nobles with whom he, Llewellyn, was allied, and who had been proscribed owing to the evil counsels of his advisers, should be at once received again into the king's favour; and when this was fulfilled the peace would be fully ratified. The king then, who longed for peace by any means, issued letters, summoning all the proscribed nobles to meet him at a council at

Gloucester on the Sunday next preceding Ascension day, which would be the 29th of May, then and there to receive a full pardon and all their inheritances; and they were to come there without any suspicion, under the safe conduct of the archbishop and bishops. Accordingly, by the intervention of the archbishop and bishops, they came to terms with the king; Hubert de Burgh, the ex-justiciary, Gilbert Bassett and his brothers, Richard Seward, and all those who had been banished with them and on their account, and all of them were admitted by the king to the kiss of peace on the 28th of May, and had all their rights restored to them by him. At this same conference, Gilbert, the earl marshal's brother, came to the king announcing his brother's death, and demanded of him to be installed in his inheritance, and offering to do homage to the king, and whatever else he was bound to do to him as his lord. The king then by the advice of the archbishop, restored to him all his inherited possessions in England as well as in Ireland, and received his homage; and, on the Whitsunday following he conferred the knight's belt on the said Gilbert, and delivered to him the wand of the marshal of his court, to be held with all the honours which had been paid to his ancestors. He also admitted Hubert de Burgh, Gilbert Bassett,* and Richard Seward amongst his private and familiar

* Paris adds:—"And the king regarding him with a calm look, embraced him and gave him the kiss of peace, restoring him as well as the other proscribed nobles to his former favour. Then Hubert earl of Kent, with a grateful remembrance, clasped his hands and looking up to heaven uttered the following heartfelt prayer: O Jesus, crucified Saviour, I once when sleeping saw thee on the cross pierced with bloody wounds, and on the following day, according to thy warning, I spared thy image and worshipped it, and now thou hast in thy favour repaid me for so doing at a lucky time." That this apologue may be the better understood by our readers, we will leave our story, and explain it. When the war was raging in the time of king John, some knights with their retainers, under Hubert's command, were indulging in rapine and pillage according to the customs of war, when it happened that as Hubert was one night lying in a deep sleep on his couch, the Lord appeared to him, suspended on the cross crucified as he is usually represented by statuaries, and said to him, "When you next see my image, spare me in it, carry it away and worship it." On the following day, as he was on his march, he met a priest running, in great alarm, clad in white, wearing his gown and maniple, and carrying on his shoulders a large cross with the image of Christ on it. On approaching Hubert he cried with a mournful voice, "My Lord, save the church which I serve, from these freebooters, who are ravaging this country and plundering it of all its wealth." Hubert then beheld the image on the cross to be in every respect similar to the one which he had seen on the past night, on which he dismounted and worshipped it; and at once under the guidance of that priest, he released his country, restoring all the property of the despoiled church. He therefore now gave praise and glory to God, on being reconciled to the king and his friends, and relieved from his many oppres-

advisers, and then fully discovered how he had been led away by the craftiness of his former advisers, who, being pricked in conscience, withdrew from the king's presence.

The king demands an account from Peter de Rivaulx, &c.

At the same conference, Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of the king and the whole assembly of bishops, earls, and barons present, read a copy of the letters containing the treacherous orders with regard to Richard the earl marshal, and which had been sent to the nobles of Ireland by the king's counsellers, at which the king himself, and all the rest who heard them, were deeply grieved and even moved to tears. The king acknowledged as a fact, he had, on the compulsion of the bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaulx and his other counsellors, ordered his seal to be set to some letters which were placed before him, but he declared on oath that he never knew the purport of them. The archbishop in reply said to him, "Examine your conscience, my king, for all those who caused those letters to be sent and were aware of the treachery intended, are just as guilty of the murder of the marshal, as if they had slain him with their own hands." The king then, after taking advice, issued letters summoning the bishop of Winchester, Peter de Rivaulx, Stephen de Segrave, and Robert Passelewe, to meet him at a conference on the feast of St. John, to render him an account not only of his money received and expended by them, but also of their misuse of his seal, without his knowledge; and ordered them to appear on that day to answer to the charge; they however, found their consciences plead guilty to all the charges, and were in dread of the anger of the king on one side, and on the other of that of the brothers and friends of the marshal, whose death they had caused. The bishop of Winchester, and Peter de Rivaulx, therefore fled to the sanctuary of the church, and hid themselves in the cathedral church at Winchester, withdrawing themselves entirely from the sight of men; Stephen de Segrave concealed himself in the church of St. Mary at Leicester, and thus he, who had formerly fled from his clerkship to take up arms, now returned to his clerical duties and reassumed the chaplet which he had abandoned without the consent of his bishop; Robert Passelewe sought a hiding place which nobody was aware of, and many asserted that he had gone to Rome;*

sions and sufferings, which reconciliation the said Hubert ascribed to God and not to man. The king then after reflection, led by a similar spirit of piety, &c. &c.

* Paris here adds;—So that he could not be found, and many thought that he had gone to Rome, to which court he had often gone when a proctor for his lord Falcasius; but in fact he was lying concealed in a secret cellar at the New Temple, feigning to be ill, and covered up like a hare. Nor when aroused at the summons of the king, after his hiding place was known, did he dare to leave it; some others also, whose consciences pricked them, were

and not even at the summons of the king did they dare to cross the threshold of the church, for they suspected that their enemies, who had burned their villages, buildings, and barns stored with the crops, and every thing else of value to them, would not spare their lives if they had an opportunity of injuring them.

How the king demanded an account from Peter de Rivaulx.

Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, who was the mediator between the two contending parties, at length obtained from the king permission for these parties to appear before him, under the safe conduct of himself and the bishops, on a certain day, to answer his demands, in order to set all these dissensions in the kingdom at rest. The king therefore appointed the 14th of July for them to appear at Westminster, on which day they were brought before the king under charge of the said archbishop and bishops. The first who appeared before the king to answer the charge was Peter de Rivaulx, who came in a clerical dress with his head shaved and wearing a broad chaplet, and reverently greeted the king who was sitting on the bench with the justiciaries. The king eyeing him with a scowling look thus addressed him, "Traitor," said he, "by your evil advice I unknowingly affixed my seal to letters containing treacherous designs against the marshal; it was also by your evil counsel that I banished him and others of my natural subjects from my kingdom, and thus estranged their affections and regard from me; and by your ill advice was it, that I made war against them, and have wasted my own money as well as that of my subjects." He also demanded of him an account of his treasury, and of the wardship of youths of noble families entrusted to his care, as also of escheats and several other revenues incident to the crown. When the king had thus accused him of these and many other offences and charged him with treachery, he did not deny any of the charges against him, but prostrating himself on the ground before the king, implored his mercy, "My lord king," he said, "I was brought up and enriched in worldly property by you, therefore do not destroy the man you have made, rather give me time for deliberation that I may be able to give you a due account respecting the things demanded of me." To this the king replied, "I will send you to the tower of London, there to consider on the matter, in order to give me a proper account." Peter replied, "My lord, I am a priest and ought not to be imprisoned, or consigned to the custody of laymen." The king then said, "The archbishop is here, and if he will become security for you, I will give you into his charge, in order that you may give me a proper answer to my demands." To speak briefly, the king sent him to the tower and took charge of all his lay possessions, for under his clerical habit, he was armed with a coat of mail, which

afraid to make their appearance, suspecting that their enemies, who had burned their villages, buildings, and crops, would not spare their persons if they had an opportunity of injuring them.

was not befitting a clerk. He remained in the tower of London the Thursday and Friday following his arrest, and was then released by the archbishop, who sent him to the cathedral church at Winchester, where he remained.

How Stephen de Segrave appeared before the king.

On the same day Stephen de Segrave under the archbishop's protection appeared before the king to answer to the charges made against him; the king on his appearance accused him as a wicked traitor, of the same offences as he had Peter de Rivaulx, adding also that he had advised him to dismiss Hubert de Burgh from his office of justiciary, and to imprison and hang him, and to banish the other nobles from the kingdom. After accusing him of these and many other crimes, the king demanded of him an account of what he had received and expended in his office of justiciary, which he had exercised after the dismissal of Hubert de Burgh. With respect to these charges, the archbishop and some of the bishops obtained from the king a respite till Michaelmas in order to give him time for deliberation. As to the charge of giving evil advice to the king, he replied, that as he had many counsellers, the evil that had happened ought not to be laid to his charge alone.* Robert Passelewe, who had filled the office of treasurer after Walter bishop of Carlisle, hid himself and could not be found by those who sought his life.

How the count of Brittany departed from his allegiance.

In the same year, on the nativity of St. John the Baptist, at which time the truce made between the French and English kings in Brittany terminated, the English king sent sixty knights and two thousand Welsh to the count of Brittany in order to protect the weaker portions of that noble's territory. The French king, on the expiration of the truce, collected a large army from the whole strength of his kingdom, and laid siege to a castle belonging to the count of Brittany. The knights of the English king and their Welsh followers, however, met them and killed a number of their horses, thus changing horse soldiers into foot, seized their carts

* Paris adds:—"Others higher than he, namely, those between him and the king, whose immediate answer was necessary, and that he ought to blame Walter bishop of Carlisle, and Peter de Rivaulx, and not him; and thus, making a shield of others for his own defence by throwing the blame on them, he went away. Robert Passelewe, who had discharged the duties of treasurer after Walter of Carlisle, again hid himself, and it was with difficulty that those who sought his life could find out where he was concealed. The king now relying on wiser counsels, appointed as justiciary in the place of the aforesaid Hugh de Pateshull, clerk, a faithful and honourable man, son of Simon de Pateshull, who at one time had managed the business of the whole kingdom. For the said Hugh had formerly managed the treasury business in a praiseworthy manner, as far as related to what is termed the secret treasury, keeping the seal and receiving immense sums from the sheriff; and the greater confidence was reposed in him from his father's fidelity."

and vehicles containing their provisions and arms, carried off their horses and other booty, and, after inflicting all this harm on their enemies, returned to their own quarters without any loss to themselves. The French king, annoyed at the injury done to him, divided his army, and invaded Brittany in all directions. The count, in this strait, asked for and obtained a truce till the feast of All Saints, for the purpose of seeing if the English king, whose ally he was, would come in person to his assistance; and, to obtain this truce, he gave up to the French king three of his best castles, with the understanding that, if the English king would not come in person to the rescue of his territory in the prescribed time, he would give up the whole of Brittany with the castles and cities therein to the French king entire. After making this truce, the count of Brittany sent the English king's knights and Welsh followers home to England, and they advised the king not to waste any more of the money of the kingdom for the protection of the count of Brittany, inasmuch as he had now entered into a treaty with the French king, to abandon him and to make his peace with the king of France, only waiting to exhaust all the English money. After a short time had elapsed the said count came himself to England, and told the king that he had expended all the money he had to obtain this truce from the French king, and asked him to make him restitution of fifteen thousand marks, which sum, he said, he had spent in the defence of his territory and for the honour of the king of England. In reply to this demand the king said, that the truce had been obtained and ratified by him, and also added that the treasure of all England was not sufficient for the defence of Brittany, as he had proved by three years' experience, and he did not wish to be further harassed by such trouble and expense; if the count of Brittany however would think it sufficient, he would send four earls from England with knights and soldiers sufficient to defend that province against the French king. The count, on hearing this, left the king in a rage, and, crossing to his own country, fled to the French king; and, in order to palliate his treason against that monarch, he went to him with a halter round his neck, and, acknowledging his treachery, surrendered to him the whole of Brittany with the towns and castles therein. The French king, it is stated, answered him as follows: "Although, wicked traitor that you are, you have well deserved a disgraceful death, yet I will spare your life in respect to your rank, and I will give Brittany to your son for his life, so that after his death the kings of France shall inherit that province." The count, being thus deprived of all his possessions, like a traitor, by means of messengers again tendered to the English king the homage he had formerly done to him; the king however seized on all the possessions of the count of Brittany in England, and deprived him of all his dignities.*

* Paris adds:—"The count, seeing misfortunes multiplying upon him,

A miraculous circumstance relating to a certain bishop.

In this year, which was the third of the unfruitful ones, a dreadful mortality and famine raged everywhere; and these pestilences were doubtless brought on, as well by the sins of the inhabitants as by the previous unseasonable state of the atmosphere and the general sterility of the land. The poor in various places pined away and died from hunger, and met with no good Samaritan to give them in charge of the host to be fed, or to heal their deadly wounds. Almsgiving too, which usually augments wealth, now languished, and the rich, who abounded in worldly possessions, were struck with such blindness that they suffered Christian men, men made after God's image, to die from want of food. Blind indeed were they, since they boasted that they had amassed wealth, not by the gift of God, but by their own industry. Disgraceful as this was to the generality of Christians, it was most shameful in bishops and church-prelates, and amongst the principal ones who were notorious for their avarice, I mention Walter archbishop of York, as a sample of the rest; for when the provosts and agents of several of his manors went to him and told him that he had a great deal of corn which had been growing old for five years, and which they very much suspected was either eaten away by the mice or had grown rotten in some way, he, even at a time of such want, showing no respect to God or regard to the poor, gave orders to his agents and provosts to give this oldcorn to the labourers of his manors, who, he said, should return him new for the old after the autumn. It happened that the said archbishop's agent was examining the corn at the town of Ripon, and having put it outside the barns for the purpose of thrashing it, there appeared, amongst the sheaves the heads of vermin, such as snakes, toads and other reptiles; and the servants who had come with the agent to look at the corn, fled in alarm lest they should be injured by the vermin. When all this was told to the archbishop, he was struck with shame, and sent his seneschals to see what was necessary to be done. They, on coming to the place, notwithstanding the hosts of reptiles, set ladders to the rick, and compelled some labourers to ascend and examine the corn; on their reaching the top, a black smoke issued from the rick attended by such an unearthly and unendurable stench that they came down from the rick in all haste to escape being suffocated, declaring that they had never before smelt such a stench; they also heard a voice telling them not to lay their hands on the corn, for that the archbishop and everything belonging to him were the property of the devil. The seneschal and those who had come with him, seeing the danger which would arise from the numbers of reptiles, built

and fuming within himself for grief, turned pirate, and lay in wait for merchants and others trading by sea, from which he acquired the name of 'Mauclerc,' and indulged in rapine by sea."

a high wall round this corn of the devil's, and setting fire to it consumed it all, that the reptiles might not escape and infect the whole district.

Another miraculous circumstance concerning the avarice of a certain priest.

There was in the same county of York a certain rich vicar, distinguished in his holy office of preaching, but withal avaricious; and about this time he was taken ill, and, as his physicians thought, of a deadly disease. Owing to the fame of the religious notions which he entertained, which were opposed to the opinions of all the county, he was visited by the neighbouring abbats and priors, all being unaware that he was like the wolf in the fable, and a snake in the grass. After respectfully greeting the prelates who had come to see him, the sick man made no mention of the salvation of his soul, but told them, that out of his regard for them he bequeathed them a large quantity of corn which he had in his court not stowed away in the barns, dividing it amongst them as it appeared best to him. The abbats and priors then went out, by the sick priest's orders, to look at the corn bequeathed to them, but on approaching the ricks, they saw standing near them a man like the sick vicar whom they had left in the house, clothed the same, of the same bodily appearance, and in every respect similar to him; this figure, addressing them sharply, said to them, "What do you want here? I would have you to know that all this corn, as well as the person who is to all appearance the owner of it, belongs to me; for the vicar who bequeathed it to you is my subject, and all that belongs to him is mine, since he has done homage to me with clasped hands. And you may rest undoubtedly assured that on the fourth day hence he will die, and then I shall fully recover all that is my own, together with the man whom I made rich when he was poor." The abbats and those with them, on hearing this were struck with alarm, and returning to the vicar, whom they now found in the last extremities, told him all they had seen and heard; and on their telling him that the man belonged to the devil, the vicar replied, "He speaks the truth, for it is now twenty years since, when I was a poor man, I did homage to the devil who has now spoken to you, in order that I might obtain earthly honour and temporal wealth." Immediately afterwards he resorted to repentance and confession, renouncing the devil and all his works and pomps, on which, by the divine compassion, he was at once released from all bodily pain, and allowed a proper time for repentance; whence it is quite evident that God desires not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live.

Of a remarkable miracle which happened during this year.

Although in the two above written chapters it has been plainly shown in what detestation the crime of avarice ought to be held by all Christians, I will add even a third case that every word may

stand on the testimony of two or three witnesses. When the year of which we have spoken above had progressed as far as July, still pressing heavily on the poor, who daily suffered from want, they rushed into the harvest-fields in crowds, and plucked the ears of corn although not yet ripe, and, bruising them up with their trembling hands, endeavoured to sustain the spark of unhappy life, which scarcely palpitated in their bosoms; and this fact can scarcely be reprehensible in poor people since we read in the Acts of the Apostles that Christ's disciples did the same. The labourers of some of the villages, however, who from their avarice always have suspicions of poverty, were much annoyed, on passing through their fields, at discovering this pious theft, and the inhabitants of a town called Alboldesly, in the county of Cambridge, proceeded on the following Sunday, which was the 16th of July, to their church, and tumultuously demanded of the priest at once to pronounce sentence of excommunication on all those who had picked the ears of corn in their fields. Whilst all the husbandmen were urging this point, one of the townsmen, a religious and pious man, on seeing that the priest was ready to pronounce the sentence, rose and adjured him in the name of Almighty God and all the saints, to exclude him and all his crops from the sentence: he also added that he was well satisfied with the poor people's having taken what they did from his crops in their state of want, and what remained he commended to the Lord's care. Whilst all the rest were persisting in their foolish purpose, and the priest under compulsion had commenced pronouncing the sentence, there suddenly arose a great storm of thunder, lightning, and whirlwinds, attended by inundations of rain and hail; and the corn in the fields was lifted up by a blast from hell; the cattle and birds, with everything growing in the fields, were destroyed as if trodden down by carts and horses. Aloft in the air the angels of Satan were seen flying about, who were believed to be the agents of this tempest. But, as the divine goodness is always constant to just and good men, when, after the storm which had caused such loss to his neighbours, that honest and just man visited his fields, he discovered his farms and lands, although in the midst of other person's property, to be without any trace of injury from it; and from this it appears clear as light, that, as glory is given to God on high by his angels, so there is peace and good-will on earth towards men. This storm commenced on the boundaries of Bedford, and, passing towards the east through the isle of Ely and Norfolk, reached the sea coast. In this year indeed several storms of a like nature raged in various places which were as dreadful as they were injurious to many; and it seems likewise a remarkable circumstance that the crops which remained standing after the storm was over were discovered to be so putrid that neither horse or ass, bull or pig, goose or hen, would eat of them, although given to them for consumption.

Of the dissension which arose between the pope and the Romans.

In this same year a serious dissension sprang up between the pope and the citizens of Rome, the origin of which was as follows. The said citizens claimed to themselves a privilege, which was, that the Roman pontiff could not for any offence, excommunicate any one of the citizens, or lay an interdict on the city. In reply to this the supreme pontiff said, that although he was inferior to God he was superior to man, and was therefore superior to the inhabitants of Rome; and, since he was their spiritual father, he ought to, and by right could, punish his erring children, as they were subject to him in the faith of Christ, wherefore he could lawfully excommunicate them and lay the city under an interdict where there was a reasonable cause for so doing. Again, the city authorities and senators exacted from the Roman church an annual tribute, which the Roman pontiffs paid to them by a recent as well as old custom, and of which they had been in receipt up to the time of the present pope. To this the pope replied, that if in times of persecution the Roman church, for its own defence and for the sake of peace, had sometimes bestowed large presents on the authorities of the city, this ought not to be construed into a custom, for that ought only to be considered a custom which was founded on right and supported by reason; and, what was more than all this, Christ on his cross had made it so free by his blood, that not even the gates of hell would prevail against it. For these and other causes of dispute between him and the Romans, the pope left the city with his cardinals, and went to Perugia to stay whilst the quarrel lasted. The Romans in the mean time, growing bold in their opposition to him, pulled down some of his buildings in the city, on which they were excommunicated by him; he also ingratiated himself with the emperor, and assembled a large army to resist the attacks of the Romans. The united armies of the emperor and the supreme pontiff then destroyed about eighteen villages inhabited by these Romans situated round the city, and cut down the trees in their vineyards; the citizens then enraged at this, sallied forth from Rome on the 8th of October, to the number it is said of a hundred thousand armed men, for the purpose of pillaging and burning the city of Viterbo, which belonged to the pope; but when this senseless crowd had got out of the city, and were proceeding without regard to discipline and in disordered masses, the trained troops of the pope and the emperor burst forth from places of ambuscade, and, rushing on the Romans, caused dreadful slaughter amongst them, although with some loss to themselves. About thirty thousand men fell on both sides; the Romans, however, suffered the greatest loss as they took to precipitate flight towards the city, scattering themselves in all directions, and their hearts were now greatly exasperated against the pope, because in this conflict many of the higher

ranks in the city had fallen. The contest between the opposing parties continued for a length of time, but the Roman citizens always found the fortune of war against them.

In this year Hugh Foliot, bishop of Hereford, died, and was succeeded by master Ralph de Maidstone, a man remarkable for his learning, who received consecration at the hands of Edmund archbishop of Canterbury.*

Of the circumcision of a Christian boy by the Jews.

A.D. 1235, which was the nineteenth year of king Henry's reign he held his court at Christmas, at Westminster, attended by the bishops and nobles of the kingdom. At the same time and place seven Jews were brought before him, who had stolen a boy at the town of Norwich, and, keeping him altogether out of sight of Christians, had circumcised him, intending also to crucify him at Easter. Of this fact they were found guilty, and in the king's presence they acknowledged the fact, and remained in confinement with their lives and limbs at the pleasure of the king.

In the same year, on the 7th of February, died Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, the enemy of all monks; he was buried in the cathedral church at Lincoln on the tenth of the same month, and was succeeded by master Robert Grosseteste, a good and religious man, well skilled in holy learning, who was consecrated by Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, on the 3rd of June, at Reading; the monks of Canterbury exclaimed against his being consecrated any where except in the church of their own town, but at length allowed it on this occasion, on condition that it should not be made a custom of thereafter.

About the same time, after the purification of St. Mary, Stephen de Segrave and Robert Passelewe made their peace with the king by the payment of a thousand marks, but were not however taken into their former favour by him. Near about this time too, on the 24th of February, Henry de Sandfort bishop of Rochester died, at whose decease the monks of that place elected master Richard de Wendene, a man versed in liberal learning; but when he was presented by the monks to Edmund archbishop of Canterbury, for a confirmation of his election, he was not received by that prelate, on which the monks appealed to the pope.

Of the death of abbat William, and the succession of J.

On the day after the feast of the apostle St. Matthew in the same year, William abbat of St. Alban's died, after governing that church for twenty years and almost three months, and was buried on the 27th of February, in the monks' chapter-house. The con-

* Paris states that the crops were very scarce in this year; he also says, "In the same year too, the island of Majorca, (so called to distinguish it from 'Minorca' or the smaller island,) which lies between Africa and Marseilles, was taken after much loss, by the Christians, namely by the king of Arragon and the citizens of Marseilles."

ventual assembly then obtained the king's permission to choose a fresh abbat; and, on the day following the Annunciation of St. Mary, they, with all due solemnities, elected John prior of Hertford, one of their professed monks as the pastor of their souls, who was presented to the king on Palm Sunday and favourably received by him. Some of the monks and clerks of that church, whose special duty it was, were then sent to the court of Rome, to obtain a confirmation of the election, which they procured without any difficulty, and returned to their own country with the apostolic blessing.* On the day following the Nativity of St. Mary, which was Sunday, the said abbat elect received the benediction as abbat from Roger bishop of London; and during the interval preceding this the abbey with all its appurtenances remained, by the king's kindness, under the charge of the monks, without cessation of the rights of hospitality. In this year the Jews obtained from the Roman pontiff the privilege of not being ill treated by kings or princes in the way of extorting money from them, or of being imprisoned.

About the same time, when Easter was approaching, Peter

* Paris here says:—"Moreover there was approved a form and method of proceeding in the election, and all wondered that, amongst so many heads, there should be the same opinion, and that the assent was unanimous; whence it was said by many at the court of Rome, and even by the pope himself, that it was not without the will of the Holy Spirit that it was arranged, 'For the multitude had but one heart and one soul.' And that it may be known to our readers, we give the following mode of electing an abbat at the church of St. Alban's. Three or four confessors (inasmuch as they know the hearts and dispositions of each) are ordered, by virtue of the Holy Spirit, to choose twelve elect brothers of the convent, faithful and learned men, who are to choose from amongst themselves, or from the convent of the church, or from the cells, one fit brother for abbat. In order that their election and deliberations may not be invalid, they hold letters from and under the seal of the convent, engaging to receive unanimously and willingly, and without opposition, the one whom those twelve shall elect. This mode of proceeding was much commended and admired by the supreme pontiff and all who heard it, and the examination having been held, the election was confirmed by the apostolic authority. But as the pope was not clearly satisfied as to the character of the elect, he sent orders to the bishops of Ely and London, to make a strict examination as to the character of the abbat elect, and confirm him in the abbat's chair, with the benediction, and to instal him in the management of all the spiritual and temporal affairs of the kingdom. The said abbat elect therefore, after the examination had been taken, on the Nativity of St. Mary, which was on Sunday, received the benediction as abbat from Roger bishop of London, for they could not both attend, as ordered by the apostolic see. The abbat elect, being installed with due solemnity, then before the altar read closed and sealed letters, such as we never saw before, concerning the journeys of the apostles, and visiting their threshold every three years, which we heard with due respect. But this is more fully related hereafter."

bishop of Winchester went to Rome at the summons of the pope, to arrange the proceedings of the war which he was carrying on against the Romans; for that prelate, when a young man, had been in the service of the renowned warrior Richard, as well as of John, the kings of England, and with them he had of old learned the use of the hauberk before he assumed the pontifical dress, and could draw up an army before he could preach the word of faith.

Of the preaching of the crusade.

In this year, which was the eighteenth from that in which the truce of ten years was made in the land of promise between the Roman emperor Frederic and the sultan of Babylon, a preaching of a crusade was made throughout all Christendom at the instance of pope Gregory, who sent letters into the various parts of the world to the following effect:—

The pope's warrant.

"Gregory bishop, servant of the servants of God, to all the faithful servants of our Lord Jesus Christ dwelling in England, health and the apostolic benediction. Like Rachel formerly when she saw the beginning of those who grew in the knowledge of the true faith to their own salvation, so also the holy Roman church, whose sorrow is great over the mutual destruction of her children has sent forth and still sends forth sighs and groans, which we hope may be heard in heaven, that the faithful may weep and mourn, till the Lord takes pity upon them. She grieves that the house of celestial bread, Mount Sion, from whence the law was given forth, the city of the great King, of which many glorious things are told, the land which the Son of God has hallowed by shedding his blood there for us, has lost the strength and beauty of its kingdom. It weeps because that once free land is now under the yoke of impious tyranny. She weeps because, where the multitude of the heavenly host uttered songs of peace, there the oppression of a most impure people has stirred up offences, concealed malice, and schisms, and, stirring up war, hath put forth its hand and expelled from the temple of the Lord the ordinances of the priest, and the laws of nature itself, that filth and abomination may be introduced in their place; wherefore Jerusalem hath been defiled in her sabbaths, and polluted by her enemies. For although the said city, besides the temple of the Lord, was some time ago restored to our well-beloved son in Christ, Frederic the Roman emperor, the august and illustrious king of Sicily and Jerusalem, yet, because the Almighty God did not deign then to confer more glory on the Christians, the aforesaid emperor made a truce with the sultan, the end of which is now so nigh, that the intervening time is not thought sufficient for preparation, unless we hasten to make all necessary preparations with speed, and the confidence and warmth of faith. Let no one therefore be backward in undertaking the pilgrimage to the succour of that land, to fight for their country with a sure hope of

victory, to die for a crown of glory and for life, to endure hardships and difficulties for a time on behalf of Him, who despising contempt, endured to be spit upon, beaten with the fists of his persecutors, scourged and crowned with thorns, who stood before Pilate as if he were guilty of many crimes, and finally was nailed to the cross where he was given gall to drink, pierced with a lance, and giving up his breath with a loud cry, he thus closed his earthly career overwhelmed with insults, in order to preserve the human race. He it was, to speak more fully, who did not disdain to descend from the throne of his Father's glory, bowing the heavens wonderfully beneath him, to our state of mortality; he did not disdain, from being God to become man, from being the Creator to become the creature, and, although the Lord, to assume the form of the slave, in order that we, who could not hope for forgiveness by our own righteousness, might by this obtain unheard-of grace, might become heirs of God, joint heirs with Christ, sharers of the Deity, and participators in eternal felicity. And although, through his grace we have been adopted by him, we give daily proofs of ingratitude, yet He abounds in goodness, inasmuch as to prove the faith of his followers, he suffers the land, in which it was his will to be born, to die, and to rise again, to be so long held by the infidels, although the hand of the Lord is not weakened, nor his virtue in any respect diminished, for he who had made all things from nothing could in an instant set it free. He requires from men the graces of love and compassion, to display the final consummation and fulfilment of the law; he first deigned to take pity on man in his ruined state, and would by no means have permitted impious hands to be so strengthened against the pious, if he had not taken care that his own injury should be avenged out of our confusion, and our disciplining accrue from his victory. Thus plunged in the depths of sin, and unable otherwise to make atonement, men would have been sunk despairingly in that sea of evils, if a plank had not thus been offered to them, so that by dying for Christ they might briefly attain to the consummation of many years. For many, desiring to behold the lands where our Lord stood, have reached the goal without the labour of a race, the crown without the ordeal of the sword, through Him who rewards his faithful soldier, and looks only for good will in his service. We therefore, trusting in the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of his apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and by the power to bind and to loose, which God has given us, hereby grant to all who shall undertake this work in their own persons and at their own expense, or who shall provide fitting men in their stead, or who shall go at the expense of others, or who shall supply money wherewith to render meet assistance to the Holy Land, or who shall render advice or assistance to the same end, a full pardon for all the sins which they shall repent of in their hearts and confess with their mouths;

and we command that all, both clerks and laity, who may take the cross, shall, both in their persons and property, remain secure under the protection of St. Peter and ourself, and of the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of the church, until certain knowledge shall be obtained of their death or of their return, during which time, also, no payment of usury shall be exacted from them, either by Jews or Christians. Given at Spoleto, 4th September, in the eighth year of our pontificate."

The pope also appointed brothers of the order of Minorites and preachers, to preach the cross throughout all the world, together with able masters in theology, who went forth on the work of the gospel, the Lord co-operating with them and confirming their preaching by signs following: every province by the apostolic mandate had its archdeacons and deans, who collected together all the people of the diocese both men and women, anathematizing all who neglected to attend their preaching.

A miracle connected with a woman whose limbs were contracted.

On the 11th of June in this same year, master Robert de Lawes, a brother of the Minorite order, was preaching the gospel on behalf of the crusade in the town of Clare, and a certain woman there, who had been deprived of all use of her limbs for three years, fearing the sentence of excommunication, gave what little money she possessed to a neighbour to carry her on his shoulders to the place where Roger was preaching; there she lay groaning and lamenting till the man of God had finished preaching, when he, touched with compassion at her lamentations, and seeing her lying there, went to her and asked her the reason of her having come there. She replied that through fear of excommunication, she had been brought to the place of his preaching, on which he ordered her to go to her home, not knowing she had lost the use of her limbs. On the bystanders informing him that she had been entirely deprived of the use of her limbs for three years, he asked her if she believed that God was powerful enough, if it were his pleasure, to render her sound, to which she replied, "I do, sir." The man of God, then taking the woman in his arms lifted her up with confidence, saying at the same time, "May the Almighty God, in whom you believe, render you sound." On his ordering her to get up she did so putting her trust in God, and as she was rising, her bones and nerves began suddenly to crack so that the bystanders thought that all her limbs would have been broken to pieces; she was however thus restored to her former soundness, and returned to her house rejoicing and glorifying God for having bestowed such power on his servant.*

* Paris adds;—"About this time two monks, the chosen messengers of the conventual church of St. Alban's, namely master Reginald the physician, and master Nicholas of St. Alban's, both priests, wise and eloquent men, with their clerks, master Geoffrey Langley and Geoffrey Foccarius, their

How the emperor demanded the sister of the king of England in marriage.

In the month of February of this year two templars, with some knights and other special messengers, came to the king at Westminster, charged with letters, sealed with gold, from the emperor Frederic, demanding the hand of the English king's sister, Isabel, in marriage. They reached the king on the 23rd of February, and begged for an answer to the letters and the demand, that they might announce the king's decision to their lord with all haste. The king then held a careful deliberation with the bishops and nobles of his kingdom for three days, when they all, after duly considering the matter, unanimously agreed that the lady should be given to the emperor, and on the 27th of February the king gave his answer agreeing to the demanded alliance. The messengers then asked permission to see the lady, and the king sent some trustworthy messengers to fetch his sister from the tower of London where she was carefully guarded; the messengers con-

serving man, and others, set out for the court of Rome, in the octaves of Easter on the 15th of April, carrying with them the procuratorial letters of the convent, and attended by the prayers of the whole brotherhood," &c. He then gives the form of these procuratorial letters, together with the rescript of pope Gregory addressed to the bishops of London and Ely, the return of the messengers with the pope's warrant, and proceeds to give the following account of the benediction of the abbat of St. Alban's.

The bishop of London therefore, the other bishop making some excuse for not attending, proceeded to fulfil the orders of the apostolic see, and after making a due examination of the abbat elect he found nothing incorrect in his character, and therefore, on the day after the nativity of the blessed Virgin, he solemnly conferred the benediction on him in the church of St. Alban's, where the letters enclosed in the pope's warrant were opened, and, as was the custom, were read by the elect, who was to receive the benediction, in the presence of the bishop, the conventual assembly, the clergy, and people, and which contained the following declaration; "I, John, abbat of the monastery of St. Alban's, will from this hour be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, to the holy apostolic church of Rome, to my lord pope Gregory, and to his successors canonically appointed to that see. I will not by advice, consent, or deed, cause loss of life or limb to them, or caption of body . . . And the advice which they shall entrust to me themselves or by their messengers or letters I will not, to my knowledge, disclose to any one to their injury. The Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter I will aid both in holding and defending against all men, saving my order. The legate of the apostolic see I will treat with honour both as he comes and returns, and will assist him in his necessities. When summoned to the synod I will come, unless prevented by any canonical impediment. I will visit the threshold of the apostles every three years, either in person or by my messenger, unless permission from the apostolic see shall release me from so doing. The possessions belonging to my monastery I will not sell, give away, pledge, nor enfee anew, nor will I alienate them in any way without the advice of the Roman pontiff. So help me God and the holy gospel."

ducted her with all honour to the king at Westminster where she appeared before the messengers of the emperor, a lady in her 20th year, beautiful to look upon, adorned with virgin modesty, and distinguished by her royal dress and manners. After they had refreshed their sight for some time with gazing on the lady, they decided that she was most worthy in all respects of the imperial couch, and confirmed the marriage on the soul of the emperor by oath, presenting her with a wedding ring in his name; after they had placed it on her finger they proclaimed her empress of Rome, all exclaiming, "Long live our empress." They then sent messengers with all haste to inform the emperor of what they had done, who, immediately after Easter, sent the archbishop of Cologne, and the duke of Louvaine, with a large array of nobles, into England to bring the empress to him with due honour, and to complete the marriage ceremony, in order that it might be consummated.

Of the wedding ornaments of the empress and of the noble preparations.

There was such a profusion of ornaments at this marriage that they appeared to surpass kingly wealth; for the empress herself a crown had been most elaborately constructed out of pure gold adorned with jewels, and on it were carved likenesses of the four martyr and confessor kings of England, to whom the king had especially assigned the care of his sister's soul. She shone forth with such a profusion of rings and gold necklaces, and other splendid jewels, with silk and thread garments, and other like ornaments, which usually attract the gaze and excite the desires of women even to covetousness, that they appeared invaluable. With bridal garments of silk, wool, and thread, she was so well supplied, that it was difficult to say which would be most likely to attract the emperor's affections. Her couch was so rich in its coverlets and pillows of various colours, and the various furniture and sheets made of pure fine linen, that by its softness it would invite those lying in it to a delightful slumber. All the drinking cups and dishes were of the purest gold and silver; and, what seemed superfluous to every one, all the cooking pots, large and small, were of pure silver. And to take the management and care of all these, some of the attendants of the courts were deputed, and to wait on the empress and her family in kingly custom. After being supplied with these and many other gifts by her brother and receiving a dowry from him, the lady Isabel remained under the care of the bishop of Exeter, and Ralph Fitz Nicholas, the king's seneschal, and other nobleman of his household, and attended by noble dames and damsels, who, being all skilled in courtly manners, would suffice to wait on and escort the empress. After he had thus arranged matters the king, on St. John's day, held a solemn festival before the Latin gate at Westminster in company with the archbishop of Cologne and the emperor's other messengers; on the day following they all took the road towards the borough of

Dartford accompanied by the king with a large train of earls and barons. The king had also procured for the lady, in honour of her as empress, a number of horses remarkable for their various colours and of gentle paces, which bore their riders with a delightful gentleness, without annoying them by the motion of their feet; the trappings and saddles too, gilt and carved, were of such a variety, and the bridles and reins so elaborately worked in gold, that they set off the rider as well as the horse. They proceeded through the city of Rochester and arrived at the abbey of Feversham, and starting from thence they went to Canterbury to perform their devotions to the archbishop and martyr, Thomas; after fulfilling their religious duties, they proceeded to the port of Sandwich to the number of about three thousand knights. From that port the empress and the archbishop of Cologne, with the noblemen and ladies appointed as her suite, embarked on the 11th of May, and put to sea under full sail; it was not however without weeping that the brother and sister, the king and empress parted.

Of the arrival of the empress at Cologne.

After a voyage of three days and nights they entered the mouth of the river Rhine, and after a run of a day and night up that river, they arrived at Antwerp, a city under the imperial jurisdiction. On their landing at this place they were met by an immense host of armed nobles, who had been sent by the emperor to act as a guard to the empress, to keep vigilant watch round her person day and night; for it was reported that some of the emperor's enemies, who were in alliance with the French king, were planning to carry off the empress, and prevent the marriage. They were also met by all the priests and clergy of the adjacent districts in solemn procession, ringing bells and singing songs of joy, and with them came all the best masters in every sort of music with their instruments, who accompanied the empress with all kinds of nuptial rejoicings during her journey of five days to Cologne. When her approach became known at that place there went out to meet her, with flowers, palm branches, and in festive dresses, about ten thousand of the citizens, mounted on Spanish horses, who put them to full speed and engaged in jousting with one another. Accompanied by these rejoicing crowds the empress proceeded through the principal streets of the city, which had been decorated in all kinds of ways against her arrival; and, on learning that every one, and especially the noble ladies of the city, who sat in the balconies, were desirous of seeing her face, she took her cap and hood from her head, for all to get a sight of her, for doing which every one praised her, and after they had gazed at her gave her great commendations for her beauty as well as her humility. She then took up her abode outside the walls of the city on account of the noise therein, and there awaited the emperor's instructions.

Of the marriage of the emperor and empress at Worms.

At the time of the empress's arrival at Cologne, the emperor was engaged in a war against his son who had rebelled against him; his father, however, led such a large army against him that he laid siege to ten of his castles at one and the same time; in one of the strongest of these the son had shut himself; but on his father's laying siege to it, he, dreading his father's severity, left the castle, and throwing himself at his feet begged his mercy. The latter however, without pity, ordered him to be enchained* and took him away with him to Worms, from which place he sent word to the empress to come to him there, she having then been six weeks at Cologne. The archbishop of Cologne and the bishop of Exeter, with the other nobles of her suite then at once set out on their way to the emperor, and, after a journey of seven days brought the empress to him amidst all kind of nuptial pomp and rejoicing. She was received on her arrival by the emperor with joy and respect, who was beyond measure delighted with her beauty, and the marriage was solemnized at that place on Sunday the 20th of July, and although her beauty pleased the emperor at first sight he was much more pleased after marriage. After the nuptial festivities had been continued for four successive days, the bishop of Exeter and the rest who had attended the empress thither, obtained leave from the emperor and returned joyfully to England, taking with them as presents from him to the English king, three leopards with other costly presents which were scarce in the countries of the west, the emperor also promised to assist him against the king of the French.

Of the nobility of the extraction of this empress.

There were many however in the Roman empire who thought that it was degrading for the emperor, who was so powerful and rich, and who was as it were the lord and governor of the whole world, to marry the sister of an English king. But as it is known to all that there is greater dignity in being of a noble race than in being rich, the reader ought to know that the father of this empress was John king of England; that the then reigning king Henry was her brother; that the illustrious kings Henry and Richard, and Geoffrey count of Brittany, were her uncles. These kings of renowned race ruled in England and Ireland, whence they were kings; in Normandy and Aquitaine, by which they were

* Paris here adds, "When he was released from prison, and the restraint of reverence for the emperor was somewhat removed, the son is said to have procured poison to give to his father; but being accused of this intended crime, he was placed in closer confinement, and consigned to the custody of a certain duke, who bore him imperishable hatred, because king Henry had used all his endeavours to disinherit him; but now, fortune having changed, the king was consigned to the pleasure of the duke. The emperor therefore sent for the empress to come to him at Worms.

dukes; in Poictou and Anjou, by which they were counts; besides claiming jurisdiction over Touraine, Maine, Berry, and Auvergne. In all these districts they had seven archbishops in subjection to them, with the kings of Scotland and Wales, and of the islands of Ireland and Man; and besides these an almost countless number of bishops, earls, barons, and knights. The mother of the empress was queen of all these countries; and of her two sisters, one was queen of Scots, and the other countess of Pembroke. She had five aunts, the first of which was the wife of Alphonso king of Castile, and the mother of Blanche queen of France (whose son Louis now reigned in that kingdom); Roger king of Sicily married another; a third had married Henry duke of Saxony, and became the mother of Otho, afterwards emperor of the Romans, whose brother of Henry duke of Saxony was afterwards king of Jerusalem; a fourth was the wife of Raymond count of Toulouse, and Rotroc count of Perche married the fifth. By this and other things, it seems that the empress was "descended from a race of kings," her father, as aforesaid, being king John, the son of the renowned king Henry; and the latter was the son of the empress Matilda, the daughter of Henry the First, king of England, by his queen Matilda. This Matilda was the daughter of Malcolm king of Scots, and his queen St. Margaret. Margaret was the daughter of Edward by Agatha, sister to Henry the Roman emperor. This Edward was the son of the English king Edmund, surnamed "Ironsides," who was the son of king Ethelred; the father of Ethelred was Edgar the "Peaceful;" the father of the latter was Edmund, and his father was the first Edward, who was the son of the renowned king Alfred. The genealogy of this king is carried back in English history to Adam our first parent. and by this it appears that an empress descended from such ancestors was in every respect most worthy of a marriage with the emperor.

Thus far extend the Chronicles of master Roger de Wendover:

"And thus in these pages the history of our age is,
There are writers still in store who'll hereafter tell you more."

THE END.

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